Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality: From Peele, Shakespeare, and Gay to the Windrush Generation

by
Wendy Lennon

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Shakespeare Institute
University of Birmingham

September 2023

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

Wendy Lennon

Abstract

Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality: Peele, Shakespeare and Gay to the Windrush Generation is a tripartite conversation brought together with a collectively defined goal to re-member, re-connect, and reconcile the seemingly disparate triangulation of themes, epochs, and locations.   The catalyst for this Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry project was a collision of literary, geographical, and historical migrations.

To explore these migrations, I have researched a series of Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions, such as: What are the key determinants and connective tissue that ignites and informs the conversation between these particular migrations? How do the lives and writing of George Peele, William Shakespeare, and John Gay converse with real-world migrations? How does the writing of George Peele, William Shakespeare, and John Gay converse with each other? Are there traces of these encounters and periods of mobility continuing in our contemporary world? Consolidating the fragmented understanding of the cross-cultural encounters within and between the literature, histories, and geographies, this interdisciplinary, intertheoretical scholarship seeks to demonstrate their interrelationships.

Table of Contents

Images

26	Image of Barnstaple town's Receivers Accounts 1389 – 1643.	167
27	Map of Ilfracombe, the Bristol Channel and Bristol	171
28	J.M.W. Turner's painting *The Slave Ship*.	179
29	Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee Cove, Ilfracombe.	182
30	Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee Cove, Ilfracombe.	182
31	Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee Cove, Ilfracombe.	183
32	Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee Cove, Ilfracombe.	184
33	Image of Lloyds List no. 2863 detailing ships that have been wrecked or damaged between 1792 and 1810.	189
34	Image of Lloyds List confirming the 'Total Loss' of the ship *London* in 1796.	190
35	Image of the Conclusions of The Rapparee Cove Human Skeletal Material Report by Dr J.F. Cross.	193
36	Image of the Conclusions of The Rapparee Cove Human Skeletal Material Report by Dr J.F. Cross.	194
37	Image of the Conclusions of The Rapparee Cove Human Skeletal Material Report by Dr J.F. Cross.	195
38	Image of human bones discovered on Rapparee.	196
39	Image of human bones discovered on Rapparee.	197
40	Image of human bones discovered on Rapparee.	198
41	Image of the beach where the *London* was shipwrecked and the coins were discovered.	199
42	National Archives image of 1275 Statute of Jewry.	248
43	Les Estatutz de la Jewerie, C.1275. National Archives ref: E 164/9.	249
44	Image of the *HMS Empire Windrush* passenger list on 22nd June 1948	269
45	Image of the *HMS Empire Windrush* passenger list on 22nd June 1948.	270
46	Painting of Cheapside riot (1517).	273

47	Headline from 1958 Manchester Evening News.	289
48	Image from Sir John Mandeville's manuscript. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/manuscript-of-mandevilles-travels-showing-headless-men-1430 Full title: *English miscellany with Mandeville's Travels, Piers Plowman, catechetical texts, and devotional poems*. Created: 1400–50. Format: Manuscript. Creator: Sir John Mandeville, Usage terms: Public Domain in most countries other than the UK. Held by: British Library, Shelfmark: Harley MS 3954	312
49	Image from Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.	313
50	Image from Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.	315
51	Image from Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.	316
52	Image about troops from the Caribbean.	326
53	Letter from Prime Minister Attlee to an MP, 5th July 1948.	341
54	Image of 1646 gold pistole coins.	367
55	Image of gold pistole coins discovered on Rapparee, Ilfracombe.	367

Tables

Table 1. Devonian ships sailing from Devon to Africa 1698 – 1711.	170-171
Table 2. Table of items, people and money traded by Devonian ship, *Daniel & Henry*.	172 – 177
Table 3. List of coins discovered on Rapparee.	181-182
Table 4. List of estate and slave owners.	201
Table 5. Multicultural Devon. Caribbean birthplace table.	202 -203

For Alicia, Seamus, and E.B. Lennon

In memory of

Ian Lennon (1942 – 1994) and Linda Campbell (1932 – 2020)

'Black women's writing, I am proposing, should be read as a series of boundary crossings and not as fixed, geographical, ethnically, or nationally bound category of writing. In cross-cultural, transnational, translocal, diasporic perspectives, this reworking of the grounds of "Black Women's Writing" redefines identity away from exclusion and marginality'.

(Carole Boyce Davies, *Migratory Subjectivities*, 1994)

Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality:

From Peele, Shakespeare, and Gay to the Windrush generation

Introduction

Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality: From Peele, Shakespeare, and Gay to the Windrush generation is a tripartite conversation brought together with a collectively defined goal to re-member, re-connect, and reconcile the seemingly disparate triangulation of themes, epochs, and locations. The catalyst for this Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry project was a collision of migrations. Firstly, migrations and cross-cultural encounters in early modern literature. Secondly, an eighteenth-century vessel, the *London*, believed to be carrying enslaved African people across the transatlantic triangular slave trade route before being shipwrecked on the coast of north Devon, England. Finally, the migration of the Windrush generation from Jamaica to England from 1948.

The term 'Windrush' and 'Windrush generation' refers to people who migrated from Jamaica to England between 1948 and 1971. The migration of the Windrush generation is named after the ship *Empire Windrush*, which sailed from Jamaica and docked in Tilbury, England on 22nd June 1948, bringing workers from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands to help fill the post-war UK labour shortages.

Consolidating the fragmented understanding of the cross-cultural encounters within and between the literature, histories, and geographies, this interdisciplinary, intertheoretical scholarship seeks to demonstrate their interrelationships by asking a series of Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions. What are the key determinants and connective tissue that ignites and informs the conversation between these particular migrations? How do the lives and writing of George Peele, William Shakespeare, and John Gay converse with real-world migrations? How does the writing of George Peele, William Shakespeare, and John Gay converse with each other? Are there traces of these encounters and periods of mobility continuing in our contemporary world?

My research project rises from my curiosity and amazement at the personal connections that I have to these significant moments of mobility. As a Jamaican-British woman who teaches early modern literature in England, the way in which my students learn through the rigorous academic study of English literature has a profound professional delight and interest for me. The shipwreck that I have researched and write of in this thesis was discovered on a beach I used to play on in the small north Devon coastal town where I was born and grew up. Bones, believed to belong to enslaved African people on the ship and coins, which may have paid for

African bodies, were found mere metres beneath the sandcastles I used to build as a child with my white English father and my black Jamaican born mother. My grandmother and mother are women of the Windrush generation whose agency and autonomy led them to migrate from their hometown parish of St. Thomas in Jamaica to the 'Mother Country', England.

As Toni Morrison writes in *Playing in the Dark* (Morrison, 1990: 12), I am also vulnerable to the inference here that my inquiry has vested interests. Like Morrison, I will also have to risk that accusation because the literature, histories, and geographies that I reconcile, the rigorous research I share here, and the future of English studies (at all levels) is too important. There is too much at stake.

What is at stake here is 'the danger of a single story'. In Chimamanda Adichie's 2009 Ted Talk, Adichie recalls how her American roommate 'was shocked' by her. Her roommate's default position towards Adichie 'as an African, was a kind of patronising, well-meaning, pity'. Her roommate had a single story of Africa. 'A single story of catastrophe. In this story there was no possibility of Africans being similar to her...No possibility of a connection as human equals'. Adichie goes on to explain that 'the single story of Africa...comes from Western literature' (Adichie, 2009, Ted Talk).

The single story that is most often told of Africa in Western literature (including historical accounts, literary texts, and their subsequent analytical aftermath in the form of literary criticism) is the single story of the demonisation and victimisation of African people. For instance, 'John Lok, who sailed to west Africa in 1561 and kept a fascinating account of his voyage…referring to black Africans as "beasts who have no houses…They are also people without heads, having their mouth and eyes in their breasts"' (Adichie, 2009, Ted Talk). In Part Two, Chapter Three of this thesis, I explore the way in which Shakespeare includes such details in his characterisation of Othello (a black African) and Othello's countrymen to bestialise and demonise African people. During my analysis of this real-world and creatively expressed Africanism, I include archival images from the British Library of contemporary drawings recounting and retelling this single story of Africa and African people. Such drawings are significant archival records and material culture which influenced and continue to influence perceptions of Africa and African people.

Owing to the textual references in Shakespeare's body of work, Shakespeare's legacy, the archival records as a supporting prop and literary criticism perpetuate the single story of African people. As I will demonstrate in the Literature Review section of this Introduction, in well-meaning attempts to confirm the existence of race in the

early modern period, literary criticism often continues to tell the single story of the negative portrayal of African people. The dangers of this are that we, the African diaspora, are limited to and by the single story of demonisation and victimisation. An element of the contribution I wish to make through this study, therefore, is to multiply the stories we tell and broaden the scope of critical analysis. To meet this objective, I have selected specific literary texts to initiate the conversation; I have widened the temporal scope of a literary study of this kind; and finally, I have used a wider range of repositories, sources, disciplines, and methodologies to facilitate the dialogue.

Reni Eddo-Lodge's reductive book title *Why I'm no longer talking to white people about race* serves to shut down the dialogue about race relations of the African diaspora in the UK, which has subtle differences to Morrison's African American experience. Therefore, a renewed contemplation of the presence of what Morrison calls, 'Africanism', in English literature and the world it intersects with is now required.

At the Shakespeare Institute open day in 2019, Dr Martin Wiggins described postgraduate scholarship as a conversation. I, as a Jamaican-British woman, am in conversation with English literature and literary criticism. Here, disciplines, theories,

and methodologies are in conversation with each other. This thesis opens up a conversation with literary scholarship of the past, the present, and the future.

Methodology

Literary Text Selection

The selection of literature is the vital foundation of my methodological approach to researching the key literary themes, epochs, and locations. It is tempting to solely focus upon the work of William Shakespeare (1564 – 1616), however, Shakespeare is only a fragment of our English literary heritage along the continuum of written English. Therefore, Shakespeare is not the starting point, nor the end of the literary analysis covered within these pages. Instead, Shakespeare is placed in chronological order nestled between the writing of George Peele (1556 – 1596) and John Gay (1685 – 1732) to create a conversation between the English literary texts, their socio-historical contexts and the geographical locations the writers' lives and their literature occupied.

Across the breadth of this thesis, the literary analysis (starting with Peele, followed by Shakespeare and then Gay), chronologically plots the literary continuum of hidden themes and determinants of migrations and cross-cultural encounters creatively expressed in their plays. Furthermore, the selection of writers and their texts sparks a

conversation around the ways in which male, English writers mediate 'Africanism', construct a presence or persona of African people and the experiences of the African diaspora in their plays. Along this literary landscape the themes of autonomy, migration and transculturality allows me to identify developments, differences, and peaks whilst illuminating continuities within and between the literary texts.

<u>George Peele (1556 – 1596)</u>

George Peele, born to a Devonshire family in 1556, wrote a compelling play, *The Battle of Alcazar*, which Charles Edelman dates 'in 1588 [which] seems the most likely date of composition' (Edelman, 2005: 19) and is the earliest text of this study. *The Battle of Alcazar* is set in Africa and, I argue, is centred around the autonomy of African people.

It is ultimately a play about the death of three kings, as well as the battle casualties and deaths of the Englishman Thomas Stukeley, and a vast number their multiracial armies. Sebastian, the King of Portugal, had attempted to join forces with Muly Mahamet, the King of Morocco, in a bid to maintain his throne and stop the rightful king, his uncle Abdelmelec, from gaining any power. Ambitious Stukeley, who asks in Act 2: 'Why should not I then look to be king?' (Act 2, Scene 3), migrates to

Africa and fights for his feeble chance at the throne. A battle for power and fame Stukeley loses when he is killed in action.

The three kings, Muly Mahamet, Abdelmelec, and Sebastian, all die in the battle. Muly Mahamet Seth, Abdelmelec's brother, won the war and became King of Morocco by the play's end. Not only does the early modern theatre audience have the opportunity to the engage with the exciting actions and events of the play, but they also have the chance to hear the creative representation of the voices of African women. Abdil Rayes, Rubin Archis and Calipolis - the Queens, widows, and their attending ladies - all have significant speaking parts. Therefore, in my analysis of the play, I explore the agency and autonomy of African men *and* women.

Not only does this play mark a significant chronological and theatrical starting point in early modern drama, by opening this thesis with an 'African play', if you will, I intend to re-member and re-prioritise the humanity of African people. However, this is not just a study of the words and actions of a sixteenth century play. Through Peele's text, he is recalling an important event in African history. For Peele's play is based upon a real-world battle which took place in 'summer 1578 in a North African town of El-Ksar el-Kabir' during which 'two Moors and their accumulated factions fought for rule over the domains surrounding Marrakech and Fez (Morocco and

Barbary)' (Bartels, 2009: 97). These were significant contemporary events which impacted African political rule, African trade, African monarchies, and the fate of African people. The critical battle and its impact are recounted and memorialised in Peele's work. Furthermore, the 'accumulated factions' Bartels writes about consisted of a collision of multiracial, European, Ottoman, African armies and supporters which opens the text to a detailed consideration of transculturality within Africa at this time. The text selection, therefore, instigates a conversation between literature, history, and geography, also revealing the social and cross-cultural interconnectedness of these disciplines.

Edelman asserts that '*The Battle of Alcazar* represents the starting point for the complex and fascinating representation of the Moor in early modern drama' (Edelman, 2005: 29). In Bartel and Edelman's analysis of the historical context which influenced and inspired the writing of the play, they allude to the key term: 'Moor'. In both the literary and historical contexts, there is a complexity to the term 'Moor' in the early modern period. Ambereen Dadabhoy writes that it's a word that 'possesses an elasticity that allows for it to be applied to a variety of people...contained within the term "Moor" then is a geographic distinction, religious differentiation, and color [sic] consciousness' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 34).

Micheal Neill indicates that the term's 'notorious indeterminacy' might allude to a racial description or quite vaguely to a wide variety of people, for instance, Neill writes that:

> it could refer quite specifically to the Berber-Arab people of the part of North Africa then rather vaguely denominated as "Morocco", "Mauritania", or "Barbary"; or it could be used to embrace the inhabitants of the whole North African littoral; or it might be extended to refer to Africans generally (whether "white", "black", or "tawny" Moors); or, by even more promiscuous extension, it might be applied (like Indian) to almost any darker-skinned peoples – even, on occasion, those of the New World (Neill, 1998: 364).

Perhaps it is the elasticity and indeterminacy of the term 'Moor' which allows it to become socially constructed and applied as an ever-fluctuating race word. Patricia Akhimie confirms that race

> is not real; it is socially constructed. As a society we continually invent race, producing it through language as we bridge the gap between our observations and our assumptions, mapping our theories of difference onto individuals and groups even as the nature and borders of those groups are continually in flux (Akhimie, 2021: 52).

Jonathan Bate explores the continuous flux and wide range of meanings attached to the term 'Moor'. Edelman confirms that the 'importance of *Alcazar* lies in its multifaceted approach to Bate's second definition, racial difference' (Edelman, 2005: 29). The second sense of 'racial and geographical; it referred to a native or inhabitant of Mauretania, a region of North Africa corresponding to parts of present-day Morocco and Algeria' (Bate, 2001), which is the significant geographical 'place' of Peele's play. In relation to Peele's play and for the purposes of this study, I confront and explore the word 'Moor' to consider how 'the word was frequently used as a general term for "not one of us"' (Bate, 2021).

William Shakespeare (1564 – 1616)

As we move from Peele to Shakespeare, from the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, we can begin to see the development of the characterisation of the 'Moor' and other African characters. At times, there is little to say about Shakespeare's African characters because he gives them so little, if anything at all, to say. Where the African characters are given speech and action, Shakespeare has imbued their characterisation with the terms of a newly developed racial contract emanating from the burgeoning nation and wider project of empire building. As Ian Smith writes:

> Like a literary genre, a racial genre has recognizable, repeatable, familiar
>
> content, form, and effects; it works by creating a contract of social
>
> expectations with the audience that...supplements the anxiety of ignorance by
>
> filling in the informational gaps with preconceived ideas gleaned from prior
>
> cultural and theatrical knowledge (Ian Smith, 2022: 61).

In Chapter Three, I explore the ways in which Shakespeare creates a new anxiety

fuelled contract with the audience. Shakespeare displaces and distorts the autonomy

created by Peele. Instead, Shakespeare geographically transports the African

characters to Europe, a migration which mimics the enforced movement of real-

world African people and serves to transform their reception from humanity and

agency to inhumanity, hostility, and negativity. Perceptions of the 'Moor' from

Africa migrated to the European context in his plays: *Othello, the Moor of Venice, The*

Tempest and *Titus Andronicus*, create an alternate peak along the literary continuum

that contrasts sharply with Peele's presentation of Africanism.

I argue that Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* focuses upon the autonomy of African

people *because* the playwright locates the play in Africa and prioritises African history

and African people. This is unlike Shakespeare and Peele's collaborative text *Titus*

Andronicus and Shakespeare's later play which all 'take a darker turn' *because* they position 'the Moor within Europe' (Bartels, 2009: 44).

If we are to truly consider the migration of the African characters from Africa to Europe, I suggest that it actually creates an expansive identity for the African diaspora and is a defiant act of 'revolt against the nation-state' (Hanchard, 1990: 40). A revolt which appears to intimidate the host nation and endangers the minority character to enable the host to gain control. As Ruben Espinosa and David Ruiter write of immigrants in Shakespearean drama, his work

> often registers ambivalent attitudes about foreigners in early modern England. On the one hand, the immigrant is a visible facet of English society who often stands to threaten English identity. On the other hand, Shakespeare's attention to the issue of alterity often forces his audience to engage with the value of foreigners, and his emphasis on the relationship between host and stranger is, more often than not, edifying (Espinosa & Ruiter, 2016: 1).

To examine the points around 'foreigners' and strangers in more detail, this study also includes an examination of the *Sir Thomas More* extract attributed to Shakespeare. Shakespeare's contribution to *Sir Thomas More* recalls 'the anti-alien London riots of 1517' (Cohen, 1997: 2011), further exploiting the sixteenth

century's 'contemporary antiforeign resentment…which led to rioting and harsh government reprisals between 1593 and 1595' (Cohen, 1997: 2011). It is believed that early 'in the seventeenth century (probably 1603-4), Shakespeare seems to have participated in the revision of *Sir Thomas More*, a play originally composed between late 1592 and mid-1595' (Cohen, 1997: 2011).

In addition to this, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, composed between 1596 – 1598, examines minority characters in Europe. In the introduction to *The Merchant of Venice*, Katharine Eisaman Maus asks some significant questions and pointed observations that I explore in Chapter Three: What are the obligations of the majority cultures to minorities in their midst? Is [Shylock] merely the understandably resentful victim of their bigotry? The play confirms 'the existence of anti-Semitism in sixteenth-century England [but] says little about Shakespeare's own attitudes. He could have written *The Merchant of Venice* either to capitalize on or to criticize the prejudices of his society' (Maus, 1997: 1081). Like Peele's play, and arguably all literature and art, Shakespeare is drawing upon the contemporary real-world events and concerns which illuminates the need for this study to encompass a Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry into the points raised.

The title to Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* intentionally imbues the multiplicity and 'not one of us' allusions to the play's eponymous character. Referring to race words in the play, Peter Erikson writes of the 'distinct levels of racial discourse from blatant to unobtrusive' (Erikson, 2016: 160). Erikson goes on to explain that 'the crudest of racial languages…is unabashedly antiblack' (Erikson, 2016:160). Also expressed within the play is 'a more subtle coded version of racial prejudice' (Erikson, 2016: 160). It is Erikson's acknowledgement of the distinct layers of prejudice that I identify and draw upon in Shakespeare's work which also speaks to socio-historical and later literary iterations of racism which devastatingly reaches the real-world experiences of the Windrush generation.

To investigate this study's central theme of 'place' in relation to Shakespeare, it is essential to trace Shakespeare's own migrations. Around time of James I's death and Elizabeth I's succession, the plague was encroaching on London and many theatres went through periods of closure and lockdown. In 1605 the King's Men, the company to which William Shakespeare belonged, toured provincial towns and villages of England. James Shapiro acknowledges the tendency to 'think of [Shakespeare] as an 'Elizabethan' writer, even though the last decade of his career was spent as a King's man under James' (Shapiro, 2016: 13).

The King's Men, of which William Shakespeare was a leading member, toured and performed in Barnstaple, north Devon. Records reveal that they were paid for their performance. The Barnstaple town accounts of 1389 – 1643, records a payment for performing in the town: '1605: Given to ye kyngs players beynge in town this year' (Maxwell, 1917: 14 - 15). The *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* also confirms that the touring performers visited Bath in 1596, Bristol in 1597 and toured Barnstaple between 1603 – 1605 (Maxwell, 1917: 14 -15). James Shapiro writes about their need to migrate from the theatres of London owing to

> the height of the [plague] outbreak…The long outbreak of the plague meant that the King's Men had to maintain themselves by touring through rural England's towns and visiting great houses (a royal handout of £30 also helped). Local records of their touring are spotty but there are payments to them between 1603 and 1605 for performances at Bath, Shewsbury, Coventry, Ipswitch, Maldon, Oxford, Barnstaple and Saffron Walden' (Shapiro, 2016: 27).

To converse with 'place' at the end of Shakespeare's career, we can compare and contrast with Peele's presentation of African women as we move further along the literary timeline to Shakespeare's late play in his representation of the African

woman, Sycorax, in *The Tempest* (1611). Through this play, I examine the various versions of 'place', such as Place/Sequence; Place/Geography; Place/Hierarchy; Place/Temporal. The African man, Caliban, is isolated and excluded where Prospero keeps him locked away. During Caliban's onstage interaction with Prospero in Act 1, Scene 2, he complains: 'here you sty me/In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me/The rest o'th'island' (1.2.145-147). In contrast, Caliban's African mother, Sycorax, is silenced. The dynamics between Prospero, Sycorax, and Caliban represent and echo the dynamics between Africa, Europe, and the emerging New World.

John Gay (1685 – 1732)

Moving into the late seventeenth century to the writer John Gay, born 1685 in Barnstaple, north Devon (the town the King's Men had toured and performed in), I examine the development of the presentation of black African characters and their real-world counterparts.

Gay's satirical work leads us into the eighteenth century with *The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly* demonstrating the chronological progression of the theatrical presentation of the fraught relationship between Africa, Europe, and the Caribbean. Gay exposes, reflects, indeed magnifies 'the decadent, rotted underbelly of a society that has lost its

direction, jettisoned all sense of values and is careering down a precipice' (Soyinka, 1994: 298) as he mocks the British government, upper classes and colonial plantation owners who exploit African people and the African diaspora. Gay's operas take us on a radical shift from the 'lowlife milieu' (Gladfelder, 2013: xxix) of London in his first opera to the plantations of the West Indies in the sequel, *Polly*.

Concluding points

Now that I have established the literary breadth of this thesis, I would like to draw our attention to themes and issues that recur across the literary conversation and in the depths of each text. Firstly, the representation of African people changes and transforms across the texts. Secondly, what coincides with these developments are the contemporary political and social contexts in which they are produced. Thirdly, and intertwined with the first two points is the geographical location of the plays, characters, writers' lives or their geographical influences. It is interesting to note, that across the lives of the writers and their characters Europe (more specifically the site of north Devon in England), Africa and the Caribbean repeatedly recur as significant sites of interest in every time period. Owing to the tripartite conversation that is instigated by these texts, a surface literary analysis will not suffice. Therefore, I

employ a multidisciplinary approach to investigate the interrelationships between these three strands.

Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions

Throughout this thesis, I will demonstrate that the transformative collaboration of literary, geographical and historical methodologies enriches the academic study of literature. To evoke a dialogue with the literary texts I have outlined above, I apply a similar methodology to an Historical Enquiry Questions which enable me to confront, challenge, and interrogate the texts. The Historical Association defines this as:

> A key cornerstone of history is historical enquiry. Quality history provision has historical enquiry at its heart. Through historical enquiry [we] can be shown how to ask questions, select and evaluate evidence and to make judgments about the past. It can also be a vital way of showing...that there is often more than one side to a story and that history is multi-perspective. Historical enquiry is all about asking questions or hypothesising about the past that we hope the evidence will help us to answer, but getting the enquiry question right is not always easy...to plan challenging enquiries...will help [us all] to develop as historians (The Historical Association).

To reject the 'single story' (Adichie, 2009, Ted Talk), it is essential to respond to the

questions raised in the text but further still to ask questions of the texts to unlock the

'multi-perspective'. As I have demonstrated in this introduction, the literature is

often a reflection of or deeply influenced by contemporary issues and concerns,

therefore, a 'Historical Enquiry' into and through the literature illuminates the text

and its context revealing their interrelationship.

Making judgements, hypothesising and evaluating the past is closely connected to

'where' the past events took place. In the next section, I will address the temporal

complexities of this study. However, here, I would like to consider the geographical

locations and investigations.

Geographical research examines location, place, human-environment, interaction,

movement, and region. Furthermore, geography studies give researchers the

opportunity to explore the interrelationships between people and place. Therefore,

the collision of migrations I outlined in the opening of this introduction (the literary

cross-cultural migrations, the eighteenth century shipwreck of enslaved Africans, and

the migration of the Windrush generation), will benefit from a geographical study of

the interconnectedness and their interrelationships. Throughout the literary

selection overview, I identified the connections between African, Europe and the

Caribbean. Moreover, I specifically discovered connections to north Devon, England for each writer and or text. Therefore, the 'Migration' chapter in Part One of this thesis is a site-specific study of migrations in and around north Devon and its connections to Africa and the Caribbean.

A significant addition to this geographical aspect of the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry is the research that I have undertaken in museums and on the coast of north Devon to incorporate archaeological discoveries as part of this study. The University of Nottingham confirm that geography and archaeology are 'natural partners for exploring questions' (The University of Nottingham), therefore, the questions that I ask in the Migration chapter are answered by the natural partnership of geography and archaeology. Furthermore, these discoveries directly link to key characters, events, and language within the plays of Peele and Gay.

Here, I seek to examine the theme of migration through several Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions: What role did Stukeley play in the real-world and imaginative-world migrations? To what extent are Ilfracombe and Barnstaple in North Devon significant sites of migration for early modern travellers and playwrights? More broadly, how significant is Devon for England's colonial migrations? To what extent are these geographical locations significant sites for later

migrations? How is this region a space of encounter and belonging for local and global identities? What were and are the social, cultural, and legal power dynamics in these cross-cultural encounters?

The Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions that I pose, here, opens possibilities to investigate migrations from the past through to the present, by demonstrating the interconnecting global and local relationships between England, Africa, and the Caribbean.

Temporal Methodologies

To gain further insight into the interrelationships between imaginative and real-world events, characters, and people, I have applied two temporal methodologies. In Part One, the two chapters trace the legacies, developments and continuities of autonomy, migration and transculturality from the early modern period to the Windrush generation. Part Two operates differently as a tool to compare the peaks and continuities between then and now which resonate with 'concerns that have only increased in relevance and urgency...given the growing ideological struggles for race, gender, and social equality – as well as the need for understanding across nations and religions' (Singh, 2019: 2).

Part One: Temporal Tracing

Autonomy, Migration & Transculturality from *The Battle of Alzacar* to the Windrush

By chronologically tracing real and theatrical migrations in the play and in the archives, the 'Temporal Tracing' approach to Part One of this thesis unlocks the opportunity to see migrations linked to the characters in *The Battle of Alcazar* by considering a wider range of migrations relating to these specific geographical locations linked to the play, subsequently providing context and a greater depth of understanding for the successive investigations.

A movement through time also creates a vivid historical and geographical fresco as the backdrop and framework for the rest of the thesis in my engagement with the theme of migration in the subsequent chapters. The literature of Part One initiates a dialogue with the autonomy of African characters and the real-world people they represent and are connected to. Through this conversation, Peele's work also speaks to the literature across the thesis by marking a significant starting point in the representation of African people and the African diaspora.

The chronological structure of autonomy and migrations related here also brings cohesion to the hidden themes and determinants of this fragmented literary, local

and global history.   Each migration is encoded with Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions which is a mechanism for the exploration of real world and creatively expressed cross-cultural connections and thematic resonances.

I will demonstrate the ways in which Ilfracombe and, more broadly, Devon have participated in and shaped cross-cultural encounters and periods of mobility continuing in our contemporary world which led to literature and theatre performances embedding, recreating and resonating with these themes and locations.

Part Two: Counterpoint

What speaks to and glimmers beneath the surface of the conversations between the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions that trace the legacies of the past, is the presence and urgency of *now*.   Hugh Grady and Terrence Hawkes in their edited collection *Presentist Shakespeares* confirm that 'the past speaks, it speaks always and only to – and about – ourselves' (Grady & Hawkes, 2007: 5).   There is a distinct conversation, here, between the past and the present.   I began this introduction by outlining my amazement and curiosity at my present and personal connections to the texts and the topics I have researched; the past is speaking to and about me. Therefore, analysing writers who were born where I was born (John Gay), touring

the very location in which I live and from where I write this thesis (Shakespeare) creates an immediacy and a tangible connection between then and now.

To converse with, structure, and compare the relationship between the past and the present, I apply Renaissance music as a metaphor for my methodological approach to temporal research. 'Counterpoint' elaborated and evolved in the music of the Renaissance era. In the discipline of music, 'counterpoint' is the relationship between two or more musical lines which are harmonically interdependent yet independent. The vertical dimension of music is the harmony, whilst melody is described as the horizontal dimension as it develops over time.

Similarly, the opening section of each chapter is a study of early modern plays. The second section of each chapter is a study of the Windrush period and explores how the same themes have continued or developed over time. The distinct studies within each chapter confirm their independent time periods, yet their relationship is clearly interdependent. Early modern plays rely on the present moment to give them life, continued relevance and resonance; simultaneously we are in *this* present moment because of the social, geohistorical, and literary legacies of the past. The separate analysis of *then* followed by *now* allows us to see each time period as an independent case study which recognises the temporal differences and developments. However, as

I show in each chapter, their interdependent dialectic relationship demonstrates the echoes and resonances that recur across the channel of time.

Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to offer a broad overview and outline the approaches, studies and perspectives on the concept of race in early modern literature. I have selected a range of texts from 1965 to 2022 to chronologically trace and demonstrate the achievements and development of the ShakeRace (Kim F. Hall) field over the last sixty years. Here, I also aim to identify areas that require further study.

Othello's Countrymen: The African in English Renaissance Drama is an important body of work published in 1965 and written at the significant site of Freetown in Sierra Leone by Eldred Jones (with the assistance of his wife). The opening chapter draws upon two texts published in 1555 which retell legends and traveller's accounts, which 'show a confluence of the sources of Englishmen's notions of Africa' (Jones 1965). The rest of Jones' book is literary criticism which surveys sixteenth century 'dramatic treatments of African characters' in plays from Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* to *All's Lost by Lust* written by William Rowley. As an early example of Africanism in literature and the subsequent 'ShakeRace' (Kim F. Hall) literary

criticism which followed, Jones' book alerts us to the possibilities of bringing non-fiction and fiction in dialogue with one another. However, the limitation of Jones' criticism is that it is now almost sixty years old and is confined to a study of the sixteenth century.

Continuing to survey the field of Renaissance criticism, almost two decades later appeared the oft quoted, cited, and analysed *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* by Ania Loomba. Loomba acknowledged at the time of writing that 'sensitivity to race, class and gender in feminist criticism...is still in its infancy' (Loomba, 1989: 1). Loomba's writing has been in dialogue with English A Level students, undergraduates, and postgraduate for many years through the theoretical route of feminist criticism, however, more recent criticism and the dynamics of gender studies has vastly developed. Through her 1989 book and subsequent publications, Loomba inserts herself and 'the context of...female Indian readers' into a dialogue with the 'cultural politics' of the 1980s which is at play with Renaissance drama. This is an early example of the 'subaltern' speaking (Spivak) to and with Renaissance literature. Although the assertion of Loomba and her female counterparts presents a potential model for such a dialogue, the geographical specificity of India's colonial

and patriarchal interaction with Renaissance literature restricts her now outdated work.

Seeking examples of the possibility of having further conversations between the treatment African people in early modern literature, John Gillies's 1994 publication *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* is a study which attempts to engage 'maps and metaphors' (Greenblatt, 1994) to consider the Shakespeare's geographical imagination. Unfortunately, the tone of Gillies conversation throughout and specifically with regards to his descriptions of mixed-race relationships and their children as 'the living sign of pollution' (Gillies, 1994: 109) served to uphold and reinforce negative views of African people, the African diaspora and 'Africanism' that he was writing of. Clearly, it is literary criticism of its time which did not expect to be in conversation with me and, for the future of our studies, people like me.

I hastily turned away from this critical approach and looked to Kim F Hall's seminal work *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* to find an alternative perspective and analysis of similar themes. Published in 1996, Hall asks Shakespeare's work to speak to 'the context of the elements of race, sexual politics, imperialism, and slavery which form a prominent set of "subtexts" to the play' (Hall, 1996). Hall broadens Jones' earlier literary criticism by considering

African-American feminism and female writers alongside the 'vital link' (Hall, 1996) between England's colonial expansion and cultural difference. Hall's work is now almost thirty years old and is bound by the scope of the Renaissance literature and the early modern period in England.

Shakespeare and Immigration, a collection of essays edited by Ruben Espinosa and David Ruiter, attends to the roles of hosts and strangers and their cross-cultural interactions in Shakespeare's work. The volume offers a range of perspectives on race and identity. The contextual connections between literary text and the sociopolitical influences of the early modern period have tantalising potential to speak to issues of immigration in our own time. Conversations that were particularly fraught at the time of the volume's paperback publication, which coincided with the 2016 UK Brexit vote, must lead to further interrogation in this study.

Ian Smith's work on *Race and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (2009) explores not only the visual racial difference but further still the linguistic representations of difference. His more recent work *Black Shakespeare: Reading & Misreading Race* (2022) considers the racial codes and 'blind spots' (Smith, 2022: 58-59) Ian Smith's *Black Shakespeare* averts our gaze from blackness by illuminating whiteness through his revelatory critique. As a racial category in society, Smith argues, whiteness evades

responsibility. Whiteness is permitted to hide unchallenged as a 'pervasive nonpresence' (Keating, 1995: 901-918) and exist 'uncontained' (Smith, 2022: 38) as a 'blind spot' (Smith, 2022: 58-59). Blackness, on the other hand, bears 'the burden of high visibility, racial attribution and cultural embodiment' (Smith, 2022: 85).

In the book's most compelling chapter, 'Hamlet: Playing in the Dark', Smith's enticing examination and rigorous scholarship challenges the weight of critical tradition turning modern criticism of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* inside out. Analysis of the play usually coalesces around the idea of 'inwardness' (Smith, 2022: 120) as Hamlet wrestles with his consciousness: 'To be or not to be' (3.1.58). Instead, Smith urges the reader to consider what it means 'to be', white. Hamlet's whiteness, which 'resides at the core' (Smith, 2022: 118) of the play, and his outwardness 'as a white prince' (Smith, 2022: 118) provokes a substantial rethinking. Referring to *Hamlet* as one of Shakespeare's race plays forces the reader to drastically reconsider and recategorize their unconscious allocation of race. However, I am interested in the cross-cultural encounters and collisions of what it means to be black, white or a combination of the two.

Throughout the book, Smith employs the expression 'blind spots' (Smith, 2022: 58-59) as a critique of the underexplored and a critical methodology to analyse race;

'visibility' (Smith, 2022: 85); 'a crisis in sight' (Smith, 2022: 56); and 'structural blindness' (Smith, 2022: 58). It is the 'reader's systemic failure to see whiteness' (Smith, 2022: 124), Smith asserts, 'due to the epistemological conditioning toward white invisibility that is a function of the racial blind spot' (Smith, 2022: 124).

Although this offers the field of Shakespearean criticism an astute and innovative approach to reinvigorate early modern race studies, I must address my discomfort with the use of terms relating to sight and blindness. Adopting the academic currency of Emily Pronin's work which applies the idea of blind spot 'to suggest bias' (Smith, 2022: 58) with the 'theoretical consideration of scotoma' (Smith, 2022: 58) to extend the book-length metaphor, there is a danger of developing a racial literacy which is not as inclusive or expansive as this arresting scholarship could be. I would also argue that the interminable forgetting of untold stories uncovered in recent years in works by historians such as David Olusoga and Miranda Kaufmann excuses the wilful and intentional silences, dismissal and exclusions as mere misplaced memories and optical illusions as opposed to the choices and decisions that are systemically made to maintain racial hierarchies and inequalities.

Ayanna Thompson's introductory chapter to the 2021 *Shakespeare and Race* collection, alludes to the discouragement scholars faced when observing 'race' in the

plays and within their sociohistorical context. Thompson writes: 'the answer to the question – did the concept of race exist during Shakespeare's lifetime – was an emphatic no.' (Thompson, 2021: 1). It is the need to demonstrate examples of race, which are often negative and derogatory, that has driven much of the field of race studies thus far.

Conclusion

Across the Literature Review, I have selected a range of literary criticism to acknowledge the decades of discussions on Shakespeare and race that I am joining. The scope of these works highlights the developments of literary race studies and confirms how established the field is. However, the review also serves to identify three clear gaps and tantalising avenues of research to expand our field further. Firstly, the studies are often limited to an analysis of a single period of time, usually across the limited span of Shakespeare's lifetime of 1564 – 1616. Secondly, where geographical locations are mentioned, such as Loomba's India or Gillies' myths and legends mapping, they do not offer an in-depth study of the geographies. Finally, there is a distinct lack of Shakespeare and race scholarship from the perspective of a Jamaican-British woman, therefore, this study offers a unique insight.

Methodologically, the literature reviewed so far follows a similar critical approach with each chapter centred upon a particular text. I also adopt this approach to initiate the conversation of each chapter. However, I depart from the limitations of a simplistic literary analysis by applying an interdisciplinary and intertheoretical approach. The *Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality: From Peele, Shakespeare, and Gay to the Windrush generation* Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry draws upon a historical, geographical, archival, archaeological, oral histories and museum repositories to address the questions rising from the literary texts. What follows, therefore, is a brief additional overview of literature which intersects with the range of disciplines and methodological approaches I apply here.

<u>Geohistorical Literature Review</u>

Imtiaz Habib's *Black Lives in the English Archives (1500 – 1677)* provides us with an invaluable database and documentary evidence of black people from Africa, or America, who migrated to England in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Habib's timescale of study broadens much of the Shakespeare and race literature available but is still limited to the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Part of the purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to pick up the baton passed to my generation of scholars by Imtiaz Habib in his work *Black Lives in the English Archives 1500 -1677*

to emphasise the existence of black people in the early modern world. Yet this project develops Habib's work further by exploring black lives from the early modern period as a counterpoint to the Windrush generation. Furthermore, I examine and celebrate the powerful existence of black people as autonomous human beings as part of the temporal dialogue. Significantly, this thesis considers the political, dynastic, and geographical dialogue between Africa and England *then* and *now*.

Peter Fryer's panoramic history of black Britons traces their presence from the year 210 until the new generation in the 1970s. As a chronology of the *Staying Power* of black British people, Fryer's book records key historical events that were impacted by and because of the presence of black people. David Olusoga's book *Black and British* updates and develops Fryer's work further by offering a black British perspective on our history in Britain. The benefits of Fryer and Olusoga methodically tracing a timeline of themes in both texts helps us to understand the cause and effect through the sequence of key historical events.

In contrast to the scope and scale of Fryer and Olusoga's work, Pat Barrow's book *Slaves of Rapparee* records the specific archaeological findings during his discovery of bones and coins relating to the 1796 shipwreck at Ilfracombe in north Devon. Barrow charts the potential triangular route of the ship, from Africa to the

Caribbean and eventually England, exposing the opposition to his discovery and sharing his difficult conclusions.

Barrow's work alerts us to the possibility that England's coast and countryside are potential places for critical re-evaluation. As Diane Dugaw acknowledges with regards to the work of John Gay, the writer

> takes up the pastoral in both senses of the term: that is, he writes work that 1)
> explicitly refer or conform to the literary genres connected to Virgilian rural
> poetry, the eclogue and the georgic and 2) express a more general
> preoccupation with the countryside and the ideology of its superiority as a site
> for critique (Dugaw, 2001: 92-93).

The focus on 'place', specifically north Devon, in this thesis initiates a conversation which critiques the coast and countryside's ideological superiority by revealing their colonial links and slavery connections which created much wealth for the upper classes of north Devon. The interconnectedness of significant historical events, archaeological discoveries, literature, and specific geographical locations recur across the thesis to contribute a unique voice to the field and demonstrate my findings.

Paul Gilroy's works *There Ain't No black in the Union Jack* and *Black Atlantic* are both sociopolitical texts which activate discussions around contemporary issues of

race in Britain and across the Atlantic. Gilroy speaks of identities as continually in the process of construction. This echoes the creation, expulsion and dissociation of the identities of the Windrush generation that I explore in Part Two, Chapter Three. Postcolonial studies and literature, such as *The Empire Writes Back* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, also belongs within the remit of this geohistorical review since it is concerned with expressing the history and geography of the colonised world through literature. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin assert that post-colonial literatures are 'writing by those formerly colonized by Britain' and other European powers. The collection asserts that 'the act of writing texts of any kind in post-colonial areas is subject to the political, imaginative, and social control involved in the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised' (Ashcroft et al, 1989: 29). However, this study considers what it means to research and write back in the location from which colonisers embarked to colonise my mother's birthplace, an island where my ancestors were forcibly transported to.

Conclusion

The locations, events and themes raised in the geohistorical and sociopolitical texts that I have surveyed speak directly to many of the issues identified in the literary criticism. Therefore, my Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry seeks to consolidate and

distil the Literary, Geographical and Historical fields of enquiry into a single study which will illuminate each area.

Across both the literary and geohistorical reviews, each critic takes a different approach of either tracing the legacies across time or pinpointing particular time period to interrogate. Owing to the breadth of the time span of my thesis, I shall adopt both approaches to re-member, re-connect, and reconcile the seemingly disparate triangulation of themes, epochs, and locations. To structure my findings and accommodate both the tracing of continuities and counterpoint comparisons, my thesis is structured in two parts.

PART ONE:

TRACING LEGACIES

Chapter One

Autonomy, Migration & Transculturality in George Peele's

The Battle of Alcazar

What is immediately striking of the Moroccan characters in George Peele's 1588 play is that they act according to their own decisions and their own desires. They are not victims of oppression but act according to their own agency as part of a monarchical system vying for power, just as any King or Queen of England would have faced when confronted with challenges to their throne.

Even before the opening scene of *The Battle of Alcazar*, the character list itself demonstrates the centrality of the geographical location of North Africa and the significant number of African characters. The play, set in Morocco, contains a character list of sixteen 'Moroccans' on the side of the rightful king. The characters include African Kings, African Queens, African sons, African captains, an African messenger, and African women. In stark contrast, there are only three English characters which further reinforces the unlikely possibility that the life and death of an Englishman would be particularly significant to the main action of an African play. Not only does the cast list emphasise the importance of the African characters, but the Presenter then begins the play by describing the main characters and explains

the key events about to unfold. The African King, Abdelmelec, is 'honourable and courageous' (1.1 Prol.4) whilst the traitor, Muly Mahamet, is a 'barbarous Moor,/The negro...that withholds/The kingdom from his uncle Abdelmelec' (1.1 Prol.6-8). Muly Mahamet 'usurps' the 'brave Barbarian lord Muly Molocco [Abdelmelec]' (1.Prol.1.11-12). The action, therefore, is centred upon and prioritises the African characters vying for power.

In spite of the significant African location and presence, the literary interpretations and the critical receptions often diminish the African role. For instance, in Charles Edelman's 2005 edited version of George Peele's play *The Battle of Alcazar* and (an anonymous) *The Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley*, Edelman titles the collection: *The Stukeley Plays*. The editorial decision, here, prioritises and foregrounds the 'antinationalist' (Bartels, 2009: 38), 'traitor' (Izon, 1996: 1), the 'wayward Englishman' (Bartels, 2009: 21), Thomas Stukeley (b.1525 - d.1578).

Similarly, in an attempt to clarify potential editorial mishaps and the practical compositional complexities of 'the dramatist writing his draft on paper which measured approximately twelve inches by eight: this seems to have been a common size, used in dramatic manuscripts of the period' (Wiggins, 2004: 19), Martin

Wiggins asserts an hypothesis and 'a new error' (Wiggins, 2004: 5) by suggesting that Scene 29 of *The Famous History* - in which Muly Hamet/Muly Mahamet Seth is victorious and secures the legacy of the African Kingdom – 'probably came first' (Wiggins, 2004: 20). If Scene 29 preceded Scenes 27 and 28, this hypothetical textual reprioritisation displaces 'the new Moroccan regime who gets the final say' (Bartels, 2009: 41) and attempts to place 'conquistador' (Izon, 1956: 16) Stukeley's 'farewell' (line 60, Scene 28) to England as a Eurocentric ending in the closing lines of the play. Yet, both *The Battle of Alcazar* and *The Famous History* are predominantly set in Africa and are about African monarchies, therefore, the playwright most likely resolved the play with the final words of the victorious African king to conclude the African play.

Although Edelman's title is questionable, the collection's internal structuring and editorial decisions also confirm that:

> Stukeley's death was to be shown before a report of it in the (fragmentary) victory scene, exactly as occurs in *The Battle of Alcazar*. There is nothing in the Stukeley-Vernon death scene that argues for its being the final episode – the eponymous heroes Richard III and Macbeth both die on the battlefield

before their vanquishers end the play with a victory announcement (Edelman, 2005: 48).

In addition to this, Nabil Matar confirms that the Stukeley contingent 'that had joined in the battle was so insignificant that contemporary Moroccan sources did not bother to mention it; nor had Polemon, who mentioned nothing at all about English military participation' (Matar, 2005: 17). Peele's source text *The Second part of the booke of Battailes fought in our age: Taken out of the Best Authors and Writers in Sundrie Languages. Published for the Profit of Those That Practise Armes and for the Pleasure of such as Love to be Harmlesse Hearers of Bloudie Broiles* written by John Poleman and published in London in 1587, only vaguely mentions Stukeley by his title amongst a list of those present and who died in the battle: 'Bishoppes of Coimbra and Portua and also the Popes Commissarie and many other spritiuall persons' and 'the Commissarie General sent by the Popes, the Marquess of Ireland, Christopher Tauora, and many other knightes and Gentlemen whome I doe omit for brevities sake'. Therefore, Stukeley's presence in the battle during the African play is unlikely to be the final voice of Peele's play when his name and the occurrence of his death were not significantly prioritised in the source material.

The most significant aspect of the need to re-prioritise Africa and the African characters is that *The Battle of Alcazar* is not only a play by George Peele which is set in Morocco, it is a creative interpretation based upon a real-world battle which took place in 'summer 1578 in a North African town of El-Ksar el-Kabir' during which 'two Moors and their accumulated factions fought for rule over the domains surrounding Marrakech and Fez (Morocco and Barbary)' (Bartels, 2009: 21). Details contained within the source material and interpreted by Peele are significant contemporary events which impacted African political rule, African trade, African countries and towns, transculturality within Africa, African monarchies and the fate of African people which are recounted and memorialised in these texts. Therefore, I seek to reclaim the textual analysis away from Thomas Stukeley through a study of the autonomy of African characters.

The 'place' of African characters, and the people they represent, is often dismissed and diminished in order to create a hierarchical dominance in favour of European characters. Peter Hyland considers the arduous process and 'the revaluation and relocation of repressed or marginalized perspectives...this work has shown how such voices have been misrepresented or even silenced in literary and cultural texts and in their critical reception' (Hyland, 1999: 85). Through the process of re-membering,

re-connecting, and reprioritizing that I have undertaken above, I expose and highlight the rightful 'place' of the African characters in the play. I offer, here, a disruption to the perpetual editorial, social, critical, literary, and hierarchical cycle of the Englishman as the central focus. Reclaiming and re-membering is a course of action that I will continue to take throughout this thesis to demonstrate the divisions that had taken place. I seek to unify the disparate elements. I would even go as far as to suggest that in the field of early modern race studies the assertion of the agency of African people and the African diaspora is essential to develop the scope of our field. Here, I initiate an enquiry into the autonomy of Peele's characters as a tool to celebrate and acknowledge their agency. Thus far perspectives on Peele's play have centred upon a narrow focus of the presentation of Muly Mahamet. This study broadens the literary analysis to offer new insight into Peele's work. Consequently, as the literary text is the starting point for the examination of autonomy across this body of work, I will also be sparking a dialogue with the agency of not only the literary character but also the real-world people they signify. In so doing, this chapter becomes a springboard to begin a conversation with later instances of autonomy amongst African people and the African diaspora that occur across the temporal scope of this chapter.

Autonomy

Autonomy is 'the right or condition of self-government'. According to Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804), autonomy is the right to make one's own independent decisions excluding any interference from others and is the ideal way of living. For Friedrich Nietzche (1844 – 1900), autonomy gives a sense of freedom and comes with self-responsibility. Whilst Jean Piaget (1896 – 1980), believed that autonomy comes from within and results from a free decision. In much scholarship on early modern migration and contemporary plays there has been a much-needed focus upon 'the demonization of foreign peoples and their customs, stressing an English perception of a radical difference between English subjects and foreigners' (Vitkus, 2007: 51). Throughout literary race studies of early modern plays and the conversations between the chapters of this thesis, I, by necessity, have written about the ways in which the presentation of African characters and the African diaspora are influenced and impacted by racialisation, demonization, and racism. However, this chapter centres upon a range of aspects of the autonomy and agency of African people and the African diaspora. The play holds examples of Autonomy/Humanity; Autonomy/African Women; Autonomy/Law and Politics; Autonomy/Religion; and

Autonomy/Ambition. The wide range of themes linked to autonomy that I explore here reveal the complexity of the characters and the real-world people they represent. I would like to note here, that free decision making does not always mean *good* decision making. However, the freedom to independently decide is worth exploring to avoid the 'single story' Adichie speaks of and to demonstrate multiple stories of African people and the African diaspora. Therefore, autonomy is a significant theme which recurs across this thesis.

Autonomy/Humanity

In *Black Shakespeare*, Ian Smith writes that whiteness is a systemic function which can 'rely on the privileges of being merely human' (Smith, 2022: 85) unlike those of us who are raced and consequently plundered of our humanity, as Ta-Nehisi Coates devastatingly reveals. In my reading of Peele's play, I experienced a striking encounter with the humanity of the African characters and the people they represent. *The Battle of Alcazar* provides the audience with an 'intergenerational dynastic struggle' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 33) which is a creative expression of contemporary political events whereby Muly Mahamet wants power and Abdelmelec wants his rightful place on the throne. In *Alcazar*, all African characters are allowed to experience all of their

humanness – their thirst for power; anger; desire to seek revenge; love; kindness; fear; sadness and courage.

In his exploration of Moors within the play, Edelman raises some important points of contention. He writes that:

> While Peele's presentation of the Moor in *Alcazar* represents a moment of genuine importance in the history of English drama, a key factor is missing. These Moors never reflect upon their own race, for they are in their own country; if the play has 'outsiders', they are the Europeans. Only when Aaron, the Prince of Morocco, and Othello reached the stage, each of them a single black man in a white man's world, would what Peele began come to fruition.
>
> (Edelman, 2005: 33)

I agree that Peele's play is hugely significant 'in the history of English drama' and the play does represent the 'starting point for the complex and fascinating representation of the Moor in early modern drama' (Edelman, 2005: 29), which is one of the reasons that *The Battle of Alcazar* is the starting point of this thesis. Furthermore, I would urge theatre practitioners to dramatize *The Battle of Alcazar* which is a play that would benefit from performance revivals because of its importance and the ways

in which it speaks to later occurrences of autonomy in the African community and African diaspora, which I will demonstrate in Chapter Two.

However, in the statement above, it is interesting to note that Edelman doesn't differentiate between the 'Moors'. He refers to the people of Morocco as having a shared racial identity – 'their race' – within 'their own country' in North Africa. Edelman goes on to assert that Eldred Jones' assumption that the villain was more 'heavily made up as black…is open to *every* doubt' (Edelman, 2005: 30). Similarly, in her recollection of the geohistorical factors of the play, Bartels describes Muly Mahamet and Abdelmelec as '*two Moors* and their accumulated factions fought for rule' [my emphasis] (Bartels, 2009: 21). Edelman and Bartels conclude that they are both Moors which appears to be consistent with Peele's writing of the play in which 'Peele eschews the use of the racial descriptor white for his heroic Moor characters' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 38).   Instead, Peele presents the characters of the North African country as one group of people with individual agency and autonomy; individual motives and motivations; individual perspectives and experiences.

Observing the collective term 'Moor' in Peele's literary text and the context in which it was written is not a tool to 'de-race' or present a 'race-neutral or race-blind argument' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 37) as Dadabhoy suggests. Instead, I seek to reclaim the

term 'Moor' and the much broader terms 'African' and 'African diaspora' in order to encompass, re-member, and reconnect the multiplicity of designations that spans literature, geography, history, and racial identities.

Just as the one drop rule that became enshrined in American law centuries later was used as a tool of social (dis)order and white supremacy to distinguish markers of phenotypical difference and inferiority, '[t]o distinguish degrees of Moorishness by shades of skin colour' (Edelman, 2005: 30) is challenging and futile.

The vast scope of 'Moorishness' in both the literary, geographical and historical contexts, in archival and theatrical documentary records, shows that there is a complexity to the term 'Moor' in the early modern period. Ambereen Dadabhoy writes that it is a word that 'possesses an elasticity that allows for it to be applied to a variety of people...contained within the term "Moor" then is a geographic distinction, religious differentiation, and color [sic] consciousness' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 33-34). As quoted and referenced in the introduction, Micheal Neill indicates that the term's 'notorious indeterminacy' (Neill, 1998: 364) might allude to a racial description or quite vaguely to a wide variety of people. Similarly, in the introduction, I quoted and referred to Jonathan Bate's exploration of the wide range of meanings implied by and attached to the word 'Moor'. However, with regards to

the plays examined here, the term usually alerts the audience to African, non-European characters and the real-world people they represent.

Returning to Edelman's assertion that the Moors never confront their own race because they are in their own country, is he suggesting that because 'they are in their own country' the Moors are released from the burden of race reflection and racism? Perhaps Edelman is also suggesting that racism is the 'fruition' and key factor that is 'missing'? Is it only when contrasted by a nation of Iagos that 'race' is apparent and relevant? Is Edelman suggesting that European whiteness creates blackness? If the latter is so, Edelman confirms what I have described elsewhere as a Contingent Strategy, that is, a framework which relies on (the negative portrayal of) blackness to emphasise (the positive portrayal of) whiteness. Which 'key factor' is Edelman suggesting that is 'missing' here? Without the Contingent Strategy framework (which only presents itself in majority white European nations as we begin to see in Shakespeare's plays) it seems that the agency and autonomy of the Moors become their distinguishing factor, which sheds new light on our perspective of early modern Moors.

Sadly, the audience is forced to ponder if the humanity and autonomy of the African characters is only made possible by the African location and African majority in the

play. In Peele's play, the absent gaze of the majority whiteness and the setting away from the geographical location of Europe means that the African and black characters can exist as *human beings*; as *people*; as people with autonomy.

Autonomy/African Women

In Chapter Three, I scrutinise how, in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Sycorax (an African woman from Algiers - which is the capital city of Morocco's neighbour, Algeria) is demonized through Prospero's language and Shakespeare's presentation of her life which is mediated through Prospero. To secure his position in the audience's imagination as hero of the play and at the height of the island's hierarchy, Prospero describes Sycorax as a 'damn'd witch' (1.2.265), 'hag' (1.2.271), and a 'foul witch' (1.2.259). Shakespeare's presentation of Sycorax continues to haunt Europe's imagination and the persistent representation of African women.

In a refreshing contrast, that preceded Shakespeare's distortion of her, Peele's *Alcazar* gives the audience the opportunity to experience the autonomous humanity (their thoughts, feelings, agency and autonomous desires) of African women through their stage presence and their words.

An acknowledgement of the physical *bodies* of African women and how they would have appeared onstage must be addressed at this point before I delve into the details of their linguistic presence in the play. The playhouse Plot, in Greg's description is:

> A schematic analysis of the entries and exits of the characters, with addition of the actors who filled the various roles and of the properties required...each consists, or presumably consisted, of a thin board with a sheet of stout paper pasted on either side. Each one that is sufficiently preserved [and was acquired by the British museum in 1836] shows a hole cut near the top for suspension on a peg (Greg, 1922: 15-16).

This ground-plan or 'call sheet' was listed by the Plotter as assigning the part of the Queen of Morocco, Abdil Rayes, to the actor Dick Jubie (Edelman, 2005: 25). Assuming that Dick Jubie was a white male actor, his face probably would have been made up with burnt cork and oil (Callaghan, 1996: 195). Jubie's 'hands could have been similarly painted or he might have worn black gloves' (Edelman, 2005: 30). Theatrical cosmetics to make white actors appear as black African characters continued for centuries after Peele's play. Henry Peacham's drawing of Shakespeare and Peele's collaboration of *Titus Andronicus* (1595) demonstrates the 'coal-black' (3.2.77) Moors that appeared on early modern stages:

Figure 1. Peacham's drawing of Aaron in *Titus Andronicus.*

Although the women of Africa in Peele's play are only presented in relation to their

husbands and within the confines of the patriarchal hierarchy of their sixteenth

century society, their presence and language in the play signifies an early example of

'Black women [who] forge self-definitions of self-reliance and independence' (Hill

Collins, 2009: 3). Although their language is mediated through Peele (a white,

English man with Devonshire heritage) it is essential to consider not only the creative

expression of the African women but their real-world presence and participation in

the historical events of the Battle of Alcazar. Furthermore, an exploration of these

characters as autonomous beings is a unique opportunity to expand literary criticism

relating to race and women of the diaspora, especially when many playwrights, critics

and historians often erase or silence their existence. For instance, Poleman's text only

briefly refers to the rightful King's wife as raising 'a son of 3 yeeres and an halfe olde, whose name is Ismaell and is brought up with the Queene his mother, the wife of Abdelemelec at Argier' (Poleman, 1587). Poleman does not expand upon her involvement in the legal or political negotiations in the way that Peele chose to in his creative expression of the real-world 'Queene'.

In Act One, the rightful king, Abdelmelec, welcomes Turkish soldiers asking the world to 'witnesse how I do adore/The sacred name of Amurath the great' (1.1.9). Acknowledging Abdelmelec's multilingual abilities, Poleman notes that Abdelmelec 'spake Spanish verie well…yet he tooke most delight in the Turkish tongue so that for the love of it, he cared not for the Arabian, the which was his mother tongue and wherein he was accounted for the most excellent poet of his time' (Poleman, 1587). The political alliance with the Turkish soldiers was made possible by Abdelmelec's ability to communicate effectively with them.

Additionally, both Abdil Rayes (Abdelmelec's Queen) and Rubin Archis (the widow of Abdelmelec's brother Abdelmunen) communicated with the Turkish soldiers when they spoke in 'variations on this kind of praise, calling Amurath "the God of Kings" and "God of earthly kings"' (Robinson, 2009: 409). Benedict S Robinson notes that there 'is something idolatrous in the way the Moroccans speak of

Amurath, but the resounding theme of these scenes is legitimacy' (Robinson, 2009:

409). I would develop this by asserting the significance of African women

participating in cross-cultural political and legal interactions, which confirms the

importance and value Peele's characterisation placed upon Abdil Rayes and Rubin

Archies, unlike Shakespeare and Jonson's later iterations of African women, which I

explore in Part Two, Chapter Three of this thesis.

Another significant demonstration of the value of African women in *Alcazar* is the

way in which they are aligned with gold, thereby emphasising their own value. In the

Prologue of Act Two, the Presenter speaks of their ability to honour a cross-cultural

ally with a statue made of gold:

The dames of Fez and ladies of the land
In honour of the son of Soliman,
Erect a statue made of beaten gold
And sing to Amurath songs of lasting praise (2. Prol. 38-41)

Furthermore, they speak of gifts of gold, as Abdil Rayes offers:

...we ourselves
To Amurath give, and fall before his face.
Bashaw, wear thou the gold of Barbary,
And glister like the palace of the sun
In honour of the deed thou hast done. (2.1.36 – 40)

These lines reveal the treasure that 'Barbary' (the coastal regions of North Africa)

holds, a valuable resource that would have been familiar to English audiences

through the African – English trading alliances that took place between Queen Elizabeth and African leaders. The simile 'glisten like the palace of the sun' (2.1.39) emphasises the natural, life-giving, God-like power and value of the gold she offers. African women rewarding the Turkish leader with such a gift was also a significant political stance. Rayes and Archies lavishly reward Bashaw's 'deed' of supporting their war against Muly Mahamet which was an important legal and political act undertaken by women to secure the monarchical rule and an attempt to create peace and stability in the region.

Now a widowed woman, Rubin Archies even offers to 'give and sacrifice her sonne' to Amurath, 'Not with sweet smoake of fire, or sweet perfume/But with his father's sword' (2.1.32-35). As a mother this is a significant sacrifice and an autonomous decision made to ensure the collaboration and support of the Ottoman Empire and secure the rightful line of succession for her family.

Unlike Jonson's Niger, who assists his weeping daughters by changing their skin and cultural heritage, Abdelmelec comforts them in Africa by urging them to fight for their African heritage and kingdom. 'Distressed ladies and ye dames of Fez', Abdelmelec declares, 'clear your watery eyes, wipe tears away/And cheerfully give welcome to these arms' (1.1.49-53) to secure and fight for what Rubin Archis

describes as 'the lawful true succeeding seed' (1.1.45). Here, African women are not

required to change themselves, convert or become white Westerners. Instead, their

African king urges them to be themselves.

Rubin Archis then goes on to speak and sing a call to arms to Abdelmelec and his

men:

> Of death, of blood, of wreak, and deep revenge
> Shall Rubin Archis frame her tragic songs;
> In blood, in death, in murder, in misdeed,
> This heaven's malice did begin and end (1.1.109- 112).

Abdelmelec reassures her that 'these rites to Abdelmunen's ghost [her dead

husband]/Have pierced by this to Pluto's grave' (1.1.113-114) and 'ring revenge

amain [with full force]' (1.1.115). Rubin Archis' agency has allowed her to

collaborate in legal and political matters, rally the troops in a call to arms to seek

revenge for the death of her husband. Similarly, the final victor, Muly Mahamet

Seth, urges the soldiers to 'fight in right of your anointed king' against 'this tyrant

traitor' (1.1.120-124), revealing the equal power and autonomy of the male and

female African characters.

Act One, Scene One ends with the voices of the African women. The Moroccan

Queen, Abdil Rayes, echoes the call to arms as she compels them to war:

Forward, brave lords, unto this rightful war.

How can this battle but successful be
Where courage meeteth with a rightful cause (1.1.131-133).

Rubin Archis closes the scene, wishing them to be 'successful in thy work thou undertakes' (1.1.135).

Although this is the final time they speak, Archis' song in addition to the African women's agency and powerful call to arms have indeed stirred not only the army but also the ghost of Archis' deceased husband. In keeping with the tradition of revenge tragedies which Shakespeare also applies to his 1600 play *Hamlet*, at the beginning of Act Two ghosts appear. '[*Enter*] *three Ghosts crying "vindicta"*' the stage directions state as the Dumb show begins to display 'Abdelmunen's grieved ghost' (2. Prol. 19) crying out: 'Revenge' (2. Prol. 19) with the Presenter explaining the soldiers' thundering battle as they seek 'vengeance on this negro Moor' (2. Prol. 3). In Poleman's text he asserts that 'they seem to be inspired by Mars and to run to battle like lion' (Poleman, 1587). In Peele's interpretation of this source text, it is the African women who have helped to call upon Mars, the god of war, to stir the army to victory.

At the beginning of Act Two, the perspective of the battle switches to Muly Mahamet's camp and we see and hear his African wife, Calipolis. Here, Peele plays

upon the source text's simile of being 'like a lion in battle' and demonstrates the

insightful wisdom of African women. Reflecting on their potential defeat, Calipolis

acknowledges to her husband and son their 'distressed estate' (2.1.17), their

'perplexed estate' (2.1.18). Feeling weak from the 'curses' and 'complaints' (2.1.19-

20), Calipolis says: 'I faint, my lord, and naught may cursing plaints/Refresh the

fading substance of my life' (2.1.21-22).

Believing in his father's power, their son appears to dismiss his father's wife's

concerns:

> Tush, mother, cherish your unhearty soul
> And feed with hope of happiness and ease,
> For if by valour or by policy
> My kingly father can be fortunate,
> We shall be Jove's commanders once again,
> And flourish in a threefold happiness. (2.1.41-46)

Yet, Calipolis knows Muly Mahamet is not fighting an honourable and rightful war
as she declares:

> But more dishonour hangs on such misdeeds
> Than all the profit their return can bear.
> Such secret judgements hath the heavens imposed
> Upon the drooping state of Barbary;
> As public merits in such lewd attempts
> Hath drawn with violence upon our heads. (2.1.63-69)

The word 'dishonour' troubles Calipolis as the noun violently clings to the verb

'hangs' which reveals her conscience that 'the heavens' will impose retribution upon

her husband's 'misdeeds' which has created 'the drooping state of Barbary' in his 'lewd attempts' to seize power from his uncle. Calipolis knows that Muly Mahamet's actions will be judged and bring 'violence upon our heads'.

Calipolis' wisdom and independent thought is gruesomely replied to by the stage direction of Muly Mahamet re-entering the scene '*with raw flesh upon his sword*'. He urges to her 'feed and faint no more' (2.3.70, 81, 94) which is repeatedly echoed across his twenty-five-line speech as he offers her entrails and the bloodied flesh of a lioness. These lines are 'parodied by Shakespeare in Henry IV "Then feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis/Come give's some sack" (2.4.176-7)' (Edelman, 2005: 88). In *The Battle of Alcazar*, the 'Meat of a princess, for a princess meet' (2.1.72) is rejected by Calipolis who feels 'too queasy to digest such bloody meat' (2.1.96).

The audience is urged to feel sympathy for Calipolis as we also feel disgust towards her husband's actions and blood-thirsty decisions. In spite of Calpolis's conscience and autonomy, she is trapped within the patriarchal system and war of her husband's creation. The audience realises that she will be a casualty of war, perhaps through death or as a 'spoyle' of war as Poleman confirms at the end of his account:

> The men, women, boyes, slaves and black Moores taken in this battaile by the Moores were in number above foureteene thousand and they being the next daie divided among the soudiours were carried into all provinces of Barbarie for as the Moores came out of all places to the battaile so everie man carried home with him his prisoners and spoyle (Poleman, 1587).

At this point, it would be beneficial to compare Peele's presentation of African women with Ben Jonson's representation of similar women so that we can get a sense of the stark contrasts.

Early modern performances of white actors appearing as African women occurred in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* which was performed 'at the court at Whitehall on the Twelfth night, 1605' (Jonson, 2001: 314). Although Jonson's masques should be 'independent of the anachronistic terminology of "race", "colour" and "prejudice"' (Gillies, 1994: 25), Floyd-Wilson confirms that Jonson 'succeeds in forecasting the eventual construction of racialism' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). Inigo Jones designed the set and costumes for the performance in which the masque's stage directions confirm that: 'The masquers were placed in a great concave shell-like mother of pearl' (Jonson, 2001: 315). Starkly contrasting with the whiteness of the shell, Jones accepted Queen Anne's request to allow her to perform

in 'blackface'. A member of the audience, Dudley Carleton, was disgusted by this 'very loathsome sight' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003), he declared upon seeing Queen Anne and the ladies 'so strangely attired' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003) in blackface. Floyd-Wilson refers to the 'incongruity of the pageant...Unable to reconcile the queen's "blackness" with the requisite laudatory tone of a court performance, scholars have decided that the masque is compromised' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). Following Jonson's reference to his sources and detailed description of the set design, the masque opens with a song:

> who, though but black in face,
> Yet are they bright
> And full of life and light (83-85).

The conjunctions 'yet' and 'but' within the opening song of *The Masque of Blackness* sever the connection between blackness and beauty, revealing the masques' opposing binaries. As Harp points out in the editorial note 'the common Elizabethan idea that black is not beautiful' (Harp, 2001: 317) demonstrates Jonson's implementation of the Contingent Strategy, proving the existence of a skin hierarchy and reflecting the inherited ideals rooted in racialised notions of female beauty. The nymphs, the opening song argues, embody virtue and vitality, 'they are bright/And full of life and light' (l. 84 - 85); they possess an inner purity, beauty

beneath and despite their black skin. Niger, 'in the form and colour of an Ethiop', as 'kind and careful' (l. 40 – 42) father and the nymph's defence against the masques' 'central conceit' (Meagher, 1966), attempts to argue for their beauty. Yet, Niger's daughters were not satisfied.

Although the migration of Jonson's 'Ethiops' (l. 139) implies an autonomous decision to leave Africa to seek a racial cleansing, their desire to reject and physically remove the pigmentation in their skin was based upon the desires of 'styled poets' (l. 131) and was instigated by the disparaging comments written by several 'poor brainsick men' (l. 132) who did not perceive beauty in their blackness. The implication is that their black skin, and by extension the African women themselves, are valueless. In the masque, the twelve African women (performed in 'blackface' by Queen Anne and her ladies) 'wept such ceaseless tears' (l. 146) because they were so desperate to transform from black to white. Niger, their father, travelled across 'three princedoms' (l. 172), finally arriving in 'Albion [the Greek name for Britain]' (l. 181) which is

> Ruled by a sun [King James] that to this height doth grace it,
> Whose beams shine day and night and are of force
> To blanch Ethiop and revive a cor's (l. 224 – 226).

By the end of the masque the African women's 'limbs' are 'o'er-lave' [washed clean] of their blackness and their weeping has ceased. 'The year gone round' (l. 315) suggested another masque would follow, but the next was produced three years later. In 1608, 'Lady Rochester of Raleigh took part in the Queen's *Masque of Beauty* at Whitehall' which was a sequel to Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*. Lady Rochester was the wife of Sir Robert Chichester, Lord of the Manor of Barnstaple, Devon. George Peele was born of a Devonshire family and Thomas Stukeley himself was born in Devon. In the Migration section of this thesis, I shall reveal further connections between north Devon and Morocco as well as the migrations from Devon to England's colonies. Here, I shall continue to consider the positionality of African women in dialogue.

In Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* the African women don't have any lines; the only sound we hear is the weeping of their 'ceaseless tears' (l. 146) and *The Masque of Beauty*, the musicality of a masque are the only sounds surrounding the African women who have turned white.

In stark contrast to the African women of Jonson and Shakespeare's plays, in George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, the African women are not only permitted to appear onstage and weep but also, crucially, to speak. In the counterpoint section of this

chapter based on the Windrush generation, I shall consider the ways in which patriarchal societies and black feminism shapes the experience of autonomy for black women and the African diaspora. Maria W Stewart asked: 'How long shall the fair daughters of Africa be compelled to bury their minds and talents beneath a load of iron pots and kettles?' (Hill Collins, 2009: 3). Stewart went on to urge, 'Black women to forge self-definitions of self-reliance and independence' (Hill Collins, 2009: 3).

As a result of my examination of the autonomy of African women in George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, I have revealed a broader interpretation of the play. Creating space for African women allows us to look at the text differently, especially as we move through the literary continuum of this thesis to compare and contrast their presentation. Additionally, it is important to show readers an inspirational and empowering take on African women of the past. African women who are the foundation for the present and future generations of African women and the African diaspora. The second half of this chapter continues the conversation of the empowerment of African women and the female African diaspora, as I trace the legacies into the real-world which echoes Peele's representation.

Autonomy/Law & Politics

The previous section explored the autonomous role of women in relation to political and legal interactions with Amurath's representatives. The political language throughout these scenes used by both male and female African characters 'emphasizes legitimacy and law in terms of the Moroccan succession' (Robinson, 2009: 409). Along the lines of A R Braunmuller and Hammood Khalid Obaid, I also argue that 'the central theme of the play [is] the question of royal succession' (Obaid, 2013: 58) and the legalities of Abdelmelec's succession, Poleman's contemporary account confirming 'the succession of sonnes' (Poleman, 1587). In Abdelmelec's preceding line of succession, their male African ancestors had autonomy to create self-governing rules and 'made a perfect law' (1.1.71). It was a law that would impact a country. It was not only a law made by a single ruler, but a community of leaders put forth their decree. It was agreed and 'confirmed with general voice of all his [African] peers' (1.1.72). The law stated that a 'kingdom should successively/His sons succeed' (1.1.73-74). These opening scenes 'consistently emphasize a form of rule that is sacred and legal' (Robinson, 2009: 409). Laws created by the autonomy of the African people for an African country were

legitimate and widely respected not only in the world of the play but also in Moroccan legal history.

Poleman's account outlines the instigation of this when 'the kingdome were come together at the citie of Marocco (the kings seate) and the king had proposed the matter unto Parliament: it was inacted by common consent that the kings sonnes should one succeede an other according to their age' (Poleman, 1587). Unlike England's rule of succession, Moroccan law 'does not follow primogeniture, but descent through the filial line, so that the son inherits from the father and is then succeeded by his brothers' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 33). The structure and organisation of their own country and its future makes this play an enticing insight into the governance of a country that was negotiating with Queen Elizabeth in the sixteenth century.

Poleman also reveals that Abdelmelec's father had children 'borne in lawfull wedlocke'; one 'was called Muley Abdallas, the second and younger of the lawfully begotten, were called Muley Abdelmunen and Muley Abdelmelec: the youngest of all was a bastard called Muly Hamet' (Poleman, 1587). It is the war between the legally legitimate and illegitimate children 'which were the cause of troubles and stirres in this kingdome', Poleman writes. In the play, the Presenter explains in the

Prologue that Muly Mahamet's father, Abdallas, broke the law of succession in an attempt to disinherit his brother:

> He labours to invest his son in all
> To disannul the law our father made
> And disinherit us his brethren
> And in his lifetime proclaims
> His son for king that now contends with us (1. Prol. 77-82)

Abdallas's son, Muly Mahamet is the 'traitor' who 'withholds/The kingdom from his uncle Abdelmelec' (1. Prol. 6-7) and seized the throne. The historical source confirms that 'doth at this day [at the start of the Battle of Alcazar, Muly Mahamet] possess the kingdome' (Poleman, 1587). Abdelmelec's desire to reobtain his legal, rightful place on the throne and seek revenge on Muley Mahamet resulted in Act One of Peele's history play reading much like a Senecan revenge play. The history-revenge polyphonic genre includes the voices of the real historical events as well as the voices of revenge tragedy especially with the arrival of a ghosts crying 'vindicta', just as Hamlet's father later asked of his son.

In *Britain and Barbary 1589 – 1689*, Nabil Matar explores how England was in a similar position to the Moroccan dynasty as Mary Queen of Scots had been accused of plotting the assassinations of the Queen as well as planning foreign invasion by Spain and France. A R Braunmuller suggests that Peele's play echoed 'England's own

succession problem and the execution of Mary' (Braunmuller, 1983: 79). English audiences would have been enthralled by this play as the fears and tensions it raised which echoed with the stability of their own world. Muly Mahamet 'loses his claim to the throne for reasons relating to his hereditary claim' (Obain, 2013: 80), confirming that the laws created were respected, enacted principles which governed the country. The play's resolution, therefore, would have been reassuring not only to a Moroccan audience but also the English audience who hoped for security and stability.

Owing to the promonarchial nationalistic political discourse of contemporary England, the terms 'rightful' and 'lawful' were 'familiar to English audiences and would become even more familiar as the queen aged and adamantly refused to name her successor' (A R Braunmuller, 1983: 79). Dynastic rule was also secured and influenced by political alliances. Matar suggests that the Elizabethan Moor plays began to appear

> soon after the arrival in England of delegations from Morocco: Moors on the streets of London in 1589, 1595 and 1600 led to Moors on the stage... Moors on the Elizabethan stage were not, therefore, just a product of literary invention, the European legacy of race discrimination, or biblical

denunciations of the sons of Ham: they were a direct result of England's

diplomatic initiative into Islamic affairs and of the negotiations and collusions

that took place between Queen Elizabeth and Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur

(Matar, 2005: 13).

Figure 2. Portrait of the Moroccan Ambassador, Abd el-Ouahed ben Massaoud ben Mohammed

Anoun.

I will address the religious reference to Islam in the Autonomy/Religion section of this chapter; however, at this point I would like to assert the autonomy of the Moroccan Ambassador and the Moroccan delegation which accompanied him to travel to England to undertake these negotiations. The British Library acknowledges that the Moroccan Ambassador, Abd el-Ouahed ben Massaoud ben Mohammed Anoun, visited Queen Elizabeth I to negotiate about the possibility of a military alliance, combining English and African forces to conquer Spain who were England's arch enemy. England's victory of the Spanish Armada of 1588 was a significant moment, but England relied on political alliances with African leaders to maintain and secure their position. Within the play, we can see the political alliances used to uphold or change the legal succession, such as the negotiations between Muly Mahamet and Sebastian, King of Portugal and on the opposing side with the legal right to be king Abdelmelec formed an alliance with the Turkish general.

So often, sweeping statements and generalisations, as Richard Dawden points out, are made about Africa and African people, yet here, within an African country Peele gives the audience an opportunity to see competing ideas, desires, and alliances: the autonomy of the African people that are rooted in historical, legal and personal desires.

Act 3, Scene 3 marks an important moment in the demonstration of the multiplicity of Moroccan people. The scene begins with the Governor of Tangier receiving a letter from the King of Barbary (Muly Mahamet). It is interesting to note that although Tangier (situated just along the coast from Sycorax's Algiers) is part of Morocco yet the governor had his own political autonomy to hold his own negotiations and alliances with the wrong side of the fight for legal succession. Tangier is a significant port in close proximity to Spain, therefore, Sebastian had successfully negotiated with the Governor to secure his easy access into Morocco to assist Muly Mahamet.

Poleman's account confirms that Muly Mahamet 'went towards Tangar, where he was courteously receaved into the citie by the Governour…[he] desired of [Sebastian] aide for to restore him unto his fathers kingdome. And because the govenour of Tangar was not ignorant that if he vsed [used] the King of Marocco courteously, that he should thereby well please the king of Portugall' (Poleman, 1587). The source material and contemporary records of the key events which inspired Peele's play confirm the importance of Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions and the interconnectedness of literature, history and geography as the playwright has also drawn upon historical documents relating to a specific place to create his literary text.

I will continue to apply and demonstrate the interdisciplinary connections across this thesis. Furthermore, this specific extract reveals the migrations of people and their cross-cultural interactions.

In keeping with this contemporary record, in the play the Governor of Tangier, Don de Meneses, confirms that 'we will entertain the King of Barbary' (3.3.4). The governor and people of Tangier acknowledge and accept Muly Mahamet as their king in spite of the questionable legality of his claim to the throne. They admire 'this manly Moor' (3.3.19), the Second Captain declares that 'Our men of Tangier long to see their king,/Whose princely face, that like the summer's sun,/Glads all these hither parts of Barbary' (3.3.23-25). This simile is echoed later by Jonson with reference to King James who is 'a sun' (Jonson, 2001: 320, line 224) 'whose beams shine day and night and are a force/To blanch an Ethiop' woman converting her from black to white.

There is a Christian religious influence suggested through these similes representing them as the sun which the contemporary European audience would have been familiar with. The implication is that the monarch has absolute power and authority. The King or Queen has been appointed by God to rule both spiritually

and politically through their divine right, attempting to justify their legitimacy and authority.

Daniel Vitkus describes the tragedy of *Othello* as 'a drama of conversion' (Vitkus, 2003: 77) and explores the different aspects of conversion in Shakespeare's works. In the following section, I shall consider Autonomy/Religion to examine further religious influences, fluctuating religious alignments, Stukeley's religious conversions and the Governor of Tangier's desire to convert people in Africa.

Autonomy/Religion

Within the Governor's autonomous remit to decide and instigate political alliances for the area under his jurisdiction, Don De Meneses has also decided and asserted their religious allegiances. The Governor's autonomous decision to follow and instil Christianity in Tangier, a region in Morocco, is different to the religion of Abdelmelec, the rightful King of Morocco's religion. Poleman's contemporary account of the battle confirms that although Abdelmelec 'professed the religion of Mahamet [the founder of Islam] yet he also loved the Christians' (Poleman, 1587). It is interesting to note that although Abdelmelec would have been a Muslim, within the play Peele assigns to Abdelmelec the language of Christianity, Greek mythological gods and religious flattery of a Muslim King such as the repetition of: 'To pay thy

due and duties though dost owe/To heaven and earth, to gods and Amurath' (2.1.9-10). Here, he is calling for spiritual and military support. Furthermore, he asserts that the Gods (plural) shall protect and redeem him: 'the gods shall pour down showers of sharp revenge' (1.1.88) upon his nephew. Abdelmelec received the support of Muslim Turks who reaffirms the polytheistic beliefs when Calsepius Bashaw, general of the Turkish army states that: 'Called for is Abdelmelec by the gods/To sit upon the throne of Barbary' (1.1.128-129). This suggests that they do not follow a single deity. Muly Mahamet, on the other hand, called upon the Christian King Sebastian of Portugal who subsequently appealed to the King Philip of Spain (otherwise known as the Catholic King and Protestant Queen Elizabeth I's enemy) for assistance in his war. Although Muly Mahamet is often assigned to Islam, he aligns his soul, manner and actions with a religious and spiritual combination of Christianity, paganism and astrology when he asserts that 'Pluto, with his mace/Ding down my soul to hell' (3.4.25-26). Furthermore, he proclaims that: 'I perform religiously...I have holily erst underta'en' (3.4.28-29).

The religious multiplicity in the play is significant because it confirms and demonstrates the autonomy of Moroccan people to make their own decisions, religious alliances, assign their own values, beliefs, and religious practices. Such

agency and power of not only characters in a play but in the real figures in Africa's history is an example of the complexity of the region that is so often overlooked, dismissed and silenced as a 'racial blind spot' (Smith, 2022: 55) in literature and history.

Additionally, the polyphonic religious complexity in the play, within the geographical area of Morocco, political alliances, and the historical record confirms the 'cultural mixture and exchange permitted by the Ottomans and conducted in other Mediterranean entrepôts…[was] unlike the rigidly compartmentalised and divided societies' (Vitkus, 2003: 7) of Europe. Rigid religious practices of Shylock and Othello's Venice, *The Tempest*'s unnamed island, and Tudor England attempted to create a single, dominant religion. Perhaps the religious multiplicity of North Africa was unsettling for England's Elizabethan and Jacobean authorities and audiences.

Robinson notes that 'the motive for Ottoman support of Abdelmelec is simply the restoration of rightful authority' (Robinson, 2009: 409). These alliances are not motivated by religious clashes but legalities that 'confound religious categories' (Robinson, 2009: 409). The religious categories, therefore, are just one aspect of the

total sum of the humanity of the African people and their allies which further

demonstrates the complexity of their humanity.

In Act 3, the Governor of Tangier's First Captain declares that:

In brave Sebastian our Christian king

To aid this Moor with his victorious arms,

Thereby to propagate religious truth

And plant his springing praise in Africa (3.3.15-18).

These patronising declarations to conquer Africa and 'plant' Christian evangelism

and 'religious truth' on the African continent, suggests that the beliefs of African

people are not valid and only Christianity can be the 'religious truth' and dominant

religion. Such views would have been familiar to the early modern theatre going

audience as they echo one aspect of the colonialist mission which was to convert non-

believers. Queen Elizabeth I's expulsion proclamation complains that most of the

'blackamoors…are infidels having no understanding of Christ or his Gospel' (Hughes

& Larkin, 1963-69: 221). Earlier, I addressed the terms, contentions and distinctions

of 'Moor', here, I would like to continue to consider religion in *The Battle of Alcazar*

and within the context of early modern colonialism and religion.

In 1625, Charles I's 'Proclamation for the settling the Plantation of Virginia'

confirms such an expedition:

> The Colonie of Virginia, Planted by the hands of Our most deare Father of
>
> blessed memory, for the propagation of Christian Religion, the increase of
>
> Trade, and the enlarging of his Royall Empire (Vitkus, 2003: 5).

In addition to increasing 'trade' and 'enlarging' the empire, the 'propagation of

Christian Religion' is the same religious motivation we see in *The Battle of Alcazar*.

Daniel Vitkus writes that 'at the same time that they [European colonisers] were

developing trade in African slaves, the English forced the problem of their own

people being captured and enslaved'. In Chapter Two of this thesis, I investigate the

voyages which led to cross-cultural encounters and the subsequent (free and

enforced) religious conversions. The questions that were raised in early modern plays

and 'the collective anxiety about religious conversion' (Vitkus, 2003: 77) would have

resonated with the audience. This crisis of conversion also led many early modern

playwrights to demonise representations of the Turk. The threat of Turkish

invasion looms over the first part of Shakespeare's *Othello*. The demonisation of

Shakespeare's Shylock because he is Jewish forces the character to assert his

humanness: 'I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions; fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?' (3.1.49-54). The vilification of other religions, their followers and patrons is also indicative of the rigidity of Elizabethan and Jacobean Christianity that influenced Peele's life in England. Writing this play, therefore, was a courageous act.

As I have demonstrated with regards to the Moroccan characters and their allies, Peele's treatment and presentation of religion and religious conversion is somewhat different to Shakespeare's. In *Turning Catholic* Joanne W Roby notes the multiplicity in the 'interactions between Protestantism, Catholicism, and Islam – between England, Spain, Portugal, the Ottomans, and Africans on the Barbary Coast – reflects the tumultuous, unstable geopolitical world at the end of the 16th century' (Roby, 2011: 42). I would argue that religious instability and fluctuations are signified by a Devon born Englishman: the religious convert Thomas Stukeley. Unlike Sebastian and the Governor of Tangier who are firm believers in the 'religious truth' of their faith, Stukeley has royal (as opposed to religious) ambitious motives

for turning Catholic, then swiftly switching religious alliances to the Christian King of Portugal's army 'to die with honour for Sebastian' (2.4.143).

As I explore in the 'Migration' section of this thesis, when leaving England's shores Stukeley would have been aligned with the Queen's Protestant religion. However, by the time Stukeley arrives on the shores of 'Lisbon' (2.2.1) in Portugal, Stukeley has switched to Catholicism, is leading 'his Holiness' fleet' (2.2.7) accompanied by an Irish Bishop and are on their way to 'Ireland by Pope Gregory's command…so restore it to the Roman faith' (2.2.12-16). Stukeley's accompanying crew - the Irish Bishop, Jonas, and Hercules - are willing to fight for the religious truth they believe in. Declaring that they must 'respect the effects and touch the soul' for the Catholic crew it is a 'matter of conscience and religion/And not desire of rule or benefit' (2.2.45-47). Furthermore, Jonas adds that: 'as the Bishop said/We may not turn from conquering Ireland' (2.4.152-153), which Hercules confirms that they must not 'neglect our vows' (2.4.154). Stukeley's lack of religious conviction and belief in one religious truth affords him the spiritual and ambitious fluidity that repeatedly 'shapes his course anew' (2.4.167) by switching to help Sebastian 'plant the Christian faith in Africa' (2.4.165). Peele emphasises the Elizabethan audience's anxieties surrounding the ability to treacherously and covertly convert through the character

of Stukeley. I shall consider Stukeley's motives for conversion further in the Autonomy/Ambition section of this chapter.

Peele also mirrors the audience's fears of Muslims, 'unbelieving' characters (1. Prol. 32) and 'infidels' (Queen Elizabeth I quoted in Fryer, 2018: 10) as a 'parallel to the fears surrounding Catholics' (Roby, 2011: 26). Initially, the Spanish Ambassadors declare that the King of Spain will 'do with your majesty [the Christian King Sebastian of Portugal] all the good he can/With men, munition, and supply of war,/Of Spaniards proud in King Sebastian's aid,/To spend their bloods in honour of their Christ' (3.1.13-16) which suggests a powerful Christian/Catholic alliance. Peele then re-presents the historical figure of the King of Spain, Philip, as a 'traitor', a characterisation which would have pleased Queen Elizabeth I. King Sebastian declares that 'in Spain...all the traitors dance' (2.4.120) which references the Catholic King Philip of Spain's decision to renege on his promise to help Sebastian's oxymoronic 'Christian holy war' (2.4.135) – a war which dismisses the principal belief of God's peace loving will.

Considering the religious aspects of the play has highlighted the autonomy of African people to follow and even combine religious truths. The play also demonstrates the ways in which a society may host a variety of religious practices.

Peele also reveals the tensions and instability caused by religious differences and anxieties surrounding conversion.

Autonomy/Ambition

Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* is significant because of the playwright's own ambition to recount and creatively express the dynastic wars and political alliances that occurred during his lifetime.

Earlier in this chapter I argued that unlike Shakespeare and Peele's collaborative text *Titus Andronicus* and Shakespeare's *Othello* which 'take a darker turn' *because* they position 'the Moor within Europe' (Bartels, 2009: 44), *The Battle of Alcazar* can focus upon the autonomy of African people *because* the playwright locates the play in Africa and prioritises African people. The geographical location and the vast number of African characters included in the play, allows Peele to present a wider range of characteristics and ambitions, as opposed to creating one stock caricature of the Moor, such as Othello, who is portrayed as 'the threatening Violent Black Man type that was singled out for moral condemnation and aggressive containment' (Smith, 2022: 156). I shall explore the character of Othello later in this thesis. Here, I shall examine how the autonomy and agency of a range of characters in Peele's plays

allows the audience to see the complexity of their humanity by revealing their ambitious desires.

In the play, there is a 'brave' (5.1.31) 'Moor', an 'honourable and courageous king' (1. Prol. 4) whose ambition it is to secure his place on the throne. Abdelmelec, also known as Muly Molocco, is the rightful King of Morocco and his ambition is to reobtain 'the royal seat and crown of Barbary' (1.1.8). This is not a selfish ambition but an ambition to maintain the legacy and 'perfect law' (1.1.70) created by his father and grandfather who 'strongly plant[ed] himself in Barbary' (1.1.64-67). Abdelmelec says he 'crave[s] to reobtain my right' (1.1.83), therefore, he goes to war with his nephew, Muly Mahamet.

Characterised and regularly described as 'brave' and a 'thrice noble lord' (5.1.31), with the law on his side and the righteousness of his ambition, the audience roots for Abdelmelec's success. Weaved into Abdelmelec's autonomous ambition is also the ambition of 'the gods' (1.1.128) who have 'called for' Abdelmelec to fight against 'these Barbarous rebels' (1.1.127-128) for his life, ultimate success, and succession. Abdelmelec is a fierce fighter who 'rageth as a lioness/In rescue of her younglings from the bear' (1.2.69-70) in his ambitious quest. By Act 2, Scene 1, Abdelmelec was successful in the initial phase of the battle, declaring that his ambition has been

realised 'wherein our Moors have won the day,/And victory, adorned with fortune's plumes,/Alights on Abdelmelec's glorious crest' (2.1.7).

Abdelmelec sought victory over Muly Mahamet who has 'disannul[led] the law our father made/And disinherits us his brethren' (1.1.80). Muly Mahamet is described as a 'tyrant king' (1.Prol.4), a 'negro...black in his looks and bloody in his deeds' (1.Prol.7 & 15) with 'ambitious tyranny' (1.Prol.34). Mahamet's blackness is emphasised to invoke the early modern conflation of blackness and evil.

Furthermore, Muly Mahamet's tyrannical ambitions are selfish and dangerous not only for the people of Morocco but also his European allies too. It was his father's ambition to 'see the change: He labours to invest his son [Muly Mahamet] in all' (1.1.77-78) which resulted in the death of Abdelmunen.

Even the African ghost of Abdelmunen had ambitions to seek 'vindicta' (2. Prol. 8) and 'revenge' (2.Prol.19) upon Muly Mahamet. He is alled upon by widows and African women, 'dames of Fez' (2. Prol. 38), whose goal is to honour the death of their husbands. Furthermore, they are women who interact with kings and leaders to seek stability and protection, as discussed in the Autonomy/African Women

section of this chapter, which reveals their ambitions to maintain powerful political alliances in the interests of their region of Africa.

Poleman's description of the victorious king who led Abdelmelec's army to victory is described in relatively deprecating tone:

> King Hamet, an artlesse man, not caring for martiall matters nor such an one as was fit for to upholde the dignitie of a king but contrariwise effeminate, nice, given to delicacies, delyghtes and pleasures and lurking at home in the palace…He was then about nine and twentie or thirtie yeeres of age of coulour blacke, not bigge, but yet fause and weake and of no strength and much less skilfull of things…altogether unlike his brother Abdelmelec for he was of a meane stature, of a fine proportion of bodie, with brode shoulders, white face, but intermixed with red, which did galantlie garnish his cheeks, a blacke beard thick and curled, great eies graie (Poleman, 1587).

Despite the comparisons between the brothers, in the play Peele presented Muly Mahamet Seth as an honourable man with ambitions to protect Morocco from his tyrannous nephew and anyone else who threatened the peace and stability of the African region. In the closing act, Seth rallied his troops by protecting them from the news of Abdelmelec's death so as not to dishearten them:

Seth: Let not his death be bruited in the camp
Lest with the sudden sorrow of the news
The army wholly be discomfited.
My lord, Zareo, thus I comfort you:
Our Moors have bravely borne themselves in fight
Likely to get the honour of the day,
If aught may gotten be where loss is such.
Therefore in this apparel he died
My noble brother will we here advance,
And set him in his chair with cunning props,
That our Barbarians may behold their king
And think he doth repose him in his tent.

Zareo: Right politic and good is your advice. (5.1.42 – 54)

Through Seth's words, even the ambition of the soldiers is revealed to the audience.

The 'Moors have bravely borne' suggests that their ambition is to be brave,

courageous fighters to win for their rightful king.

Muly Mahamet Seth's final ambition is to warn others not to attempt to disrupt the

line of succession. He wants 'the violence of [Muly Mahamet's] end' (5.1.248) to be

a lesson 'that all the world may learn by him to avoid/To hale on princes in injurious

war' (5.1.249-250). The stark warning is then displayed in a 'solemn march'

(5.1.258) of Muly Mahamet's 'skin…parted from his flesh,/And being stiffened out

and stuffed with straw/so to deter and fear the lookers on/From any such fool fact or

bad attempt' (5.1.251-254). Muly Mahamet Seth is the final character to speak

which leads the audience to imagine the Moroccan world beyond the final frame of

the play. The ending is therefore in keeping with the historical accuracy in which he reigns in the African region throughout the years of Queen Elizabeth's corresponding reign.

The European characters contrast starkly with Abdelmelec. Sebastian, for instance, is motivated by winning the 'kingdom' (3.4.9) for Muly Mahamet and his ambition for himself is 'to propagate the fame of Portugal' (3.1.9) and the 'Fame and performance of those promises/That in faith and royalty thou [Muly Mahamet] hast/Sworn to Sebastian King of Portugal' (3.4.10-12). Sebastian also states that his goal is 'to enlarge the bounds of Christendom' (3.4.16). Additionally, Sebastian hopes to marry 'the peerless dame' (3.1.37) and accept the offer made by the King of Spain, which the Spanish Ambassadors brings news of:

He maketh offer of his daughter Isabel
To link in marriage with the brave Sebastian
And to enrich Sebastian's noble wife
His majesty doth promise to resign
The titles of the Islands of Moloccus,
That by his royalty in India he commands (3.1.22-27)

Whilst Sebastian seeks 'fame', Thomas Stukeley's ambition is: 'To follow rule, honour, and empery' (2.2.29). In this way, Stukeley 'uses "follow" in the sense of "strive after", with "empery" being "the status, dignity, or dominion of an emperor" (Edelman, 2005: 83). In Act 2, it is revealed that Thomas Stukeley was tempted to

renege on his promise to conquer Ireland 'by Pope Gregory's command' (2.2.12).

Being sent with 'his Holiness' fleet' (2.2.7) Stukeley wishes to 'turn from conquering

Ireland' (2.4.152). The Pope and Irish Bishop's ambition is to 'restore [Ireland] to

the Roman faith' (2.216), they believe their ambition is a 'matter of conscience and

religion,/And not desire of rule or benefit' (2.2.46-47).

In the following soliloquy, however, Stukeley reveals his real motives:

> There shall no action pass my hand or sword
> That cannot make a step to gain a crown,
> No word shall pass the office of my tongue
> That sounds not of affection to a crown,
> No thought have being in my lordly breast
> That works not every way to win a crown.
> Deeds, words and thoughts shall all be as a king's,
> My chiefest company shall be with kings,
> And my deserts shall counterpoise a king's.
> **Why should not I then look to be a king?**
> I am the Marquess now of Ireland made
> And will shortly be King of Ireland.
> King of a mole-hill had I rather be
> Than the richest subject of a monarchy.
> Huff it, brave mind, and never cease t'aspire,
> Before thou reign sole king of thy desire.   (2.2.69-85, my emphasis)

Stukeley's rhetorical question confirms his ultimate ambition which motivates his

religious conversions and migrations that I examine in the Migration chapter of this

thesis.

By reflecting further on the wide range of autonomous ambitions of the African characters, I have demonstrated and emphasised the complexity, multiplicity, depth and breadth of African people, and consequently the African diaspora, as a means to emphasise Peele's (and my own) ambition to dispel the myth that African characters, African people and African societies are monolithic.

Tracing the Autonomy of African People & the African Diaspora

Many early modern studies of race in literature have been forced to address the victimisation and confront the demonisation of African people. These studies have been invaluable to the development of the field by confirming not only the existence of race in the early modern period but also the process of race-making. However, I argue that such a narrow scope serves to reproduce and reiterate the process of, what Fields and Fields describe as, racecraft. That is, the social construction of rules designed to promote 'ways of thinking and structuring the world to create inequalities' (Thompson, 2021: 10). In this study, I seek to broaden the field and extend the study of the representations of African people and the African diaspora by considering new avenues of interdisciplinary research in an attempt to change the narrative and change the trajectory.

At this point I must acknowledge that it is simplistic and reductive to make sweeping generalisations about the continent of Africa and its people. As Richard Dawden states 'Every time you say "Africa is..." words crumble and break. From every generalisation you must exclude at least five countries. And just as you think you've nailed down certainty, you find the opposite is also true. Africa is full of surprises...poverty, disease, war...breathtaking beauty, generosity and possibility' (Dawden, 2019: 1). I would also add to this that the multiplicities and complexities of geography, race and religion within individual African countries and across the continent reject simplistic and sweeping denotations.

Toni Morrison uses the term 'Africanism...as a term for the denotive and connotative blackness that African peoples have come to signify...as a trope...a disabling virus within literary discourse' (Morrison, 1990: 6-7). In this study, I observe and examine tropes and patterns of Morrison's 'Africanism' as I trace the literary, geographical, and historical significance of these themes. Through the process of addressing Literary-Geohistorical enquiry questions, this thesis seeks to be part of the movement to re-member, reconcile and re-connect the multiplicity of African people with the multiplicity of the African diaspora.

In the opening of Part One, Chapter One of this thesis, George Peele's literary text was based upon real-world people and events which took place in Africa in the middle of the sixteenth century. Subsequently, Peele's play instigated a conversation between the representation of African people in the theatrical world and the real-world. The tripartite conversation between the literary, geographical and historical interrelationships sparked an enquiry into the creative expression and real-world instances of the autonomy of African people.

Here, I seek to delve into the archives and historical accounts of the real-world people who inspired Peele's work. Further still, I seek to trace the cross-cultural encounters and interactions between Europe and Africa to consider their interconnectedness. In addition to this, I am drawn to the ways in which the agency and autonomy of African people may have continued, developed and spread as African people forcibly and freely migrated. Peele's literary work, therefore, has provoked several Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions that this chapter seeks to answer.

How did colonialism and cross-cultural encounters between Europe and Africa impact and influence the autonomy of African people and the African diaspora? Were there instances of agency and autonomy across time? How does tracing autonomy link to earlier examples in Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* and its historical

context? What impact does the geographical location have upon the autonomy of the African diaspora?

Peter Fryer's *Staying Power* and David Olusoga's *Black and British* demonstrate the benefits of tracing a timeline and the sequence of events to establish connections and track the progression of themes across time. Through Fryer and Olusoga's chronological tracing the reader has been able to make connections between the experiences of black people across time. Viewing the set of events in this way also allows us to establish developments and continuities. Therefore, in this section of the study, I adopt a similar chronological methodology to trace the autonomy African people and the African diaspora across time. Here, I also consider how significant migrations influenced and impacted them through the alteration of locations and sites of agency.

Europe, Africa and Caribbean Interrelationship and Interconnectedness

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Portuguese merchants and sailors explored Africa, under the guidance and rule of John III of Portugal (the grandfather of King Sebastian of Portugal who was killed in the Battle of Alcazar). John III (b. 1502 – d. 1557) oversaw Portuguese colonies across its far-reaching empire. Meanwhile, Spanish sailors and those employed on behalf of the Spanish crown explored and

colonised the Americas. Jamaica was the Caribbean Island 'that Christopher Columbus had claimed for the Spanish crown in 1494' (Olusoga, 2021: 146). At the beginning of the year 1510, King Ferdinand of Spain (the grandfather of King Philip of Spain connected to the Battle of Alcazar) sent letters to the Spanish governor of Hispaniola [modern day Haiti and Dominican Republic] and a second letter to leaders at the House of Trade in Seville (Olusoga, 2021: 119). In both letters, King Ferdinand of Spain 'confirmed his decision to send' (Olusoga, 2021: 119) slaves to Hispaniola, an island just a few hundred miles from Jamaica. Thus, the Portuguese and Spanish dominated the trade in African people across the middle passage of the Atlantic slave trade triangle and intensified the colonisation of the Americas. A trade which ultimately bought, sold, transported, and enslaved millions of African people. Jamaica was under Spanish colonial rule throughout the sixteenth century. During this time, Spain had brought huge numbers of enslaved African people to work the plantations on the Caribbean Island of Jamaica that Spain had colonised and claimed as their own.

In 1655 British sailors and colonisers, Admiral Sir William Penn and General Robert Venables and their crew, went on an expedition to the Caribbean and arrived in Jamaica in an attempt to seize the island from the Spaniards. During the Spanish and

British battle for control of the island, many enslaved African people escaped from the British and Spanish plantations and hid in the mountains of Jamaica. They joined the native Taino people of Jamaica and set up communities of their own. The groups of escaped enslaved African and Taino people were called Maroons. There were two large groups of Maroons living in the mountainous regions of Jamaica: the Leeward Maroons who lived in the mountains on the west of Jamaica and the Windward Maroons who lived in the mountainous region to the east of Jamaica. There were conflicts between the Maroons and colonial troops who attempted to recapture escaped slaves, however, the Maroons fought successfully to maintain their free communities.

Through this chapter's exploration of their bolt for freedom, coalitions, and community building among the natives and escapees, we can see connections and similarities between their industriousness, independence and autonomy that became illuminated to us through my analysis of the African characters in *The Battle of Alcazar*. In this section on African-Caribbean Autonomy, it is through the story of the African diaspora and Jamaican people that we can begin to see the ways in which the autonomy of the African people in Peele's play (which is a creative expression of

African autonomy through the real-world battle to uphold the law of succession and secure the rightful crown) persisted.

Peele's play also revealed to us the literary and historical interconnectedness between the European royalty of Portugal, Spain, and England with the African monarchy in Morocco. The power dynamics of the African-European forces shifted when enslaved African people were forcefully transported to the Caribbean, where European powers were in control. However, I argue that the autonomy of African men and women that was expressed in Peele's play, continued and persisted to influence the instigation of laws and ultimately the freedom of the African diaspora as they migrated (forcefully and freely) to the Caribbean and England from the early modern period through to the Windrush generation and their descendants.

Philip Sherlock and Hazel Bennett write of the distinct relationships between Africa, Europe and Jamaica that:

> Europe brought Africa to the Caribbean early in the sixteenth century.
> Europe came as victor, dispossessor, exploiter. Africa came as victim,
> dispossessed, exploited. For five-centuries the two shaped Caribbean history,
> Europe through sugar-and-slave plantations...Africa through the African-
> Jamaican's rejection of slavery, his triumphant struggle for freedom and

justice, his resilience of spirit and his creativity. From the start of the story of the Jamaican people is one of a stubborn defiant courage that would not be denied the final triumph (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998: 2).

Although Sherlock and Bennett masculinise Africa and the African experience in Jamaica with the repetition of the pronoun 'his', it is essential to acknowledge the significant role of African women in the 'struggle for freedom and justice'. Peele included and emphasised the voices and power of African women in his play when they speak as a tool to demonstrate the ways in which African women participated in cross-cultural political and legal interactions as well as to call men to arms, therefore, I shall consider real-world examples of later African women and the African diaspora who used their autonomy to fight for justice.

In 1686, just over a hundred years after the Battle of Alcazar took place in Morocco, further along the west coast of Africa a female was born in 'present-day Ghana' (Olusoga, 2021: 147). She 'was probably Akan and part of the west African Asante nation' (Olusoga, 2021: 147). There are few archival and textual records of her. However, the oral traditions confirm that along with other enslaved African people she was brought/bought from Africa to Jamaica and 'she escaped enslavement, possibly by jumping ship' (Olusoga, 2021: 147). In spite of her position as an

enslaved African woman, her *autonomy* as an African woman led her to take a chance and make the decision to escape the slave ship which would have led to a lifetime of enslavement on a colonial plantation. The Windward Maroons on the east of Jamaica were 'led for decades by the formidable Queen Nanny' (Olusoga, 2021: 146), as the escapee from Ghana became known. The Maroons were able to 'maintain many of the socio-cultural practices and traditions of their West African – particularly Akan – ancestry and some political autonomy' (Olusoga, 2021: 147). The British, who had seized control of Jamaica and owned plantations on the island which were worked by enslaved African people, frequently sent their colonial militia to fight with the self-emancipated Maroons to reclaim escaped slaves and attempt to take control of the Maroon communities. However, the matrifocal society of the Windward Maroons were well organised and led in the First Maroon War of 1728 by Nanny of the Maroons. Nanny 'provided tactical guidance and prov[ed] herself a fierce fighter. Nanny was also a healer and was said to possess spiritual powers that she used against the British forces' (Olusoga, 2021: 147).

The autonomy and unity of the Maroons to fight against the British forces in order to maintain their freedom resulted in the British being forced to back down. In 1739, 1740 and again in 1795, the 'peace treaties were signed [by the British colonial

leaders in Jamaica and the Maroons]…the treaties secured the Maroons some land rights, freedom, and autonomy' (Olusoga, 2021: 147). Just as we saw in Peele's play, the African people are not just 'slaves', 'Moors' or the 'devil' (which Shakespeare so often portrays them to be, as I explore in Chapter Three), they are African people with autonomy and ambition to insist upon their freedom, create and negotiate laws to protect their lives, their homes and their African heritage.

It is believed that Nanny the Maroon died in 1755. Queen Nanny's autonomy and her contribution to the story of Jamaica led the Jamaican government of 'prime minister Michael Manley to declare Nanny of the Maroons as a Jamaican National Hero in 1975. She is the only woman and the only Maroon in the national pantheon (Fehskens, 2017: 2). Since 1994 she has been featured in the $500 Jamaican dollar note, which is still in currency to this day as is her continued legacy. The Maroons' descendants and their culture continue to exist in Jamaica today which is a testament to their autonomy.

Across the Caribbean, there are accounts of African autonomy as enslaved Africans attempted to revolt against the European colonial rule. 1791 marked the beginning of a number of slaves revolts in Haiti. 'By mid-September 1791, up to 80,000 enslaved people were in open rebellion and more than 1,500 coffee and sugar

plantations had been destroyed' (Olusoga, 2021: 187). The African diaspora was not willing to accept colonial rule. In a 1797 report to the French government who owned Haiti in the late eighteenth century, the freedom fighter, Toussaint Louverture who was born to African parents on a Caribbean plantation, is reported to have said: 'I was born a slave, but nature gave me the soul of a free man' (Olusoga, 2021: 187). Louverture's desire to obtain complete freedom and the abolition of slavery, echoes the calls for freedom on the neighbouring Caribbean Island of Jamaica. In complete crisis with revolutions in France which led to the execution of King Louis XVI, revolutions in their colonies as well as wars between France, England and Spain as they wrestled for power in the Caribbean colonies, by 1794 France was forced to relent and decided to abolish slavery throughout its empire. By 1804, Haiti was declared independent.

From the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, there was a growing movement calling for the abolition of the slave trade. This emblem created by Josiah Wedgewood uses Christian beliefs and values to acknowledge our shared humanity in Christ to call for the freedom of enslaved people.

Figure 3. Emblem created by Josiah Wedgewood uses Christian beliefs and values to acknowledge our shared humanity in Christ to call for the freedom of enslaved people.

It took decades to eventually abolish the slave trade. Britain finally abolished slavery in its colonies in 1834. Slave and plantation owners were paid compensation for relinquishing their 'property' (enslaved people). Enslaved people were not compensated for being dispossessed and exploited. However, to demonstrate the persistent autonomy of the African people and African diaspora, I would like to explore the question: how did formerly enslaved African-Caribbean people and the African diaspora use their autonomy to build new lives for themselves following their emancipation?

In east Jamaica, the side of the island which Nanny of the Maroons led the Windward Maroons, there lies the parish of St Thomas. St Thomas is the parish in which my grandmother and mother were born and where my auntie still lives and works the land. It is the beginning of our Windrush migration and linked to the legacy of Jamaica, the African diaspora, and the interconnectedness of Europe,

Africa and the Caribbean. David Olusoga writes that: 'St Thomas is one of the last parts of Jamaica in which vague traces of the African cultures that were carried to the island by former slaves still survive…These traditions, that survived their passage from Africa, morphed and changed in Jamaica under the crushing heel of plantation slavery, and offer solace to the people of St Thomas' (Olusoga, 2016: 378).

By the 1860s, following the abolition of the slave trade, Jamaica faced an economic crisis with many plantation owners returning to England with their compensation and plantation profits. Droughts, floods, and an employment crisis greatly impacted the newly emancipated Jamaican people. Such difficult conditions were push factors which forced people to leave St Thomas and Jamaica and certainly informed people's decision to migrate to England in the twentieth century. Jamaica had not gained independence from England and remained one of the English colonies. Therefore, in 1865, the landless, desperate, poor people of St Ann's parish united and wrote to Queen Victoria. 'The humble petition of the poor people of Jamaica and parish of St Ann's' (Olusoga, 2016: 382) appealed to the Queen, not for handouts but using their autonomy to propose that they 'form a company' to 'put our hands and heart to work and cultivate coffee, corn, canes, cotton and tobacco, and other produce'. The Jamaican petitioners appealed that 'if our Gracious Sovereign will be pleased to

grant our request in a few years' time our Sovereign Lady Queen will see an improvement of our island, and the benefit that your humble servant will derive' (Harvey & Brewin, 1867: 101-102). Sadly, the Colonial Office self-reliant, entrepreneurship of the free black people ridiculed and dismissed their proposal. Olusoga writes that 'all other alternatives, especially those that involved some degree of black autonomy, were discounted out of hand' (Olusoga, 2016: 383).

The emancipated but poverty stricken free black people were forced to squat on the land and estates that were left empty by the plantation owners who had abandoned their once thriving through slave labour sugar economy. Tensions were mounting during 1865, especially in the capital of the St Thomas parish, Morant Bay. Magistrates were enforcing evictions upon black people who had been emancipated but left uncompensated and homeless by the ending of the slave trade. A scuffle in court later following the decision to evict a homeless man led to the Morant Bay Uprising. Protests, led by Paul Bogle, saw freed black people march against poverty, injustice and challenging living conditions. The march erupted into a group of people 'attack[ing] the police station' in Morant Bay (Olusoga, 2016: 379). The skirmish was an attempt by the free black people to assert their rights, their humanity and their need for housing and employment following years of enslavement.

The retaliation for the uprising by the colonial authorities 'was so brutal and disproportionate that by the end of the year [1865] events in Jamaica had scandalized Victorian Britain' (Olusoga, 2016: 379). The Commisioner's report into the 'calculated and deliberate acts of judicial murder' (Olusoga, 2016: 387) reveals that 'the punishments inflicted were excessive' (Olusoga, 2016: 393). The floggings and beatings were 'positively barbarous', and the burning of a thousand homes was 'wanton and cruel' (Report of Royal Jamaica Commission, 1866: 41). Economic challenges following this uprising continued to blight the Parish of St Thomas and Jamaica more broadly.

Heading into the twentieth century the people of Jamaica continued to face difficult conditions and a severe lack of opportunities. Still part of the British Empire, at the outbreak of World War One, their individual agency and autonomy in conjunction with their loyalty to Britain was a pull factor for Jamaican people to sign up to help the war effort. Simultaneously, the poverty of Jamaica was a push factor to leave and seek new opportunities.

Following the Second World War, on the 21st June 1948, the *Daily Express* ran the story 'Empire Men Flee No Jobs Land: 500 Hope to Start a New Life Today'. Within the story they confirmed that, 'The Jamaicans are fleeing from a land with

large unemployment. Many of them recognise the futility of their life at home'.

The migration of the Windrush generation is named after the ship *Empire Windrush*, which sailed from Jamaica and docked in Tilbury, England on 22nd June 1948, bringing workers from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands to help fill the post-war UK labour shortages. The term 'Windrush' and 'Windrush generation' refers to people who migrated from Jamaica to England between 1948 and 1971.

The courage, agency and determination of the Jamaican people to take a chance and voyage to the 'Mother Country' alerts us to the continuities in the agency and autonomy of generations of African people and African diaspora included earlier in this chapter. In Chapter Three I consider the War to Windrush years in more detail and in dialogue with Shakespeare's *Othello*.

On 6th August 1962 the Jamaican Independence Act was passed in parliament which ended three-hundred years of British Colonial rule. Through their creation of their own governing body, education system, laws and infrastructure, the Jamaican people were able to claim their autonomy to lead and govern themselves. The Jamaican flag that was raised that day represents the autonomy and agency of the people of Jamaica. On the Jamaican flag, the black represents the strength and creativity of the

people; gold signifies natural wealth and sunlight; whilst the green symbolises agricultural resources and hope.

By 1963, the fight for justice continued for the African-Caribbean diaspora living in England. In spite of the post-war labour shortages, African-Caribbean people who were willing and able to work were persistently refused jobs. In response to cultural and racial discrimination with people being barred from working for the Bristol Bus Company, they formed a committee to organise a bus boycott, echoing the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 which took place in America. It is reported that 'negotiations between the bus company and the union continued for several months until a mass meeting of 500 bus workers agreed on 27 August to end the colour bar. On 28 August 1963 Ian Patey announced that there would be no more discrimination in employing bus crews' (Jones, Black History Month website article, 2022). In the early 1960s 'there was no legal redress for blacks who faced discrimination in employment' (Phillips and Phillips, 1998: 226).

Following the Bristol Bus Boycott, the government passed the Race Relations Act of 1965, which is an act to 'prohibit discrimination on racial grounds in places of public resort; to prevent the enforcement or imposition on racial grounds...to penalise incitement to racial hatred' (Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/PU/1/1965/c73).
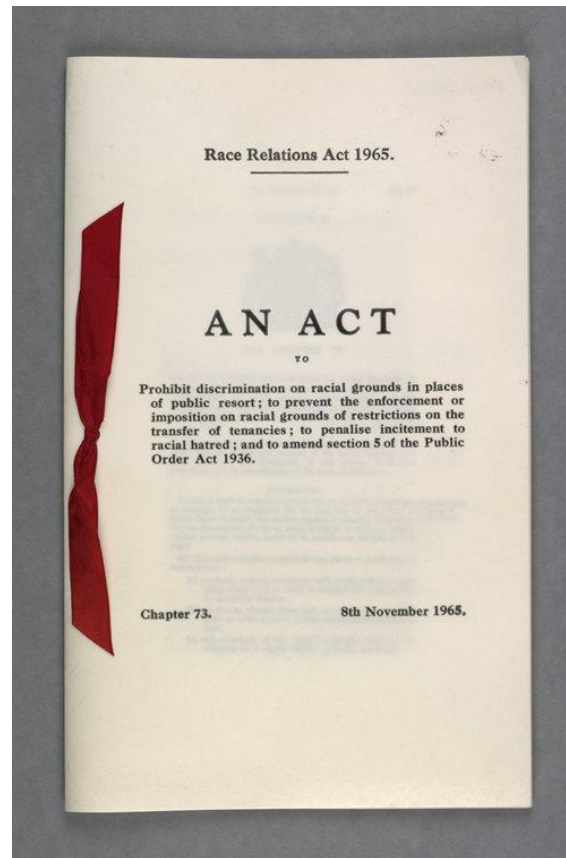
Figure 4. Image of the Race Relations Act 1965.

The Race Relations Act is another example of the ways in which African people and the African diaspora have repeatedly used their agency to create or influence laws to advocate for their humanity, just as I have shown in earlier examples in Africa and the Caribbean.

Across this chapter, I have applied my temporal methodology for Part One of this thesis which is the 'Temporal Tracing' approach. The method used here has involved the chronological tracing of key themes from George Peele's 1588 play to the Windrush generation and their descendants. By chronologically tracing the repeated

patterns of autonomy and agency of African people and the African diaspora, I have

initiated and facilitated several conversations which has added new dimensions to the

analysis of literature, geography, and history. Temporal Tracing has emphasised the

interrelationships and interconnectedness between three significant subject

disciplines enabling a broader and deeper enquiry across time, across geographical

locations all of which are linked to themes within Peele's literary text. I would also

add to this that the approach I have taken here – of using interdisciplinary sources, in

a variety of places whilst highlighting and connecting people across time – has

created a framework for centring black lives, African people and the African

diaspora.

The movement through time has demonstrated the legacy of autonomy of the

African people and the African diaspora, which is very rarely revealed in critical and

theatrical works involving early modern drama. The benefits of tracing the legacy of

autonomy are to the move the global majority from the edges of literary criticism to

the centre. Additionally, by focusing on and celebrating their strength, power,

individuality, ambition, and agency, I have moved away from the prolific single story

of victimisation and demonisation of black people, Africa in Western literature, and

the African diaspora to the multiplicity and complexities of the people, places, and times.

Such an empowering and renewed contemplation has only been made possible by beginning the first chapter with an African play written by an English playwright who preceded William Shakespeare. The deprioritisation of Shakespeare through the structure and aims of this thesis, seeks to redefine critical responses to early modern literature by chronologically positioning Shakespeare (and Shakespeare's presentation of Africa and African people) in his rightful place along the literary timescale. Furthermore, the Temporal Tracing and chronological early modern literature time scale has allowed me to reclaim, re-member and reconnect Africa with its diaspora.

The conversation I have hosted here also reveals the interconnectedness between the past and the present, between real world people and their creatively expressed counterparts. Subsequently, this analysis confirms the potential influences of real people on literary texts and the real world events which inspired playwrights such as George Peele. The interplay between the real and the imagined across the Temporal Tracing demonstrated the legacies of the literary and historical figures in three key geographical locations: Africa, the Caribbean and England.

To develop the dialogue between real world people and their literary interpretations, in the next chapter I explore George Peele's creative expression of Thomas Stukeley and the real-world person who was involved in and died at the Battle of Alcazar. Chapter Two explores Stukeley's migrations and considers a series of Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions to continue to weave the interrelationships and interconnections between literature, geography and history.

Chapter Two

Migration

Part One, Chapter One of this thesis began with the main characters of Peele's play who initiated a conversation on autonomy from the early modern period to the Windrush generation. Now, I shall turn to the theme of migration through an examination of the play's bit part character, Thomas Stukeley.

Like his African counterparts, Stukeley was also a real-world person. Captain Thomas Stukeley was 'the third son of Sir Hugh Stucley (died Jan. 6, 1560), of Affton, on the river Taw, near Ilfracomb, Devonshire, by his wife Jane, daughter of Sir Lewis Pollard one of the Judges of the Common Pleas' (Simpson & Gibbs, 1878: 1). Stukeley's birthplace 'near Ilfracomb' in 1525 began his connection with Ilfracombe in north Devon, England which continued throughout his lifetime during multiple migrations and sea voyages.

Ilfracombe is a small town on the north coast of Devon, England. Not only do the town's connections have a long legacy leading back to Stukeley, but it is also the town I, a Jamaican British woman, grew up in. The collision of migrations that have taken place in and around the coast of this small town immediately gained my interest, making Ilfracombe the geographically site-specific location to research further as a

tool to identify translocal and transnational links across the temporal span of this thesis.

Jamaican and (post)colonial writers often refer to and write from a location which has been colonised. For instance, the 1989 edited collection *The Empire Writes Back* draws our awareness to the shocking statistic that more than 'three-quarters of the people living in the world today have had their lives shaped by the experience of colonialism' (Ashcroft, 1989: 1). Furthermore, the introduction asserts that 'the literatures of African countries, Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Caribbean countries, India, Malaysia, Malta, New Zealand, Pakistan, Singapore, South Pacific Island countries and Sri Lanka are all post-colonial literatures' (Ashcroft, 1989: 2). Their positionality offers an important insight into the impact and aftermath of colonisation. Jamaica Kincaid's post-colonial writing in *A Small Place* from the Caribbean Island of Antigua, exposes the deep-rooted connection to England as she admits that the

> Antigua I grew up in revolved almost completely around England…Well, that was so. I met the world through England, and if the world wanted to meet me it would have to do so through England (Kincaid, 1988: 33).

From this position in Antigua, Kincaid reveals the possibility of freedom in spite of the lingering connections to England when

> [e]ventually the masters left, in a kind of way; eventually, the slaves were freed, in a kind of way...once you throw off your master's yoke, you are no longer human rubbish, you are just a human being (Kincaid, 1988: 80-81).

Where this thesis offers a new perspective and paradigm to the post-colonial conversation is to position the geographical location in north Devon from the place of the colonist's embarkation. As I will demonstrate throughout this chapter, Devon – the location from which Thomas Stukeley and colonisers like him left England for Africa and the Caribbean – is significant to the migration story for people of the Caribbean and Africa. In addition to this, owing to my own positionality as a woman with the familial heritage of being a colonised subject, my perspective acknowledges Devon's culpability which derived from these colonial ventures. Thomas Stukeley is the real-world and literary example of the colonial connections and colonising ambitions linked to my hometown in north Devon. Stukeley's small role in the early modern literature that instigated the opening conversation of this study, in addition to his translocal and transnational migratory interconnectedness which facilitated several cross-cultural encounters, roots real and creatively expressed

Stukeley in all aspects of the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions that will be analysed throughout this chapter.

Here, I seek to examine the theme of migration through a series of Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions: What role did Stukeley play in the real-world and imaginative-world migrations? To what extent are Ilfracombe and Barnstaple in North Devon significant sites of migration for early modern travellers and playwrights? More broadly, how significant is Devon for England's colonial migrations? To what extent are these geographical locations significant sites for later migrations? How is this region a space of encounter and belonging for local and global identities? What were and are the social, cultural, and legal power dynamics in these cross-cultural encounters?

The enquiry questions that I pose opens possibilities to investigate migrations from the past through to the present, by tracing the significant links between England, Africa, and the Caribbean. In answering these questions, I will demonstrate the ways in which Ilfracombe and, more broadly, Devon have participated in and shaped cross-cultural encounters and periods of mobility continuing in our contemporary world which led to literature and theatre performances embedding, recreating, and resonating with these themes and locations.

The temporal methodology applied throughout Part One of this thesis is the process of tracing through time from the early modern period to the era of the Windrush generation, an approach which continues in this chapter. By chronologically tracing real and theatrical migrations in the play and in the archives, this thesis unlocks the opportunity to see migrations linked to the characters in *The Battle of Alcazar* by considering a wider range of migrations relating to these specific geographical locations linked to the play, subsequently providing context and a greater depth of understanding for the successive investigations.

A movement through time also creates a vivid historical and geographical fresco as the backdrop and framework for the rest of the thesis in my engagement with the theme of migration in the subsequent chapters. Each of the plays in conversation across the thesis are encoded with geographically located, historical and literary migrations which, I argue, is the mechanism for real world and creatively expressed cross-cultural connections and thematic resonances. The chronological structure of migrations related here also brings cohesion to the hidden themes and determinants of this fragmented literary, local, and global history.

Throughout this chapter I shall relate key historical incidents of migration to and from significant sites in Devon which resonate with 'concerns that have only

increased in relevance and urgency...given the growing ideological struggles for race, gender, and social equality – as well as the need for understanding across nations and religions' (Singh, 2019: 2). Furthermore, I chronicle the life of Thomas Stukeley to reveal the role of Stukeley and his contemporaries such as Francis Drake and John Hawkins. Having researched the geographical connections that are recorded in Devon's historical records, museums and held in Devon's depositories, I shall share the evidence that I have discovered to demonstrate the interconnecting global and local relationships between race, gender, and social-cultural history.

The Stukeley Migration Chronicles

The father of Peele's Stukeley, Hugh Stukeley of Affeton in Devonshire 'was a sheriff of Devon in 1544' (Simpson, 1878: 3) when Thomas was approximately 19 years old. On 10th July 1545, Lord Russell wrote to the Council about Stukeley's father's role in Devon:

> Master Hugh Stuycklye, Sheriff of Devonshire, hath upon your
>
> commandment laid out certain sums of money for the conduct and prest
>
> money of such mariners as he took to go to Portsmouth [which was then
>
> menaced by the French Fleet and where Henry VIII then lay]...I can do no less

than commend him for such painful diligence and desirous mind to serve

(State Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. I, quoted in Simpson: 1878: 3).

Here, his father is described as being involved with 'mariners', expeditions and

royalty. Although Stukeley is listed as Thomas' father, it has been suggested that

Thomas Stukeley 'was...an illegitimate son of Henry VIII, King of England'

(Simpson, 1878: 5). John Izon writes that 'there was the likeness' between Thomas

Stukeley and Henry Tudor of England, and there was also an account of Stukeley

which states that he was 'a gentleman of the blood royal of England' (Izon, 1956:

113). Simpson asserted that 'the mere rumour and opinion of such a relationship

between Stucley and Henry VIII would account for the welcome he always had at

various courts without containing in itself any evidence of the truth of the oath of

the thing asserted' (Simpson, 1878: 6). Regardless of the legitimate or illegitimate

claims to royal blood, through the marriages and geographical locations of his family

connections we can gather further links to Devon on his family tree.
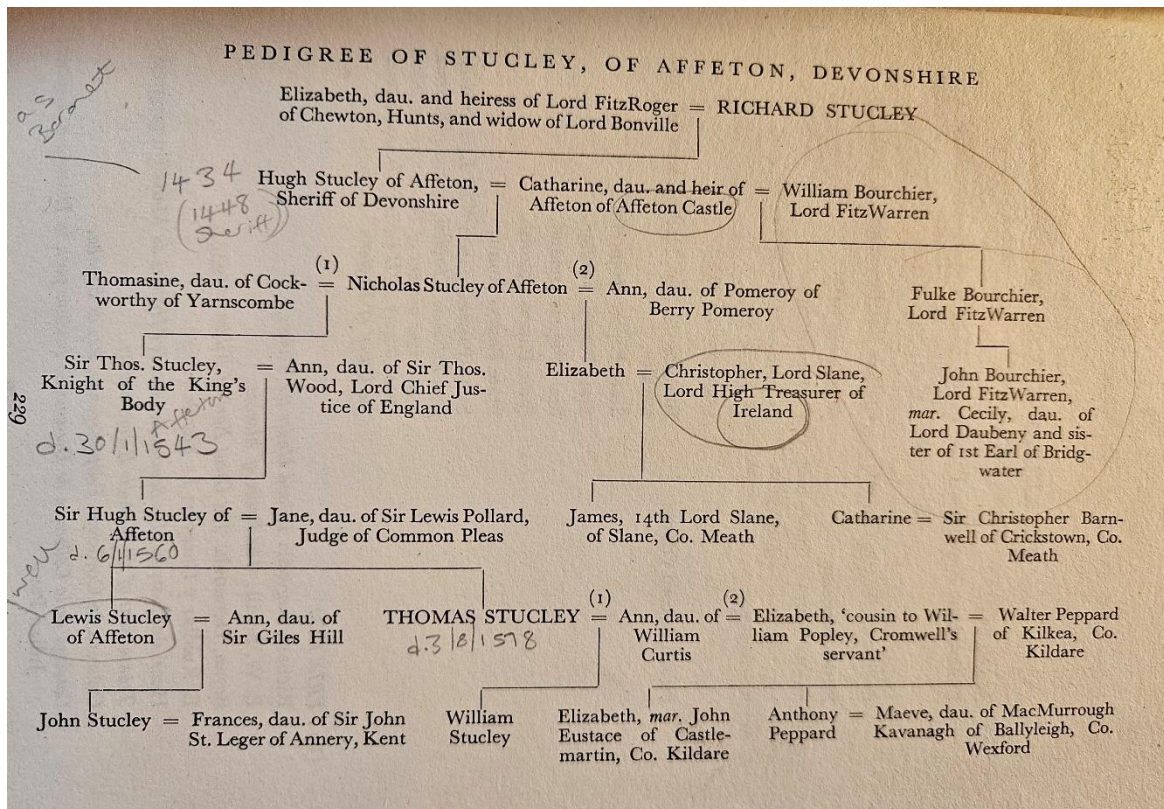
Figure 5. Pedigree of Stucley. Family tree of Sir Thomas Stukeley.

In spite of the limitations of Izon's 'pedigree of Stucley of Affeton, Devonshire'

(Izon, 1956: 229) - such as the lack of dates and Thomas' siblings being omitted - the

evidence that is available on this family tree confirms the geographical locations of his

relatives and begins to build a picture of Devon's significance. Additionally, the

family tree shows connections to Ireland which is a short boat trip from the north

Devon coast revealing its prime location as a site of embarkation.

Thomas Stukeley's grandfather, Sir Thomas Stukeley, was 'a knight of the body to

King Henry VIII' (Simpson, 1878: 2), married to Ann, the daughter of Sir Thomas

Wood, Lord Justice of England. He was listed as a Sheriff 'for Devon in 1520'

(Simpson, 1878: 2). Dating back two further generations in 1448 a great, great grandfather Hugh Stukeley of Affeton is also listed as a Sheriff of Devonshire. Jonathan McGovern confirms that

> Sheriffs were among the most important local office-holders in early modern England. They were generalist officers of the King responsible for executing legal process, holding local courts, empanelling juries, making arrests, executing criminals, collecting royal revenues, holding parliamentary elections and many other vital duties (McGovern, 2022: 1).

Stukeley's family were highly respected, well connected and on the right side of the law.

In addition to this, Stukeley had familial links to Ireland via his relative Christopher, Lord Slane, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland. Through his marriage to Elizabeth, cousin to William Popley who was Cromwell's servant, Stukeley had connections to County Kildare. There are subsequent familial associations to Wexford in Ireland, which is located just a short voyage across the channel from Ilfracombe, also confirming easy migratory routes between Devon and Ireland. Such familial connections also suggest possible motivations and safe havens for some of Thomas Stukeley's later migrations as well as his political and religious alliances.

When Stukeley was approximately 22 years old, he migrated from Devon to France where he is recorded in 1547 as 'holding the post of King's standard-bearer, with the fee of six shillings and eight pence a day' (Simpson, 1878: 10). At this time, Stukeley's uncles and cousins were employed in France or on the seas. Relationships between England and France were beginning to strain at this time, leading to competitive colonial conquests in Africa and the Caribbean and wars between the two countries. Such rivalries were evident in August 1548 when the Admiral, Lord Seymour, 'commissioned Sir Peter Carew (whose brother Sir George, drowned in the Mary Rose, 1545, had married Stucley's aunt Thommasine Pollard), Sir T Dennis and Sir R. Grenville to see that Devonshire sent out its quota of privateers to take French ships' (Simpson, 1878: 10). 'Grenville was also a friend and distant relative of Stukeley' (Decoster, 2019: 410).

Following Stukeley's employment in France and Boulogne's surrender in March 1550, Stukeley returned to England and attached himself to the service of the Protector Somerset. This was Stukeley's first foray into his questionable and changeable loyalties through plots to revolutionise the government and bring the Catholic religion to reign once more. Somerset and his chief accomplices were sent 'to the Tower on the 17th October 1551. Stukeley was much compromised to remain

in England' (Simpson, 1878: 11). Therefore, he fled England to work in the service of Henry II of France, who later 'most affectionately and heartily' recommended Stukeley to Edward VI of England upon Stukeley's return to England in 1552. Stukeley's voyages from England to France in the service of royalty was early training for his later voyages; furthermore, in an attempt to show his loyalty to England and defend his position, Stukeley divulged a plan which he claimed the King of France proposed against England. Stukeley alleged that 'the Duke of Guise with one army would land at Dartmouth [Devon]' (Simpson, 1878: 13) whilst the Scots and Henry would attack from Northumberland and Cornwall 'so as to take Falmouth' (Simpson, 1878: 13). These vulnerable locations on the English coast also allude to the significance of Devon and Cornwall in their strategic positions not only for early modern voyagers migrating from English shores but as potential points of invasion. Stukeley incurred suspicion and the French King was furious about Stukeley's claims. Furthermore, Stukeley 'did incur suspicion of piracy...he was probably one of those who prematurely robbed French vessels before declaration of war in 1556' (Simpson, 1878: 23). In spite of the suspicions the Lord Admiral 'reported on 14th July 1558 that he did not "find matter sufficient to charge Stucley withal"' (MS. Domestic, Aug 27, 1558 quoted in Simpson, 1878: 3), therefore, Stukeley escaped

charges and must have proven some level of loyalty to England. Throughout this thesis, I shall consider further ideologies surrounding loyalty and English identity; what it meant *then* and what it means *now*.

By 1562, Stukeley 'was still a married man and had a child [William] born to him' (Simpson, 1878: 32). In the following year, Queen Elizabeth I began her first venture into buccaneering. The following extract sent by Cecil in the Queen's name to Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy of Ireland on 30th June 1563 shows that the intention 'of peopling Florida' 'was a mask to hide the real intention of privateering' (Simpson, 1878: 33).

> Where our servant Thomas Stukeley, associated with sundry of our subjects, hath prepared a number of good ships well-armed and manned to pass to discover certain lands in the west towards Terra Florida and by our license hath taken the same voyage. Because it may so happen that for lack of favourable winds he may be diverted from his direct voyage and be constrained to come to some ports or coasts of that our realm of Ireland; which if he shall be thought agreeable by you for our purpose...And if he shall also bring or send in to any port there any manner of French ships which he shall arrest to our use, we would that the same might be received and the goods and ladings

therein put in inventory, and laid up in safety (Haynes, State Papers: 401

quoted in Simpson, 1878: 33).

As I have already established, Stukeley's birthplace in Devon and his connections just

across the channel to Ireland, provided him with valuable links for successful

privateering voyages. The Queen's 'license' given to Stukeley to 'discover certain

lands in the west towards Terra Floria' confirms early colonial conquests and Devon's

significant position involved in them. Furthermore, Elizabeth I's official request to

the Lord Deputy of Ireland for safe passage and 'safety' for 'the goods' that Stukeley

may acquire, suggests that she also provided Stukeley with a subtle seal of approval

for acts of privateering off the shores of Devon. Later, Sir Richard Grenville junior

cited the grant made by the Queen, back in 1563, to Thomas Stukeley – who was a

connection of Grenville's – for the discovery and occupation of Florida to make his

own petition to the Queen for a similar Patent, confirming that Stukeley's migration

west from Ilfracombe was a pivotal moment which left an important legacy for his

cousin, Grenville.

Richard Grenville was born in Bideford, north Devon and inherited vast estates in

Devon and Cornwall. DeCoster writes that 'Grenville's interest in colonisation

clearly dated to the 1560s' (Decoster, 2019: 410), which is the same time that

Stukeley was migrating and attempting to establish colonies. Furthermore, DeCoster asserts that the interest in colonialism was 'more likely to come from Stukeley, with whom Gilbert [who had tried to launch a colony in Newfoundland in 1583] and Grenville each had definitive ties specifically related to American colonisation' (DeCoster, 2019: 410). Significantly, DeCoster argues that there is reason to 'take Stukeley's Florida seriously as England's first overseas colonial venture while less successful than subsequent expeditions…it was nonetheless taken seriously in its time' (DeCoster, 2019: 410).

On 15th December 1563 Cureton announced to Challoner in Madrid that across three months English ships 'had taken a French ship on his way to Bilboa, laden with linen cloth, most of the goods Spanish and worth 12,000 ducats; and another French ship of war with 7,000 ducats, also with Spanish goods' (Simpson, 1878: 34). Privateering was a valuable business with early modern voyagers wielding political and economical power over their rival Europeans. It was suggested that Stukeley 'had cut out of a port of Galicia two French ships laden with Spanish goods worth 30,000 ducats' (Simpson, 1878: 34). In addition to this, in 1564, Oliver Leeson wrote with news from Spain that 'they say the Queen has delivered certain of her ships to Mr Stucley, and he is bound to Florida with four or five ships; and to Hawkins and

Cobham others, who are bound for Guinea and the Portugal Indies' (MSS. Foreign, Aug. 24, 1564). Such evidence links Stukeley with Hawkins (both of Devon) to privateering, colonial conquests, early voyages to Africa and Portugal as a colonial power in the Indies. In the late fifteenth century and through the sixteenth century Portugal claimed ownership over a vast empire, hence, Sebastian's confidence we see exposed in Peele's play. The reference here also alludes to several cross-cultural encounters between local Devonshire identities and global identities with African, Indian and West Indian identities. Later in this chapter I examine Hawkins senior and junior (both of Devon) and their early voyages which enslaved and transported African people. Here I shall continue with an investigation into Stukeley's voyages and ventures.

Listed in a paper of 27th May 1565 'specifications of robberies committed at sea on Spanish subjects by Englishmen sailing from English ports with the patronage, permission, and authority of the Queen' (Simpson, 1878: 37 – 38). Itemised as Number 37 'a ship called the *Fortune* Captain John Steven of Middleburgh from Nantes in Antwerp, fell in with a ship said to be Captain Thomas Stukeley's in February 1564 about Issant and was then taken to Ilfracombe and there robbed of plums to the value of 200 pounds Flemish, and the ship itself was split and lost in the

entrance of <u>Ilfracombe harbour</u>' my emphasis (MSS.Foreign. 27 May 1565 quoted in Simpson, 1878: 38). The entry listed here demonstrates Ilfracombe's significance in Stukeley's privateering ventures and cross-cultural encounters at this time. Later in this chapter, I shall relate further examples of ships being taken into Ilfracombe's harbour following expeditions and privateering ventures across the world. In this incident, Stukeley had stolen a ship and valuables with flagrant disregard for political alliances and European peace. Ilfracombe's rugged coastline is incredibly dangerous but this incident suggests that the ship may have been broken up intentionally which was often a tactic used when a ship was plundered of its valuable contents when privateering.

Izon writes that this area of the English coast was Stukeley's old hunting ground where he would be

> blazing at Frenchmen and Spaniards off the Scillies or Land's End; then a last glimpse, seen for a moment threshing up the Bristol Channel through the spume and white breakers flashing round the Capstone [craggy cliffs of Ilfracombe] and the wicked looking rocks guarding the care, into the snug, well-protected harbour under the cliffs of Ilfracombe, towing after him his latest prize, the aptly named *Fortune* of Antwerp, which he promptly

proceeded to break up and sink, presumably as a defensive measure, across the

harbour mouth (Izon, 1956: 46).

Following this incident, Stukeley was arrested. Although his capture seemed like a

piracy punishment, it was 'only a political act' (Simpson, 1878: 38). By June of 1565

the Lord Justice 'did not understand that [Stukeley] had committed any piracy upon

the coasts of Ireland or elsewhere' and therefore prayed for his discharge' (Simpson,

1878: 38-39). Being acquitted in this way appears to confirm that Stukeley received

support from the Queen and the Lord Justice. Perhaps this was as a result of his

family connections but also the great value in stolen goods and power over European

countries that pirates such as Stukeley brought into England.

As we can see from these accounts, Ilfracombe was a significant site for Stukeley's

buccaneering missions, a safe haven and a location where he could safely unload his

spoils. The ships and items of Antwerp, Spain and France reveal the European

connections for early modern travel, trade, piracy and migration (forcibly and freely)

to and from Ilfracombe.

Izon also records that Stukeley visited a small island which can be seen from

Ilfracombe. Stukeley

had fallen in off Lundy with the barque of Bristol and calmly, much against

their will, trepanned two of the crew. The little incident added nothing to his

fast-dwindling popularity in the West Country. Bideford and Ilfracombe

where the men came from, seething with indignation, sent information up to

the Admiralty forthwith whose commissioners descended on those parts'

(Izon, 1956: 51).

Stukeley escaped and evaded 'the Queen's Proclamation for the arrest of all the

pirates' (Izon, 1956:51). At this time there is also a sense of Stukeley's dwindling

popularity in the English court.

Stukeley's family tree and the Queen's letter of 30th June 1563 addressed to the Lord

Deputy of Ireland, both quoted earlier, confirms connections between parts of

Ireland, the Crown and Stukeley. Wexford and Waterford lie directly across the

channel from Ilfracombe, therefore, Stukeley was able to seek a safe haven there

sailing across in June 1567 he is reported to be in Ireland 'renewing his practices to

make himself at once a large landed proprietor' (Simpson, 1878: 49). Stukeley

purchased all the Irish property of Captain Sir Nicholas Heron. Based on a letter

written by Captain Agard an English officer based in Ireland noting that the Queen

had 'concerneth her misliking of Mr Stucley to have any office in that country,

especially of Captain Heron' (Simpson, 1878: 50). Elizabeth I may have felt a 'misliking' or discomfort for several reasons. Perhaps Stukeley's English identity and loyalties were being brought into question by positioning himself away from Ilfracombe and setting up in Ireland. Perhaps, the question of his religious loyalties unsettled the Queen. Further still, would Ireland, as opposed to England, profit from any of his privateering ventures?

On 6th July 1567 Cecil wrote a letter to Sidney claiming that 'Stucley is supposed to have brought certain hides by John Cook, a pirate of Southampton and by him carried for sale into Ireland' (Simpson, 1878: 51). In spite of this, Stukeley 'took possession of the property he had bought of Heron' (Simpson, 1878: 52). Unfortunately, the legitimacy of Stukeley's entitlement to the land, property and titles he had purchased were brought into question.

Sir Peter Carew, a cousin of Stukeley's, claimed that 'by some female ancestor's he had a right to certain Irish baronies among...which Stucley had bought of Heron' (Simpson, 1878: 53). Peter Carew subsequently sent 'John Vowell, alias Hooker, a Devonshire lawyer, best known as the compiler of the later portion of the Irish annals in Holinshed's Chronicles, to investigate his claims' (Simpson, 1878: 53). In a letter to Carew of May 26 1568 Hook wrote that 'Loghlin was formerly the house of

your ancestors' (Simpson, 1878: 53-54). Upon this news, 'Carew embarked at

Ilfracombe for Waterford in early August' (Simpson, 1878: 54). Izon writes that

> Sir Peter Carew's trim barque from Ilfracombe [was] making straight for the
>
> quayside, with Carew himself on the prow, sanguine, bubbling with
>
> excitement and plans for civilising the [Irish] natives (Izon, 1956: 87).

On his arrival Stukeley welcomed Carew and he received 'very liberal and honourable

entertainment' (Simpson, 1878: 54). 'Thomas was discharged of the custody and

garrison of Leighlin and Carew appointed to the same' on 17th February 1568

(Madean, 1857: 74 – 77 and 84). We can only imagine that Stukeley must have been

furious at his sudden change of fortune, which might have pleased the Queen and

settled her 'misliking' of him living there.

In 1569, Peter Carew was in his element, Izon writes,

> he had just sent off to Exeter, Devon, to bid his good lady pack up the plate
>
> and best feather-beds and follow her lord without delay to this paradisal seat
>
> of his mythical ancestors' (Izon, 1956: 94).

Riding near to the woods one day, Carew was startled by 'would-be assassins' (Izon,

1956: 94), among them 'he had seen Thomas Stucley' (Izon, 1956: 94). Perhaps

jealousy of being flung out of the property, land and titles he had purchased from

Heron had incensed Stukeley, thereby, wanting to seek revenge. On 7th June 1569, offences 'from petty conspiracy to high treason' (Izon, 1956: 95) were set against Stukeley and 'Thomas found himself clapped under lock and key, committed to close prison' (Ivon, 1956: 95). This arrest seemed more severe than a political stunt to silence his detractors.

They were right to be suspicious and concerned. During this time, Stukeley was plotting against England and the Queen. Stukeley communicated with his family relation, Kildare 'between the time of his parole and official pardon' (Ivon, 1956: 97). In March, Stukeley prepared his ship with: 'four tons of water, 15 pipes of wheat, and eight pipes of beans'; 'mariners' and '14 horses'. Among his crew was 'Michael Venety, sometime master in Hawkins' ship' (Simpson, 1878: 67). On 17th April 1570, Stukeley 'set sail from Waterford' (Simpson, 1878: 67), landing in Spain on 24th April. Mr Froude claimed to see 'the letter which Stucley wrote to Philip on his arrival' (Transcript, B, fol. 142 quoted in Simpson, 1878: 68). According to Froude Stukeley 'entreats the King to take possession of Ireland' (Simpson, 1878: 68).

In January 1577 'Walsingham heard a report...that Stukeley had come to Lisbon and was keeping himself close as if preparation for his Irish expedition. But it was not the case' (Simpson, 1878: 115). There were multiple delays in Stukeley's plans to bring

Catholicism as a tool to conquer Ireland. It is reported that he travelled to Flanders and Rome. In the Autonomy/Religion section of Chapter One, I explored Stukeley's time in Madrid and Rome. Stukeley experienced further delays as he mustered support and approval. His voyage to Lisbon, Portugal and connection to Sebastian of Portugal ultimately led his involvement in the Battle of Alcazar and his death.

Having traced Stukeley's life to the point at which he migrated to Africa to join the battle, the interconnectedness of Stukeley's migrations with those of other explorers and colonisers from Devon is worth investigating. I would like to consider the next geographically located Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions in relation to other early modern travellers. As I have outlined at the opening of this chapter, I shall investigate these migrations chronologically from Stukeley's early life onwards in relation to north Devon and Devon more broadly.

To what extent is Devon a significant site of migration for early modern travellers from Stukeley's early life onwards? How do these migrations create cross-cultural exchange and encounters? What are the power dynamics of these encounters and exchanges?

In his *Principal Navigations*, Richard Hakluyt informs us of

two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Haukins of

Plimmouth [Plymouth in Devon], father to Sir John Haukins knight, late

Treasurer of her Majesties Navie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532 (Hakluyt, 1600:

13).

When Thomas Stukeley was approximately five years old, Hawkins senior was no

longer content with 'short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts

of Europe' (Hakluyt, 1600: 13-14). Therefore, he 'armed out' a ship called the 'Paule

of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages unto the coast of

Brasil' (Hakluyt, 1600: 14). Like Stukeley years later, Hawkins left Devon and

voyaged to Africa.

During the first voyage they reached the coast of Guinea where they 'traffiqued with

the Negros and took of them Elephants teeth and other commodities' (Hakluyt,

1600: 14). Such an exchange urges us to confront the challenges of language and

communication during these exchanges between sailors of Devon and black people

of Guinea. Although we do not hear the voices of 'the Negros', as I alluded to in the

first chapter, we must assume a sense of autonomy in their desire and ability to

interact and trade with English travellers. It seems that Hawkins' various voyages had

given him an understanding of how to handle cross-cultural encounters. For

instance, it is said that he 'behaved himself so wisely with those savage people that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them' (Hakluyt, 1600: 14). The word 'savage' holds uncomfortable connotations which jars against the power, autonomy, and authority I outlined in the opening chapter. This is another example of why it was so important for me to open with the autonomy and humanity of African people to shake the psyche of our academic community free of presenting the perspective of Africa, African people and the African diaspora as 'savage' and uncivilised.

On Hawkins' second voyage he travelled to Brazil and a different type of cross-cultural exchange took place. One of the 'savage kings of the countrey…was contented to' travel with Hawkins back to England. On this occasion, Hawkins negotiated an exchange of people. Martin Cockerham, a sailor from Devon, was left in Brazil as a pledge for the safe keeping of the King of Brazil. Little is recorded about Cockerham's experiences in Brazil, however, observations of the Brazilian King's reception in England are recorded in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*:

> The king was presented to K. Henry 8, lying as then at White-hall: at the sight
>
> of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle marvaille, and not
>
> without cause for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage

maner , and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the

said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for great braverie. He

had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set precious stone about

the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behaviour, and gesture were very strange

to the beholders (Hakluyt, 1600: 14).

This extract raises a significant issue which can lead to hostility and tension during

and as a legacy of cross-cultural encounters. Markings which are considered to be

'reputed for great braverie' by one culture and country are referred to as 'strange'

(Hakluyt, 1600: 14). Sadly, the Brazilian King died at sea but the

said Savages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their

prince, restored againe the said pledge; without any harme to him [Martin

Cockerham]...they brough home againe into England (Hakluyt, 1600: 14).

In the year of Stukeley's 'famous Florida project' (Simpson, 1878: 32), M. Williams

Hawkins' son, John Hawkins, followed in his father's seafaring path and undertook

the 'first English triangular voyage, in 1562 – 1563, he acquired at least 300 in

habitants of the Guinea coast' (Fryer, 2018: 8). Fryer goes on to write that Hawkins

bought some of these people from African merchants, 'some he hijacked from

Portuguese slavers; some he simply seized' (Fryer, 2018: 8). From the west coast of

Africa, Hawkins 'took these people to the Caribbean Island of Hispaniola (now

Haiti and the Dominican Republic), where he sold them to the Spaniards for

£10,000 worth of pearls, hides, sugar, and ginger.' (Fryer, 2018, p.8). On his second

slave-hunting voyage (1564-5), Queen Elizabeth I lent Hawkins the *Jesus of Lubeck*.

The queen's approval of Hawkins' voyages is confirmed in the following image of the

Grant of Arms issued to him in 1566 in recognition of his 'cowragious worthie and

famous enterprises...into the unhaunted parties of Africa and America', with a

second grant issued in 1571. The original grants are kept in the Athenaeum in

Barnstaple, which is just a few miles from Ilfracombe in north Devon.

Figure 6. Grant issued in 1571 to John Hawkins.

Grant of arms to John Hawkins esq of Plymouth in recognition of his 'cowragious worthie and famous enterprises...into the unhaunted parties of Africa and America', 1566, with an additional grant, 1571, as a reward for Hawkins's capture of Rio de la hacho [Rio Hacha, Colombia] from the Spanish in 1568. The main grant is illustrated with a painting of the Clarenceaux King of Arms, and both documents have coloured depictions of the arms, including the striking crest of a bound female black slave. (North Devon Athenaeum, B2/1)

Figure 7. Image of the North Devon Athenaeum, B2/1 description of the grant issued to John Hawkins.

Figure 8. Image of Grant of Arms issued to John Hawkins

The arms granted to Hawkins have a striking crest of a [naked] bound female black slave. Zooming into the detail of this image it is shocking that Hawkins was celebrated for capturing and selling black African women in this way. In the opening of this thesis, I demonstrated the autonomy of African women, here, there is little evidence of their freedom.

Figure 9. Close up of image of an enslaved woman on Grant of Arms issued to John Hawkins.
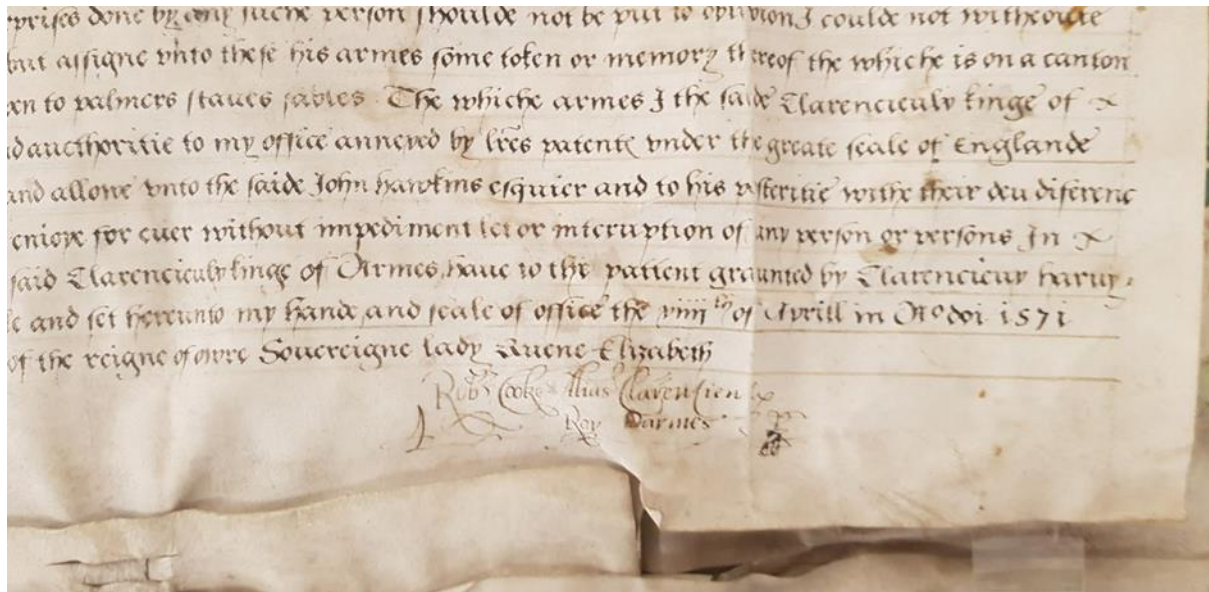
Figure 10. Image of the original wording and signature on the Grant of Arms issued by Queen Elizabeth I to

John Hawkins, 1571

Although it was quite some time before the organised triangular slave routes across

the oceans took hold to capture and enslave millions of African people, the

trafficking of people by early modern travellers such as Hawkins enabled cross-

cultural encounters between African people and the people of Devon.

Barnstaple, in north Devon, with its long tradition of civic life is one of the most

ancient boroughs in the country: one of the Wessex burghs before Domesday, and

the hub of a thriving trade. This suggests that such a thriving trade may have

brought a wide range of people to Barnstaple and north Devon. Barnstaple

'appeared in the list of Wessex boroughs in 900, and from 978 to 1100 it possessed a

mint, which issued silver pennies' (Ward Lock, (no date): 51) which alludes to the

very early trade in the area. 'As a maritime port Barnstaple had been steadily growing, and in 1346 could send ships with the English fleet to the siege of Calais' (Ward Lock, (no date): 51). In addition to this 'the foreign trade of the port was now considerable...various manufactories flourished, particularly woollen industries' (Ward Lock (no date): 51). Furthermore, the following document held in the National Archives confirms as much. The document is a tax assessment for 'John Stephyn dated 20th July 1484' (National Archives: E 179/96/126 Part 1). He was a tailor living in Barnstaple. In 1440 Parliament had agreed that 'tax should be paid by all non-native born people residing in England over 12 years of age...some were exempt...for instance if you purchased a letter of denization, which allowed a person born abroad to be treated as if they had been born in England. These first started to be issued in 1370s' (National Archives E 179/96/126/Part 1). The document and issue of tax assessment for non-native born people who lived and worked in north Devon pre-dates the scope of this thesis. However, it provides early confirmation that north Devon is a significant space of encounter for local and global identities.
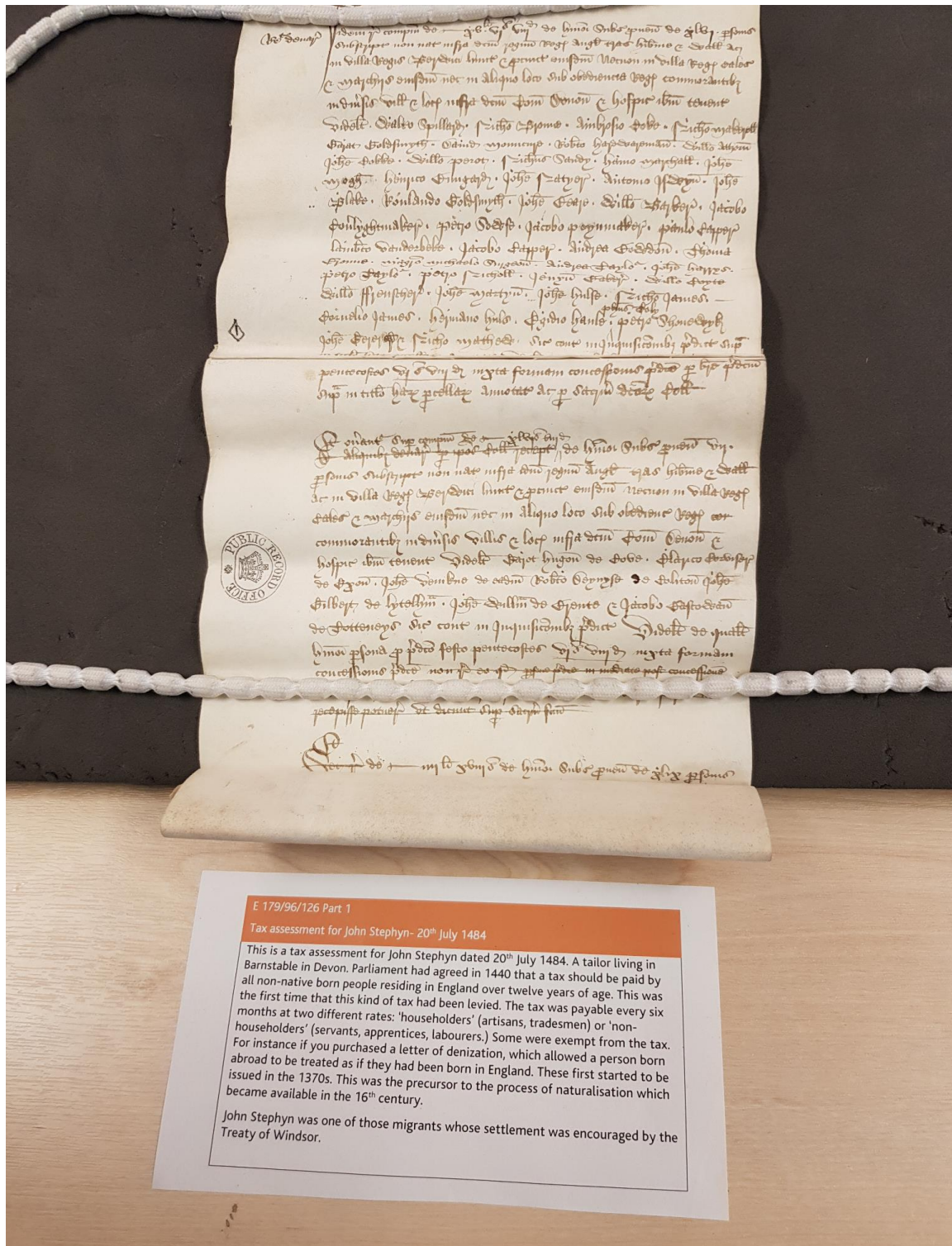
Figure 11. Image of tax assessment for John Stephyn 20th July 1484.

In Barnstaple's town records, we can see additional evidence that north Devon continued to be a significant region of encounter in the sixteenth century for local and global identities. On 28 August 1570, Nicholas Wichalse of Barnstaple made a bequest to 'Anthonye my negarre' (Gray, 2020: 27) in his will. This confirms that before trading rights were granted in Africa 'there was already a connection between Barnstaple and that continent. Moreover, Anthony was not enslaved but free: Wichalse gave him five pounds on condition he remained in the service of his wife Mary "otherwise yf she mynde not to keep hym five marks [£3 7s 6 d] and lette hym dep[ar]te"' (Gray, 2020: 27). Wichalse's employee, Anthony, was a black African man working in Barnstaple, Devon in the late 1560s and early 1570s. People of Barnstaple, therefore, were encountering and interacting with people of Africa and the African diaspora.

As I have established, Thomas Stukeley travelled to and fought with the Portuguese king in the 1570s. It seems that the movement of people travelled in both directions as 'there was at least one Portuguese, James "Rodigoo", probably Rodrigues, resident in Barnstaple during the 1570s' (Gray, 1998: 21), which firmly places the 'thriving' town of Barnstaple and north Devon as a space of encounter confirming additional cross-cultural voyages and interactions. Thomas Stukeley's voyages that I outlined at

the beginning of the chapter touch upon locations and interactions that were not only important for his life and death but also speak of significant cross-cultural encounters that took place in this geographical location. To continue to follow the chronological developments of migration across this chapter, I shall investigate voyages from 1577 onwards in relation to Ilfracombe, north Devon.

To what extent is Ilfracombe a significant site of migration for other early modern travellers from 1577 onwards? How do these migrations create cross-cultural exchange and encounters? What are the power dynamics of these encounters and exchanges?

To answer these questions, I will demonstrate other examples and historical evidence of Ilfracombe being an important geographical location for other early modern travellers in the years 1577 – 1579. Via a voyage related in Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations Voyages & Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, we learn of Ilfracombe's significance as a port and safe haven with further links to Morocco and other parts of Africa's coast. The account, written by a mariner Edward Cliffe, is about a

> voyage of M.John Winter into the South sea by the Streight of Magellan, in
> consort with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577. By which straight

also he returned safely into [Ilfracombe harbour in] England the second of

June 1579, contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards which gave out, that

the said passage was not repasseable (Hakluyt, 1600: 87).

On 15th November 1577, just 73 miles south of Ilfracombe, a

newe ship called the Elizabeth, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof

went also a small pinnesse being 12 tunnes in burthen called the

Benedict...arrived at Plimmouth: in which haven were three ships more, one

called the Pellican in burthen 120 tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke

called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes.

These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all

kind of necessary provision to make a voyage into the South sea (Hakluyt,

1600: 87).
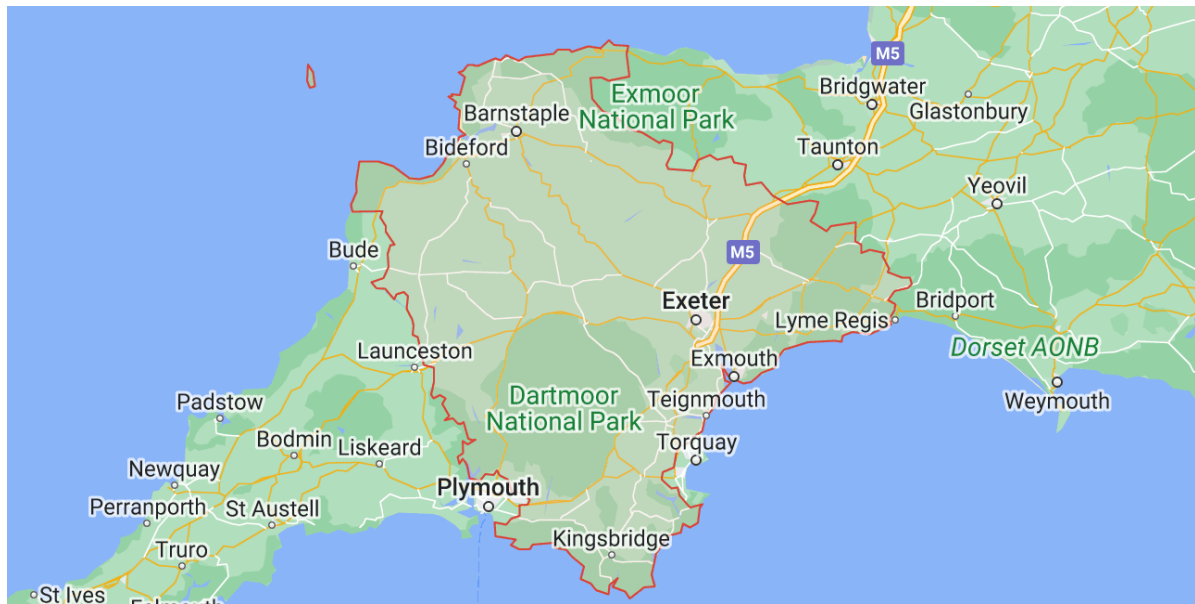
Figure 12. Map of Devon

This vast fleet of ships and crew were on an expedition to Morocco. After leaving

Plymouth in south Devon, they were forced into Falmouth by a storm which caused

'great hurt which divers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest' (Hakluyt, 1600:

87). Returning to Plymouth for repairs they set sail again on 13th December 1577,

finally reaching Cape Cantin, Morocco on the 'five and twentie of December'

(Hakluyt, 1600: 87).

Sailing south along the coast of Morocco '30 minute upon the coast of Barbarie,

neere to a towne called 'Asaphi', continuing their journey along the Moroccan coast

'wee found a little island called Mogador an English mile distant from the maine'

(Hakluyt, 1600: 87). Sending few men to investigate 'the haven was without danger,

having five fathomes of water fast by the rocks' (Hakluyt, 1600: 87-88). Realising

they were safe the whole fleet entered the mainland haven. The 'Moores' saw their ships approach the land and come down from the mountains to see them. Their

> Generall, M.Francis Drake espying shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captive in the countery and partly understood their language to talke with them (Hakluyt, 1600: 88).

They had a range of cross-cultural interactions during their travels. The 'Moores' they initially interacted with 'made good cheere and received certaine gifts of our Generall' (Hakluyt 1600: 88). However, the 'craftie slaves having devised to betray us...tooke by force' one of their men and 'carried him away into the mountains, so that we saw him no more after that time' (Hakluyt, 1600: 88). Historian Todd Gray, notes that 'Africans were taking Devonians to North Africa' (Gray, 2020: 31). By 1637, there were four captives from Barnstaple held in Port Sallee, the port for Rabat in Morocco, including 'Philip Strange of Barstalbe [Barnstaple]' and 'Augustine Tricke of Barnstaple' (Gray, 2020: 35 – 39) who were released. The English government intervened and '89 Devonians who were rescued of more than 300 captives' held in Africa (Gray, 2020: 33).

On the 18th May 1578, just thee months before the tragic Battle of Alcazar and the death of three kings, Thomas Stukeley, and hundreds of soldiers, they found a safe harbour where

> 30 of the countrey people down to the sea side…shewing themselves very pleasant, insomuch that M.Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet. They be of meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour (Hakluyt, 1600: 93).

These interactions with Moroccan people confirm that Thomas Stukeley's migration from Ilfracombe in north Devon to Morocco was not an unusual occurrence but a route regularly used by sailors, colonisers and early modern travellers. This confirms the significance of the geographical location of Ilfracombe in north Devon in relation to translocal and transnational migrations. Furthermore, these connections offer further confirmation of the links with George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, the real battle and the real-world migrations that were taking place in the early modern world.
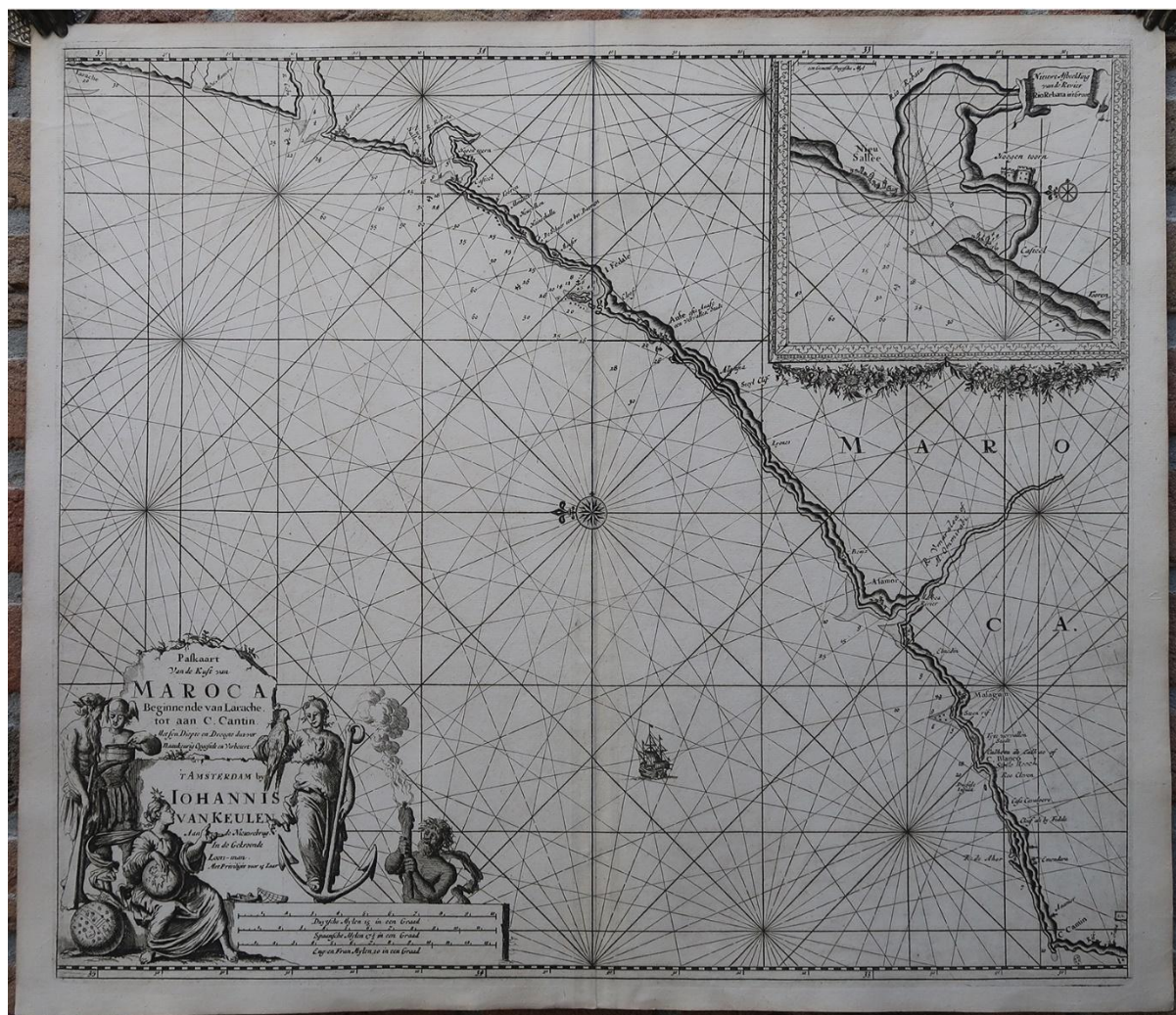
Figure 13. Map of Africa.
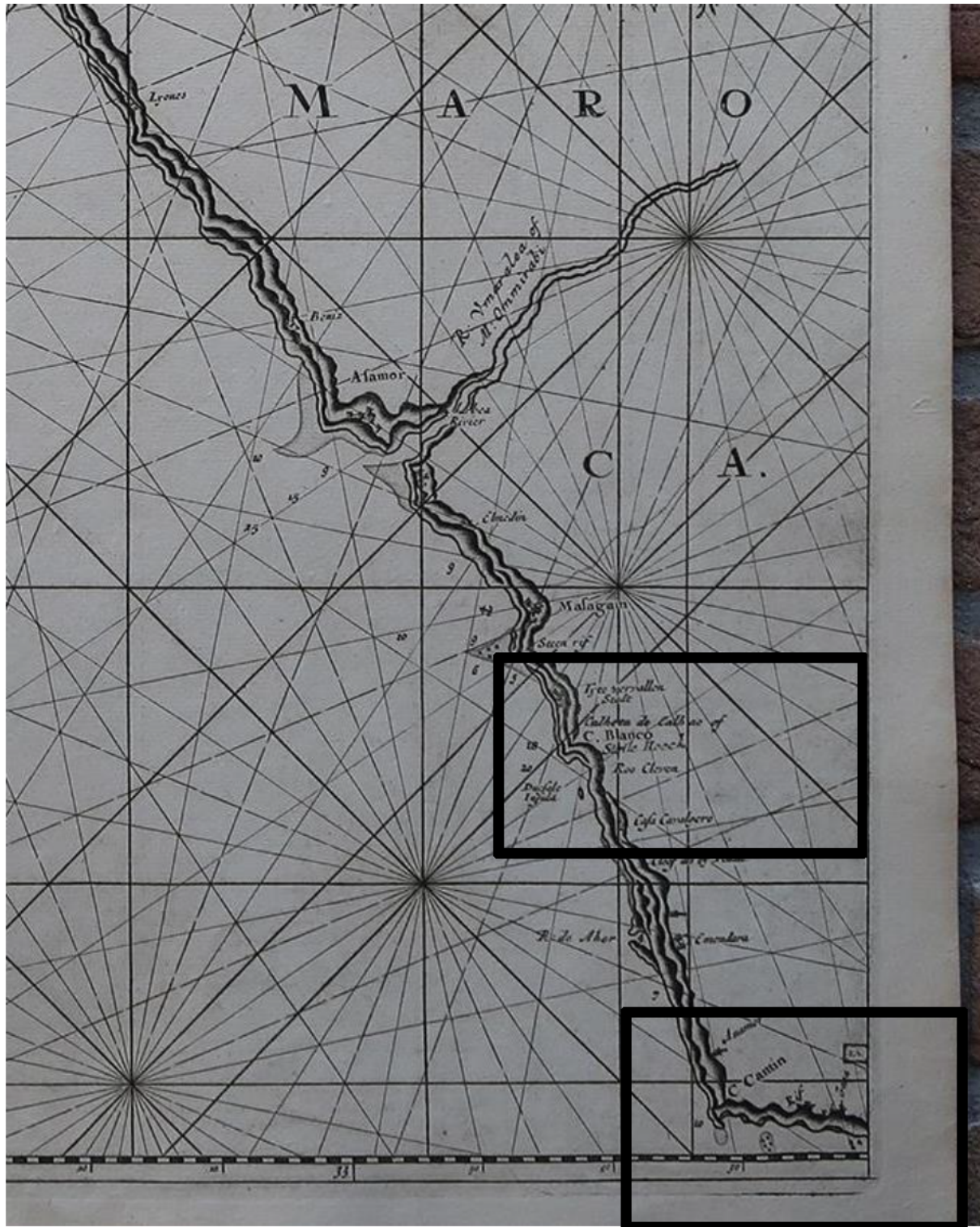
Figure 14. Map of C.Blanco where Hakluyt's sailors voyaged.
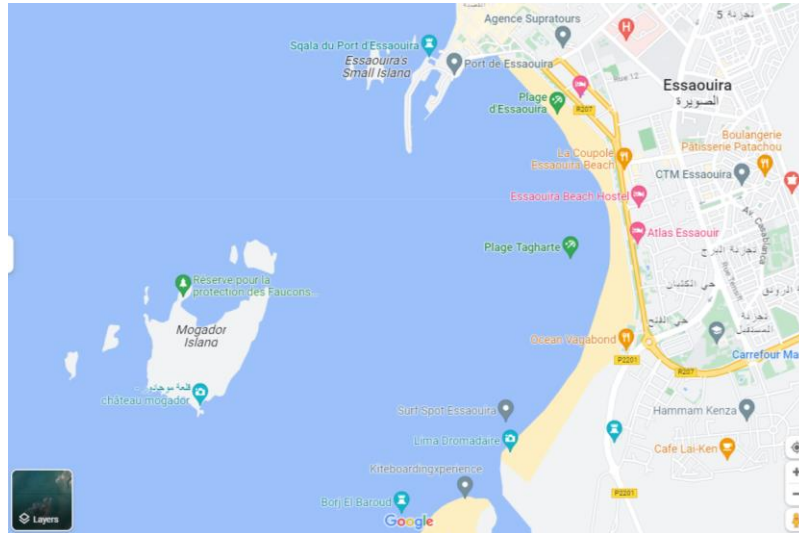
Figure 15. Image of a map of the coast of Africa listed on the route of their voyage.
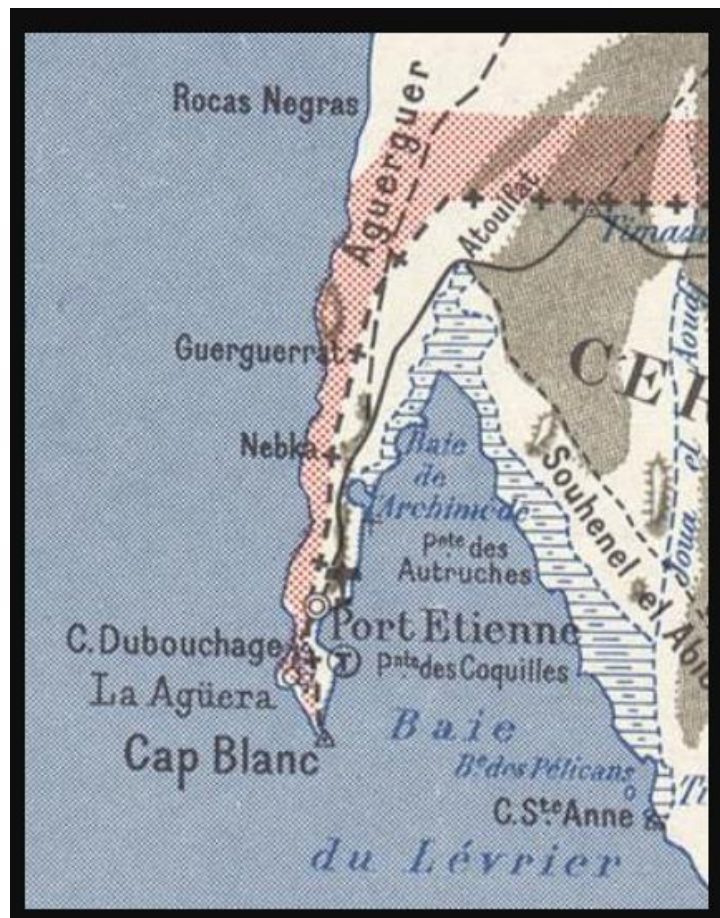
Figure 16. Image of a map of the coast of Africa listed on the route of their voyage.

Figure 17. Image of a map of the coast of Africa listed on the route of their voyage.
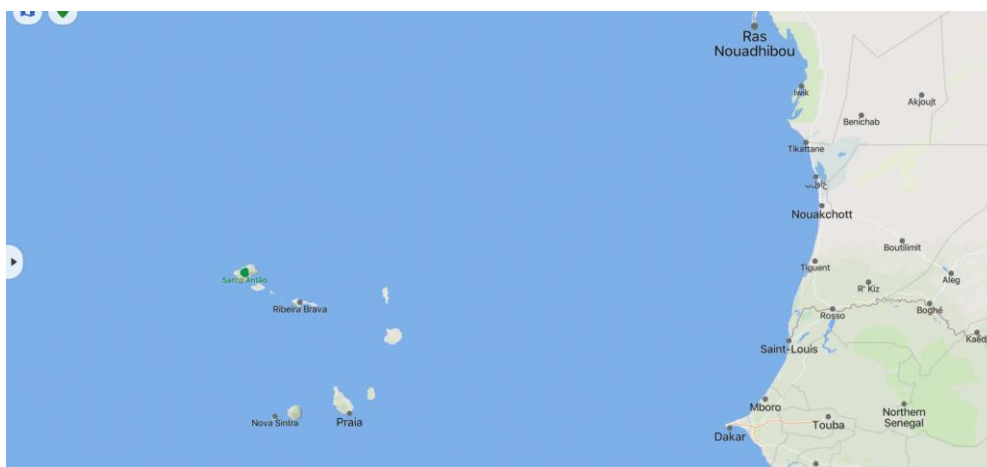
Figure 18. Image of a map of the coast of Africa listed on the route of their voyage.
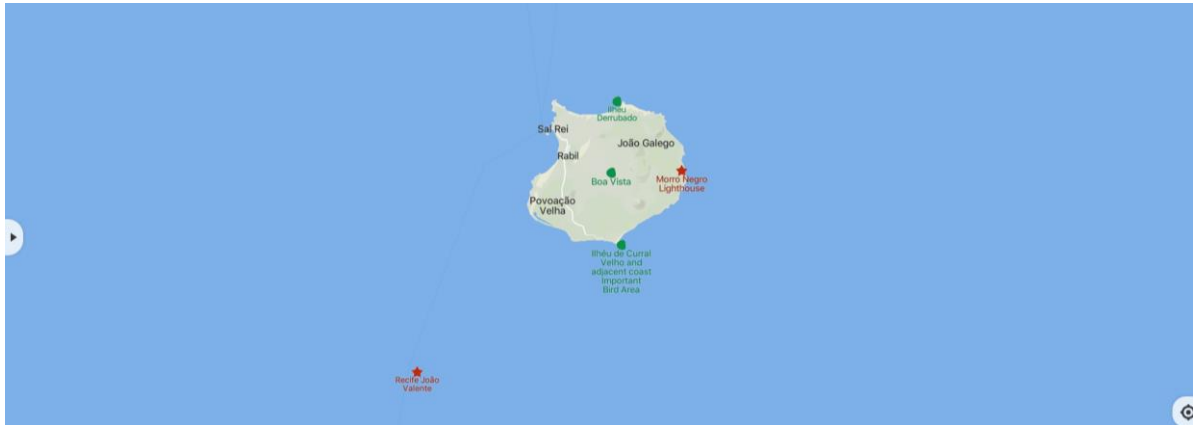
Figure 19. Image of a map of the coast of Africa listed on the route of their voyage.
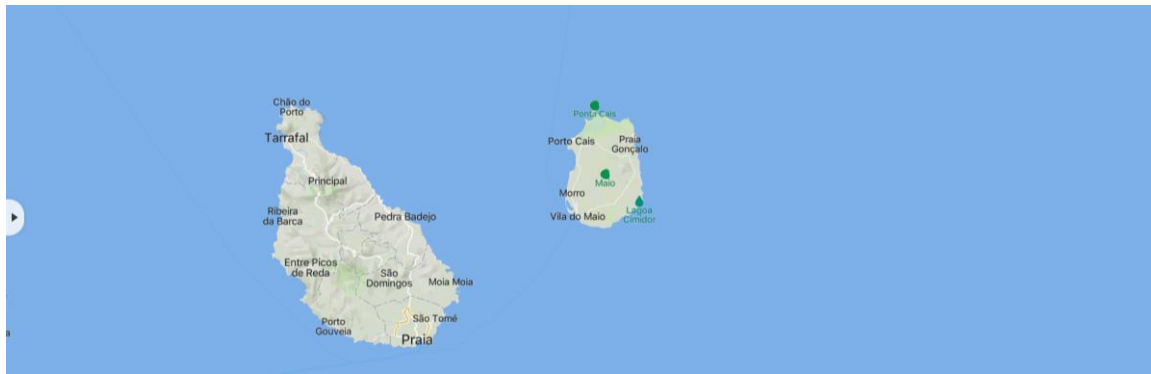
Figure 20. Image of a map of the coast of Africa listed on the route of their voyage.

Earlier, on 4th January 1578, Francis Drake's crew continued to sail along the

Moroccan coast and nearby islands visiting: Cape Blanco; 'the isle of Mayo'; 'the isle

of Fogo'; 'Brava'; 'Cape of Sant Marie'; 'Cape Hope'. They also committed piracy.

On 7th January 1578 they 'tooke 3 Spanish fisher-boates' (Hakluyt, 1600: 89). On

13th January their 'Pinnesse tooke a Portugall caravel'. On Cape Blanco, 'wee tooke

one ship more, all the men being fled away, save two' (Hakluyt,1600: 89-90) 'ranne

over to Sant Iago…which seemed to bee a fruitful island and well peopled'. Sailing along the shore 'wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities' (Hakluyt, 1600: 90).

Between January and the end of April 1578, not only did they meet 'Moores' and 'victualled our selves with a kind of foule which is plentiful in that isle' and 'found one house having a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds and melons…a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos which is bigger then a mans head' (Hakluyt, 1600: 90).

The Battle of Alcazar took place on 'the fourth daie of August, which was mundaie, in the yeere of our salvation 1578' (Poleman, 1587). During the summer of 1578, Drake's fleet had sailed to what is now known as South America. In Hakluyt, Cliffe writes that on '20 of the said moneth [August] we seazed Cape Victorie, by which Cape is the way into the South sea, called The streights of Magellan, the first discoverer thereof' (Hakluyt, 1600: 95). By the autumn, they 'made provision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by Cape Deseado into the South Sea on the 6 of September' (Hakluyt, 1600: 96). The map below from 1694 shows the area they voyaged:
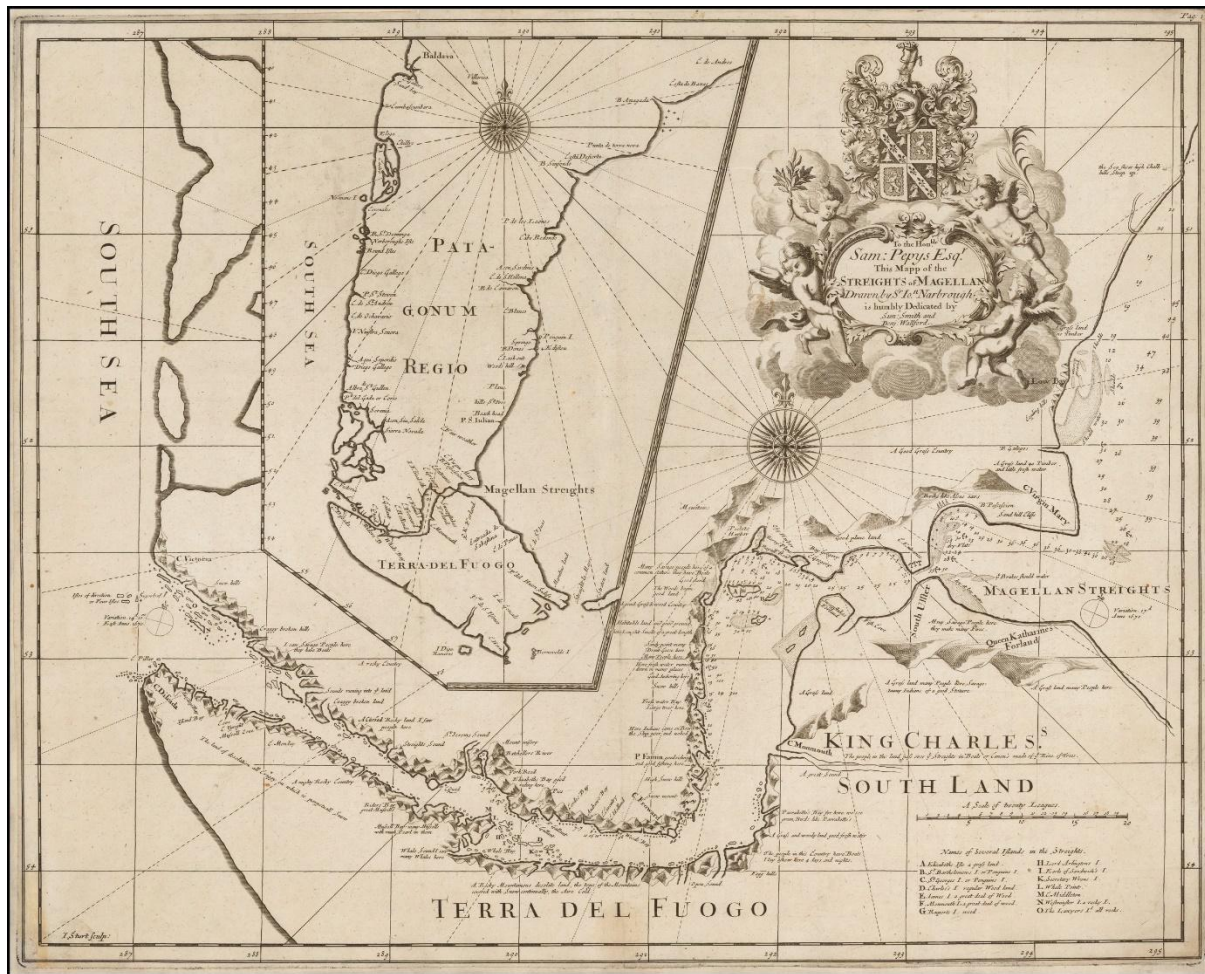
Figure 21. Image of a map of locations listed on the route of their voyage.

Having spent winter in this area to recover health and avoid bad weather, with

provisions in their possession on the 1st May 1579 they began to travel north back to

England. On 30th May they 'had sight of s.Ives on the North side of Corne-wall' and,

like Stukeley years earlier arriving with the spoils of his privateering exploits, Francis

Drake, his crew and his fleet of ships 'arrived at Ilfoordcombe in Devon-shire'

(Hakluyt, 1600: 99) on 2nd June 1579 where 'it pleased God to bring us safe into our

owne native countrey to enjoy the presence of our deare friends and kinsefolkes'

(Hakluyt, 1600: 99).

Figure 22. Image of a 1776 painting which is held in St Nicholas Chapel in Ilfracombe. Image confirms the contemporary spelling of Ilfracombe as 'Ilfordcombe'.
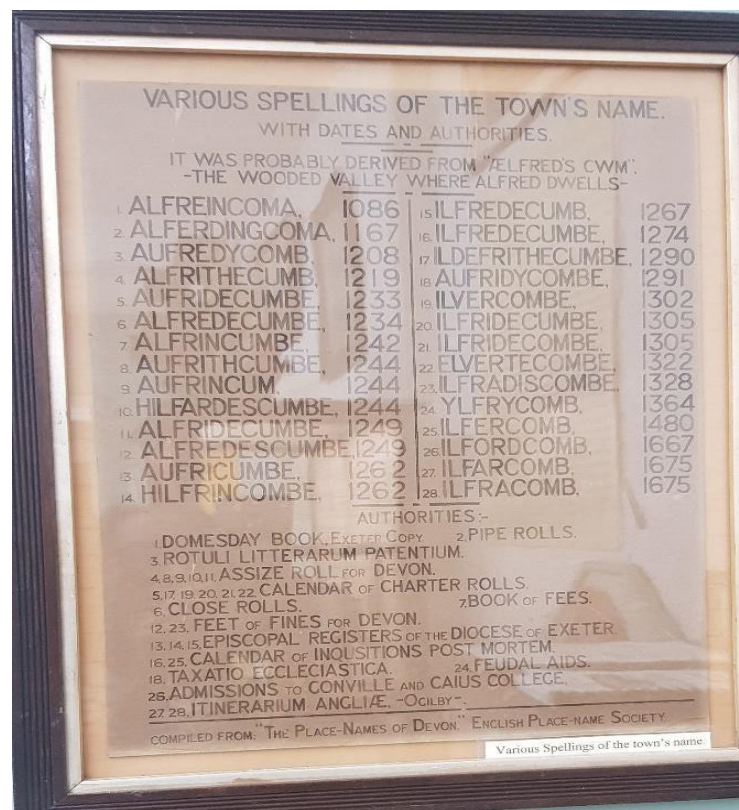
Figure 23. Image held in Ilfracombe Museum of 'Various Spellings of the Town's Name'. Image

confirms the 1667 spelling of 'Ilfordcomb'.

The first image above is a 1776 print held in the Chapel of St Nicholas which shows the contemporary spelling of Ilfracombe as 'Ilfordcombe'. The second image above is held in Ilfracombe Museum and lists the 'various spellings of the town's name'. In 1480 the town was known as Ilfercomb by 1667 it had transitioned to Ilfordcombe. Therefore, the spelling of the town's name list by Cliffe in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* as 'Ilfoordcombe' is in keeping with the language change between these periods.

Figure 24. Image of Ilfracombe Museum where town spelling image is held.

Gray writes that 'in the late 1580s a native American, christened Raleigh, from Wynganditoia (Wyngandacoia otherwise known as Virginia). Kingsley described him as a 'free forest wanderer' who was a 'sort of emblem of the sad fate of that worn-out

Red Race to whom Civilisation came too late to save'. Presumably Raleigh was also familiar with Barnstaple' (Gray, 1998: 23).

Kenneth R Andrews in *Trade Plunder and Settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire 1480 – 1630*, writes that

> with the outbreak of war in 1585 the possibility of trade to Guinea returned, and in 1588 certain merchants of Exeter, Colyton and Barnstaple [all towns in Devon] and London obtained a patent granting them a monopoly of English trade with the Senegambia region for ten year (Andrews, 1984: 112).

Looking into the Devon records of who was granted a patent to trade 'John Doricot of Exeter, Richard Dodderidge of Barnstaple and John Yonge of Colyton' (Gray, 1998: 28) were issued with a grant from Queen Elizabeth I in 1588.

The chronicler Wyatt, noted that

> There came in over the bar of Barnstaple and arrived at Appledore a ship of this town called the Prudence of 100 tons and belonging to Mr Dodderidge of this town...She sailed over the bar of Barnstaple in a reprisal voyage on St Matthew's Day this year having in her 80 men or above and brought in a prize with her being a Portugal ship of about 80 tons which had been at Castellmayne upon the coast of Guinea, having in her 4 chests of gold to the

value of 16,000 pounds and divers chains of gold with civet, amberigis and

other things of great price with much grains [of gold], elephant tooth etc.

Such a value as the like prize hath not before this time been brought into this

port. This ship was brought up unto the quay of Barnstaple aforesaid the

third day next following; the said chests of gold did weigh about 320 pound

weight of gold, besides many chains of gold whereof the company made

pillage (Gray, 2020: 28).

Not only did Dodderidge's ships bring gold and other profitable items in the port of

Barnstaple, but the Barnstaple parish register also records the death of Peter Mingus,

negor servant in 1596:
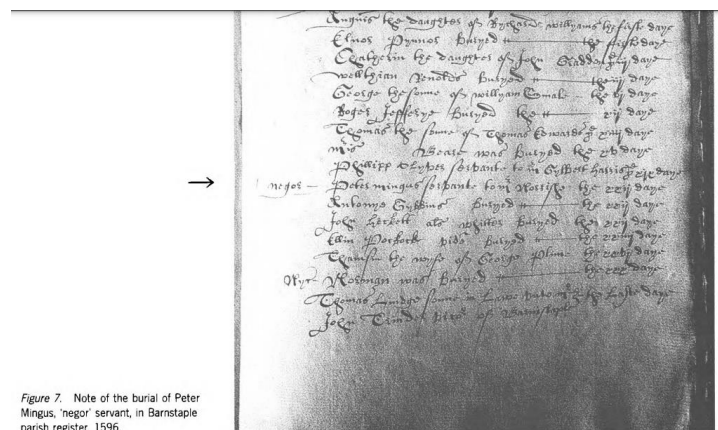
Figure 7. Note of the burial of Peter Mingus, 'negor' servant, in Barnstaple parish register, 1596.

Figure 25. Image of Barnstaple parish register recording the death of Peter Mingus, 'negor servant' in 1596.

Furthermore, the baptism of 'Grace, a neigar servant of Richard Dodderidge' (Gray,

1998: 21) on 6 April 1596 confirms that several black Africans were living and

working in Barnstaple in the late sixteenth century. Todd Gray suggests that

Dodderidge 'may have been responsible for distributing several additional Africans amongst three if his neighbours' (Gray, 2020: 26) with the parish register listed the following baptisms:

> Elizabeth an nigor with Mrs Ayer on 10 April 1598
> Mary, daughter of Elizabeth, a nyger, with Mrs Ayer on 22 May 1605
> Chaterin, a nyger with Mr Lanyon on 26 February 1605/6
> Elizabeth, daughter if Susannah, a nygor 10 November 1606
> (Gray, 2020: 26-27)

There was also a burial in July 1605 of 'Marie, daughter to Elizabeth, a negro, servant to Mrs Ayre, 8th day base' (Gray, 2020: 27). Although the mothers are list as black, the race of the children are not listed, perhaps Mary and Marie were mixed race? Perhaps the cross-cultural encounters of local and global identities brought about interracial marriages and/or children?

To consider additional cross-cultural encounters and Barnstaple in north Devon as a site of encounter for these local, national and global encounters, I would like to consider other agents who migrated to Barnstaple at this time and may have interacted with the African diaspora in Barnstaple that we find in the parish records. Also in Barnstaple in 1605 were the King's Men. The acting company, to which William Shakespeare belonged, were forced to go leave London following an outbreak of the plague and the subsequent closure of theatres. William Shakespeare

who was a leading member of the King's Men may have be part of the players who toured the area and performed in Barnstaple, north Devon. The Barnstaple town accounts of 1589 – 1645 (pictured below) records a payment to the King's Men for performing in the town: '1605: Given to ye kyngs players beynge in town this year'.
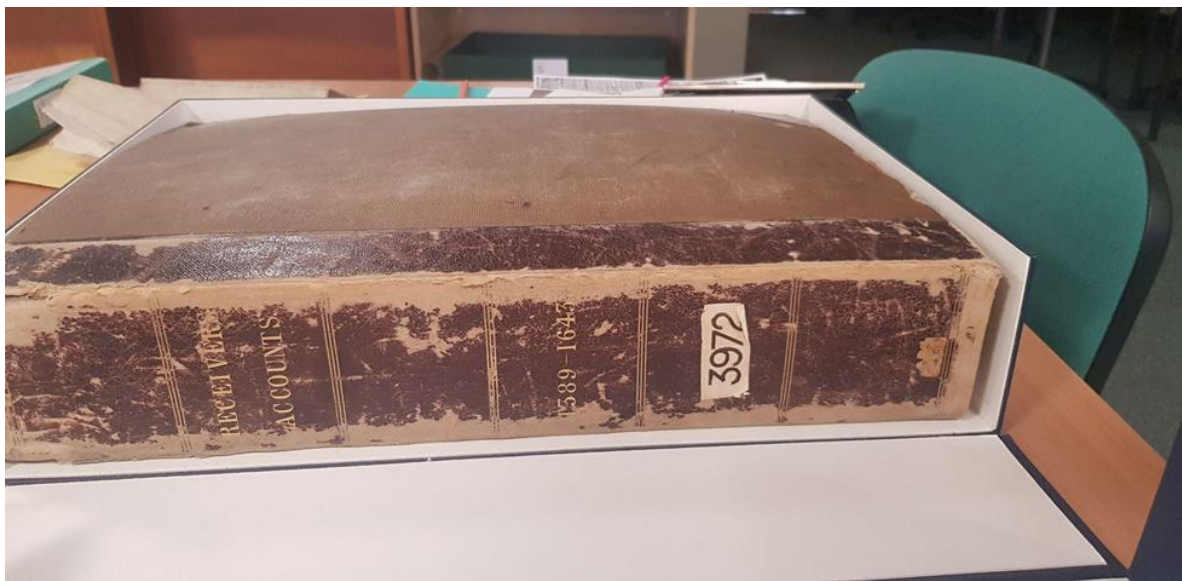

Figure 26. Image of Barnstaple town's Receivers Accounts 1389 – 1643 which confirms payment to the King's Men.

The *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* also confirms that the touring performers visited Bath in 1596, Bristol in 1597 and toured Barnstaple between 1603 - 1605. Perhaps Shakespeare encountered black people in Barnstaple? Perhaps the King's Men performed with Mrs Ayre and her 'negro servant' in the audience?

In addition to this theatrical connection to Devon, in 1608 Lady Rochester of Raleigh took part in the Queen's *Masque of Beauty* at Whitehall. Lady Rochester was the wife of Sir Robert Chichester, Lord of the Manor of Barnstaple, north Devon. Perhaps Mrs Ayre's 'negro servant' watched a performance of the *Masque of Blackness*? Did she witness African women onstage migrating to England for King James to transform their skin from black to white? I shall also draw upon *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty* written by Shakespeare's contemporary, Ben Jonson, in other parts of the thesis to demonstrate the continuities of intersectional tensions and imbalances of power across early modern literature. Here, I shall continue with the thread of Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions to investigate the purpose and location of voyages which embarked from Devon.

To what extent is the geographical location of Devon a significant site for migrations between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries? How is this region a space of encounter for local and global identities?

As I have demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter through the migrations of Stukeley, Hawkins, and Drake, Devon's geographical position on the west coast of England with its north coastline reaching up the Bristol Channel, across

to Ireland and beyond the Atlantic Ocean to the Caribbean and America whilst its southern coastline stretches down towards Africa, which makes Devon a prime location to embark upon multiple migrations. Harnessing the position of the significant Devon ports, merchants and traders used Devon to participate in the triangular trade routes.

Following in Drake's sailing routes, a number of Devon ships sailed from Devon to Africa and onwards to the Caribbean. For instance, in 1682

> the *Speedwell* of Dartmouth sailed from Exeter for Cape Verde (the Atlantic islands off Senegal) and was freighted by an Exeter merchant. The expedition went further: the ship sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to Madagascar where Africans and other cargo were taken aboard…In April the *Speedwell* arrived in Barbados with ivory and 170 slaves (Gray, 2020: 40).

The ship's record and cargo confirm Devon's direct involvement in the triangular trade route which involved the transportation and trade of goods and people. In spite of the precedent set in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the process of trade was complex and incredibly dangerous. Part of the complexity lay in the customs' duty which was to be paid. However, in

1698 trade to Africa was extended from the Royal African Company to all

merchants on the condition a customs' duty of ten percent was paid on their

Guinea-bound cargo. Those who sailed under this arrangement became

known as "ten percenters" (Gray, 2020: 40).

Archival records detailing the journeys of these 'ten percenters' have helped me to

answer the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry into migration that this section and

chapter seek to demonstrate. The following table lists voyages undertaken by

Devonian ships which confirm the county's persistent connections to Africa between

1698 and 1712:

Date	Ship	Origin	Destination	Merchant
1698	*Betty* of Exeter	Bristol	Cape de Verde	John Ellard
1699	*Dragon* of Topsham	Exeter	Guinea	Arthur Jeffrey
1700	*Daniel & Henry* of Exeter & Dartmouth	Dartmouth	Guinea	Daniel Ivy, Henry Arthur, James Gould
1700	*Elizabeth Galley* of Bristol	Bristol	Guinea & Calabar	John Parminter
1709	*Dartmouth Galley*	Dartmouth	Africa	John Harris

| 1710 | *Sylvia* | Plymouth | Guinea | George Barons |
| 1711 | *John Robert* | Plymouth | Gambia | Robert Burridge |

Table 1: Devonian ships sailing to Africa 1698 – 1711. (Donan, 1965: II, 29, 31, 94; Tattersfield, 1990: 369 – 74)

The 1698 ship *Betty* and the 1700 ship *Elizabeth Galley* both originated in Bristol. Devon (specifically north Devon) is ideally placed to create and maintain connections with Bristol merchants and the Bristol port which is just slightly further along the Bristol Channel. This was a significant time of trade for this stretch of the British Channel.   The following map shows the proximity from Ilfracombe to Bristol.
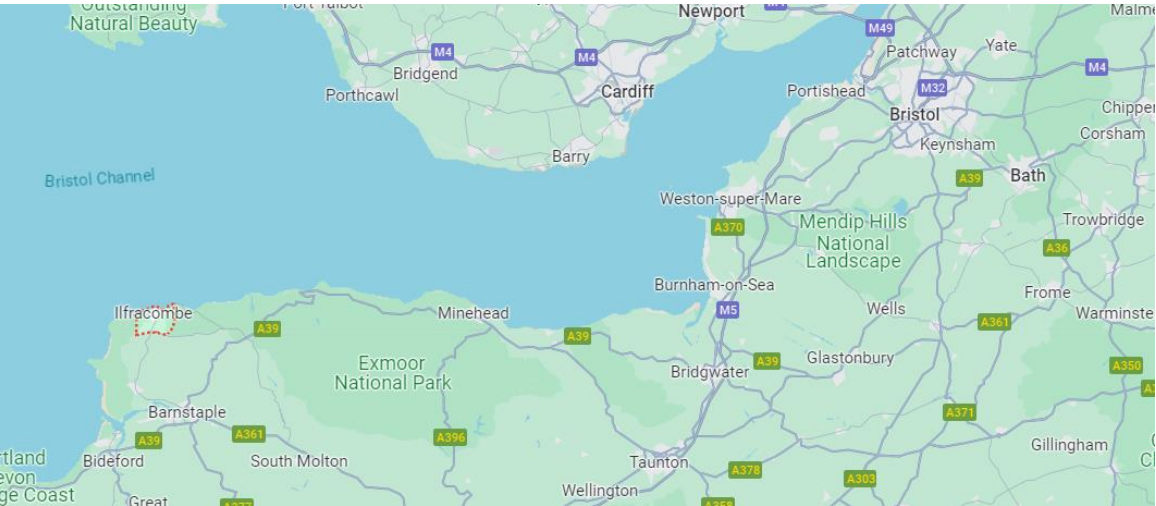
Figure 27. Map showing Ilfracombe, the Bristol Channel and Bristol.

The port of Bristol, which is just along the coast from Ilfracombe, was the second largest slave trading port in England. In 1724, for instance, London dispatched forty-

nine Guinea ships carrying 13,670 slaves, whilst Bristol sent out forty-five ships which took 11,850 slaves. Liverpool accounted for eighteen ships that carried 3,710 slaves. This gives us a sense of the scale of the trade as thousands of black people were transported across the ocean and sold for European profit.

The *Daniel and Henry* is a ship of Dartmouth and Exeter whose surviving account of its 1700 voyage to Africa outlines the route, cargo, value, and nature of the journey. The table below is a sample taken from 'an account of the disposal of Captain Roger Matthew's cargo in the *Daniel & Henry* on the Gold Coast [known today as Ghana] for slaves, 1700' (Gray, 2020: 46 – 49 citing Naish, 1920: 9 – 10) which shows the extent and type of items being traded by this Devon ship along the coast of Ghana, Africa and across the Atlantic.

Date & Location	Items	Enslaved People & Currency
April 11th at Axim	3 pieces perpetuanas, 4 sheets, 2 small knives	1 man
April 18th at Dixcove	2 half barrels powder, 1 small looking glass	1 woman
April 10th at Axim	4 looking glasses 1A, 3 bars lead 3A	4 ackeys [Ackey is currency in this part of Africa]
April 11th at Dixcove	6 small knives 1 dozen knives	6 tackeys [one tackey is worth half an ackey] 1 ackey
April 12th at Dixcove	17 looking glasses, 2 knives, 5A, 2 lead bars	7 ackeys

April 13th ditto	1 nest trunks, 1 firkin tallow	12 ackeys
April 14th ditto	80 bars of iron, 1 sheet, 10 dozen knives	138 ackeys
April 15th ditto	43 dozen knives, 3 sheets, 19 dozen knives, 5 firkins tallow, 1 half case spirits, 1 lead bar	88 ackeys
April 17th ditto	2 half cases spirits, 6 dozen knives, 2 firkins tallow, 1 firkin tallow & 1 small glass, 4 sheets	26 ackeys
May 1st at Commenda	2 whole cases spirits & paid 24 ackeys gold	1 man
May 6th at Commenda	48 dozen knives large, 39 sheets, 8 whole cases spirits	3 women 1 girl
May 9th ditto	64 sheets, 1 firkin tallow, 2 pieces perpetuanas, 1 ackey gold	3 women 1 boy 1 girl
May 9th ditto	33 sheets, 3 pieces perpetuanas, half dozen large knives, & 43 ackeys gold 1 perpetuana & firkin tallow, 4 3lb basins, 2 tankards, 1 looking glass, 2 whole & 1 half case spirits 1 dozen great knives & 1 looking glass, 1 half case spirits	2 men 1 man 10 ackey 4 tackeys 3 ackeys
May 10th ditto Dixcove	2 whole cases spirits, 10 looking glass, 2 firkins powder Gave 2 chests corn gave 4 An. Gold	14 ackeys 3 men
May 10th Anamabo	4 3lb basins	1 man

11th	A perpetuana	1 man
12th	A firkin tallow	1 woman
14th	2 firkins tallow & 16 ackeys gold	1 woman
15th	6 half cases spirits, 6 pieces perpetuanas, 6 looking glass	1 man
13th May Alsenferra	Gave 22 ackeys gold for 7 dornicks	1 boy 1 girl
17th Tantumquerry	16 sheets, 1 whole spirits, 2 tankards, 1 firkin powder for 1 man & 2 women, & 4 chest corn	1 man 2 women
Ditto	1 half barrel powder, 1 firkin tallow & 8 ackeys gold 5 whole cases spirits, & 48 ackeys gold 24 sheets	1 woman 1 man 1 woman 1 boy 1 woman
May 18th ditto	2 whole & 3 half cases spirits & 1 ackey gold	1 girl
May 20th ditto	1 firkin tallow, 2 barrels & 4 firkins powder 6 sheets 2 sheets & 24 ackeys	2 men 1 man
May 21st ditto	1 flane, 6 great knives, 1 firkin tallow, 1 whole case spirits & 12 ackeys 1 barrel powder, 6 dozen great knives	1 man 1 man
May 22nd ditto Ditto Winnebah	7 firkins tallow, 1 dornicks 1 piece nehallaware, 1 ackey 1 barrel powder & 4 ackeys gold	1 man 1 woman 1 man
23rd ditto	32 sheets, 7 firkins tallow & 28 dozen great knives	2 men
25th ditto	1 piece dornick & 32 ackeys gold	1 man, 1 woman

27th ditto	1 firkin tallow, 1 barrel powder, 1 3lb basin	1 man
26th ditto	2 dozen great knives& 17 ackeys 26 ackeys for a young man 2 dozen great knives & 24 ackeys gold 5 pieces nehallaware, 3 dozen small knives, 12 dozen small knives, 2 tankards, 2 dozen great knives, 2 firkin tallow, 25 ackeys gold	1 man 1 boy 1 boy 1 woman 1 man 3 men
27th ditto	2 dornicks, 2 firkins tallow, 32 dozen great knives, 5 firkins tallow, 2 3lb basin & 2 tankards	2 boys 1 boy
28th	1 barrel powder & 2 tankards 1 man; 2 firkins tallow, 8 dozen great knives, 1 tankard, 1 woman 13 dozen great knives, 4 firkins tallow 1 woman; 1 barrel powder 1 man; 1 barrel powder, 2 dozen great knives 1 woman; 2 barrels powder 2 boys	1 man 1 woman 1 man 2 women 2 boys
Winnebah June	1 barrel powder, 1 firkin tallow 1 man; 18 iron bars, 1 dozen great knives 1 man; 1 barrel powder 1 man; 26 dozen great knives	3 men 1 woman
4th	2 pieces nehallaware, 4 dozen great knives 1 woman; 21 iron bars, 2 firkins tallow, 1 man, 1 girl	3 men 1 woman 1 girl
6th	3 flanes 1 man; 1 firkin tallow, 15 sheets, 6 dozen small knives, 1 tankard 1 woman; 4 sheets, 1 perpetuana, 6 iron bars 1 woman; 1 barrel powder, 1 woman 2 pieces nehallaware, 8 looking glasses, 1 woman; 4 sheets, 1	1 man 3 women 1 man 2 women

	perpetuana, 6 iron bars, 1 woman; 1 barrel powder, 1 woman	
13th Allampo	4 pieces tapestry, 9 2lb basins, 1 woman; 8 3lb basins, 1 woman; 1 tapseil, 6 dornicks, 1 girl; 2 perpetuanas, 16 sheets, 2 girls	2 women 3 girls
	1 perpetuana, 8 sheet, 1 tapseil, 1 woman; 9 dornicks, 1 woman, 2 tapseils, 12 sheets, 1 man; 24 1lb & 7 3lb basins, 1 piece niconees, 1 woman	1 man 3 women
June 15th	1 piece nehallaware, 1 woman; 14 carpets, 1 man; 8 tankards, 16 sheets, 1 woman; 22 sheets, 1 girl; 11 dornicks, 1 woman	1 man 3 women 1 girl
June 16th	9 1lb & 1 3lb basins, 2 perpetuanas, 1 tankard, 1 woman; 1 tapseil, 20 tankards, 1 man; 1 nehallaware, 2 3lb & 12 2lb basins, 1 woman	1 man 2 women
June 17th	3 perpetuanas, 1 woman; 8 tankards, 3 iron bars, 1 girl; 2 perpetuanas, 8 sheets, 1 carpet, 1 man; 11 dornicks, 1 woman	1 man 2 women 1 girl
June 18th	2 topseils, 2 tankards, 1 niconee, 1 woman; 2 pieces nicnees, 1 3lb basins, 1 woman; 2 piece nehallaware, 1 3lb basin, 1 woman; 1 sheet, 4 dornicks, 3 looking glasses, 1 girl; 2 tapseils, 1 man; 7 sheets, 1 woman, 1 half barrel powder, 2 3lb basins, 3 looking glasses, 1 girl	1 man 1 woman 2 girls
June 19th	1 case spirits, 11 tankards, 1 girl; 8 tankards, 1 woman; 6 tankards, 1 woman; 12 looking glasses, 6 tankards, 1 girl	2 women 2 girls

June 20th	4 dornicks, 8 3lb & 3 2lb tankards, 1 case spirits, 1 woman; 6 carbines, 1 hanger, 1 man, 28 sheets, 2 brass pans, 1 man	2 men 1 woman
	8 tankards, 1 woman; 16 3lb basins, 1 woman; 3 salempores, 3 3lb basins, 1 woman; 4 firkins powder, 1 tankard, 1 girl	3 women 1 girl
	2 topsails, 2 dornicks, 8 3lb basins, 1 tankard, 1 man; 9 2lb basins, 2 tankards, 1 brass pan, 1 case spirits, 1 woman	1 man 2 women

Table 2: Table of items, people and money traded by the Devonian ship, *Daniel & Henry* (Gray, 2020: 46- - 49)

The *Daniel & Henry* 'left Dartmouth on 24 February 1700 and returned 17 months later on 23 July 1701...A total of 46 men, 50 women, 11 boys and 15 girls were collected during this time' (Gray, 2020: 44). The logbook also reveals disturbing details of the '452 slaves' that were 'taken on the Gold Coast [Ghana] before crossing the Atlantic' (Gray, 2020: 46 – 49). The ship's logbook recorded 'we have now thrown overboard 153 slaves' and a month later 'we have now at this day noon 183 slaves dead and many more very bad' (Gray, 2020: 50). Gray writes that 'on arrival at Jamaica another 6 died and a total of 246 slaves were sold' (Gray, 2020: 49 – 50). The ship's log details people, items, ackeys and tackeys as the currency of the African

Gold Coast. Gray goes on to repeatedly speak of the death of African people in terms of 'financial losses', yet, here, it is essential to acknowledge the loss of life is the loss of fathers, brothers, sons, mothers, daughters, and sisters. This loss of life is due to merchants from Devon.

The transportation and deaths of these particular enslaved people listed above and noted in archival records with their significant connections to Devon, are largely untold and not widely recognised or acknowledged. However, in the eighteenth century there was another shocking case which demonstrates the lack of care and compassion for enslaved African people. People who, as I established in Chapter One, have autonomy, ambition, agency, and humanity.

In 1781, a Liverpool ship named *Zong*, left England to trade in Accra, Ghana. There they purchased and gathered 442 enslaved African people. As demonstrated in the ship's records for *Daniel & Henry*, Ghana was a popular place along the African coast to trade in items and trade African people. On their voyage from Accra, Ghana across the Atlantic Ocean to Jamaica, there was a mass killing of more than 130 enslaved African people by the crew of the British slave ship *Zong* who threw African people overboard so that they would receive the insurance money for the death of their property. On arrival in Jamaica, the ship's owners attempted to make an

insurance claim for the loss of 'cargo'. J. M. W. Turner's *The Slave Ship*, below, is

the artist's representation and commemoration of the shocking mass killing of

enslaved people. It is clear that money (not morals) was the motivation for the slave

trade and the insurance fraud related murders.
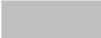
Figure 28. Image of J.M.W. Turner's painting *The Slave Ship*.

Researching contemporary trade and currency, I visited museums in Devon to find

further connections. The following table and photograph of coins that were

discovered on a beach in Ilfracombe, north Devon demonstrate the trade links

between north Devon, Europe, and the wider world.

Dating from 1683 to 1784, the Portuguese, Spanish, French and British coins confirm the prevalence of European trade undertaken and connected to this particular section of the north Devon coast. Furthermore, the coins discovered allude to connections between the people and countries trading in this area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to this, Britain was not only trading but also competing with other European countries not only for slaves, goods and money, but also for control of Caribbean islands.

Number	Metal	Description	Date
1	Silver	Demi em. Louis XIV French.	1683
2	Gold	Guinea. James 2nd. British.	1686
3	Gold	Moidore. 4000 reis. Peter II Colonial Portugal.	1689
4	Copper	1.5 reis. Portuguese.	1699
5	Gold	Moidore, 4000 reis. Colonial Portugal	1715
6	Gold	Moidore, 4000 reis. Joannes V Colonial Portugal	1720

7	Gold	400 reis. Joannes V Colonial Portugal	1720
8	Gold	Moidore 4000 reis. Joannes V Colonial Portugal	1723
9	Gold	Portuguese 8 escudo. Joannes V	1723
10	Gold	Moidore 4000 reis. Joannes V Colonial Portugal	1724
11	Gold	2 escudi/Doubloon. Spanish Colonial	Undated
12	Gold	Portuguese 8 escudo. Joannes V	1725
13	Gold	2 reals. Spanish	1784

Figure 29. Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee in Ilfracombe.

Figure 30. Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee in Ilfracombe.

Figure 31. Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee in Ilfracombe.

Figure 32. Image of an early modern coin discovered on Rapparee in Ilfracombe.

Pat Barrow, who discovered some of the coins on Rapparee Beach in Ilfracombe,

writes that the

> Moidore was also known as the four-cruzado piece. The cross of Jerusalem
>
> was on the reverse and the crowned arms of Portugal on the obverse. The
>
> Moidore...was struck in vast quantities from 1683 to 1720. The Portuguese
>
> Brazilian colony issued even larger quantities of these coins, especially after the

discovery of gold deposits there. It was the most commonly traded coin in the

New World, and the main international gold coin of the 18th century...

The 1686, James 11 Gold Coin...the gold that this coin is made of was

originally brought back from Guinea on the west coast of Africa, by the

African Company and hence the coins that were made from this gold took the

name Guineas. The one found in Rapparee Cove was milled in a screw press

machine, and had a fixed weight of 129.5 grains but the actual value fluctuated

up until 1717 when it stabilised at twenty shillings (Barrow, 1998: 29).

These incredible finds are tangible evidence of the direct links between this specific

north Devon beach and Britain's global trade. Furthermore, the coins reach across

the temporal continuum, demonstrating links along the time periods that this study

traces. Additionally, these coins continue to have significance in the subsequent

centuries which is covered in Part Two and the following chapters of this thesis.

The coins were discovered on a beach in Ilfracombe because stormy seas had churned

up the shoreline. In *Merchants*, Dr Edmond Smith writes of the

myriad of uncertainties that were part of early modern merchants' everyday lives. Changeable weather, shifting market conditions...buying goods and navigating diverse jurisdictions (Smith, 2021: 5).

The Portuguese, Spanish, French and British coins found on this beach, reveal the interconnectedness of commerce during this period. An account written in 1787 by a visitor to Ilfracombe observed the town's geography, rocky cliffs and vulnerability to storms along this coastline:

> the town is little more than one street till you come to the quay, but it is of considerable length. As you descend a bold and rocky cliff rises directly in your view and forms the grandest background to the ships that lie in the harbour and the buildings which surrounded it that can be imagined...From a little cove in the Bristol Channel about one hundred and fifty yards wide, and about twice that depth, a low and narrow valley extends a considerable way inland, edging a little away from the direction of the coast. It is sheltered from the storms that vex this shore by a high and uneven ledge of rocks, which though covered with earth in many parts, yet here and there their craggy tops

appear high above it. The town is ranged on the opposite side of the valley, every part of which is finely defended from the sea by the ledge, which always higher than the houses, gradually rises to a very respectable hill (Plymouth Archives 308/50 quoted in Gray, 2021: 105).

Navigating the seas which were exposed to changeable weather conditions that Edmond Smith mentions also hint at the treacherous conditions which may have led to ships losing their cargo along this stretch of coast. In addition to this, echoes of *The Tempest* reach forward into the Mariner's song in Waldron's sequel to Shakespeare's play which remind us of the context in which Waldron created his sequel. The dangers of early modern sea voyages are emphasised when the Mariner sings: 'Some are wreck'd, some tempest-tost,/To the bottom plung'd and lost!' As we see from the photographs of European coins, all that is 'plung'd and lost' gets washed up on the shore.

In Waldron's play, Ariel sings of the 'drown'd man's skull/And bleached bones'. These not only allude to the skulls of sailors but in the eighteenth century the bones of African people whose oceanic transformation from human to

commodity were lost in transportation across the scarred Atlantic route. As the Devon, Bristol and Liverpool ship records above confirm, many enslaved people died during the Atlantic crossings. Furthermore, sea travel was treacherous which led to many ships being wrecked by stormy weather.

The following photograph, taken at the north Devon records office, shows a full page of shipwrecks reported on the Lloyds List from 1792 - 1810 and demonstrates the extent of global commerce and loss of ships in the area. Ships listed here were sailing from Newfoundland to Barnstaple; Malta to Falmouth; Bristol to Bilboa; London to Trinidad; New York to London; Swansea to Padstow; and Dublin to London.

Figure 33. Image of Lloyds List from 1792 – 1810 detailing ships that were wrecked or damaged at sea.

Listed here is also a ship linked to Ilfracombe, north Devon. On the 9th October 1796, a ship called *The London* was travelling from the Caribbean island of St Lucia across the Atlantic ocean to Bristol, England. Sadly, *The London* was caught in a storm along the north Devon coastline. In the treacherous conditions, the captain and crew attempted to seek refuge at Ilfracombe harbour, however, the storm forced *The London* into the rocks destroying the ship and drowning many people onboard

In the North Devon Records Office, I found the Lloyd's List no. 2863 which reports

losses and insurance losses, which confirms the ship is a 'Total Loss':
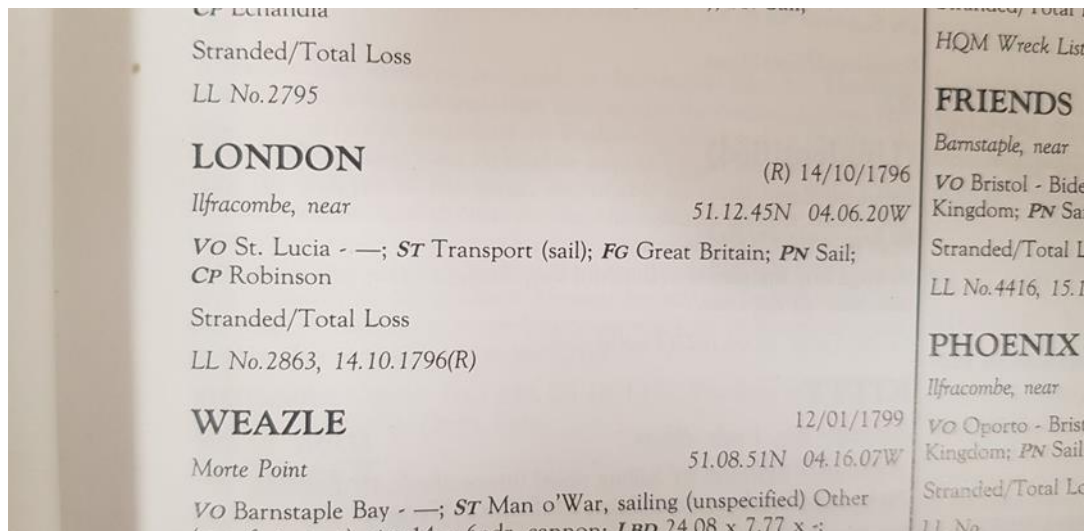
Figure 34. Image of Lloyds List record of 1796 confirming the 'Total Loss' of the ship, *London*, which was shipwrecked near Ilfracombe. The record also confirms that the ship was a transport ship that sailed from the Caribbean Island of St Lucia.

Eyewitness reports from contemporary newspaper held in Ilfracombe Museum

reveal details about the Ilfracombe wreck.

Sherbourne Mercury, October 1796:

> In the evening a melancholy accident happened at Ilfracombe: A ship called
>
> the London, of London...having onboard a considerable number of blacks
>
> was driven on the rocks, near the entrance of the Pier, during a violent gale of

wind, by which about 50 of the prisoners were drowned; those who got on shore exhibited the most wretched spectacle.

London Gazette, October 1796:

Pursuant to an Act of Parliament passed in the twenty-sixth year of His late majesty's Reign, this is to give Notice to the Concerned, that Information has been sent to this Office that the Transport ship LONDON of London, whereof WILLIAM ROBINSON was Master, bound from the Island of St Christopher's [another name for St Lucia] to Plymouth was on the 9th instant, in tempestuous weather unfortunately wrecked at the Entrance of the Harbour of Ilfracombe in the County of Devon.

It is also interesting to note that the second report mentions 'Plymouth' and suggests that the ship may have been sailing from St Lucia to the Devon port of Plymouth, which confirms the significance of Devon's ports as a place of embarkation and disembarkation.

A later report not only refers to coins but also mentions burials and bones, for instance, in 1879 Mrs Slade-King wrote that:

> This Rapparee Cove was the scene of a dismal wreck, nearly a century since, of a Bristol ship with slaves on board. Their corpses were denied a Christian burial, and their skulls are even now at times turned up…Tradition says that many of them were drowned with fetters on their legs (Ref).

Just as the Mariner and Ariel suggested, Neptune's seabed is full of bones. During my research trip to the Ilfracombe Museum, I discovered 'The human skeletal material from Rapparee' report by Dr J F Cross, April 1997 which outlines the ages and condition of the bones.

Figure 35. Image of the Rapparree Cove Human Skeletal Report by Dr J. F. Cross.

The Rapparree Cove human skeletal material

Tray 3

Identifiable pieces

1. Vertebra: adult vertebral arch consisting of part of the inferior articular surfaces and the spinous process. Probably an upper thoracic vertebra. No lipping around the articular surfaces.

2. Mandible: adult, consisting of the left ramus and some alveolar bone. The coronoid process is missing. No degenerative change on the head of the mandible where it articulates with the temporal bone. The angle is flared. One of the molar teeth from Tray 1 fits the socket. *(Mandible2)*

3. Sphenoid

4. Parietal: left piece with frontal and sagittal sutures, also evidence of the middle meningeal artery.

5. Basi-occipital: Part of synchondrosis, adult as synchondrosis is fused.

6. Occipital: piece of occipital articulated with ?right parietal. Suture shows evidence of an ossicle (which is missing). The inner and outer tables are thin, together with the diploe. ?immature.

7. Rib: first rib shaft, anterior end of the shaft. There is evidence of some minor ossification into the costal cartilage.

8. Rib: lower right rib shaft, piece of posterior end with the articular facet of tubercle. No lipping around facet.

9. Capitate: adult right.

10. Metacarpal: shaft of first metacarpal, side unknown as both the head and base are missing.

11. Metacarpal: right third, head missing.

12. Metacarpal: ?left ?fifth. Head and one side of base are missing.

Fragments

1. Cranial fragment: ?parietal, suture evident.

2. Cranial fragment: ?parietal, suture evident.

3. Cranial fragment: occiptal with ridge.

4. Cranial fragment: occipital with ridge.

5. Various unidentified fragments, including 3 pieces of skull, rib shaft pieces and fragments, fragment of either a proximal or middle metacarpal phalanx and fragments of a ?lower limb bone shaft.
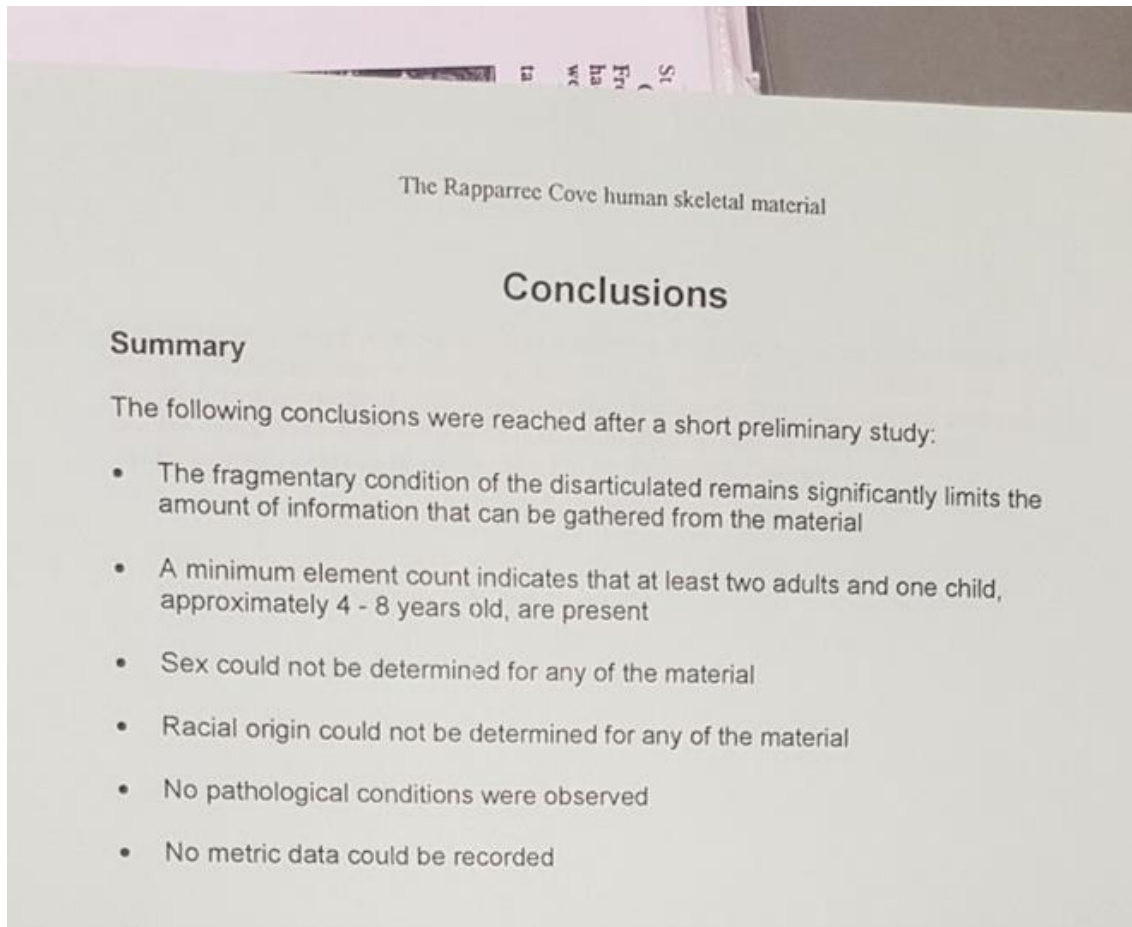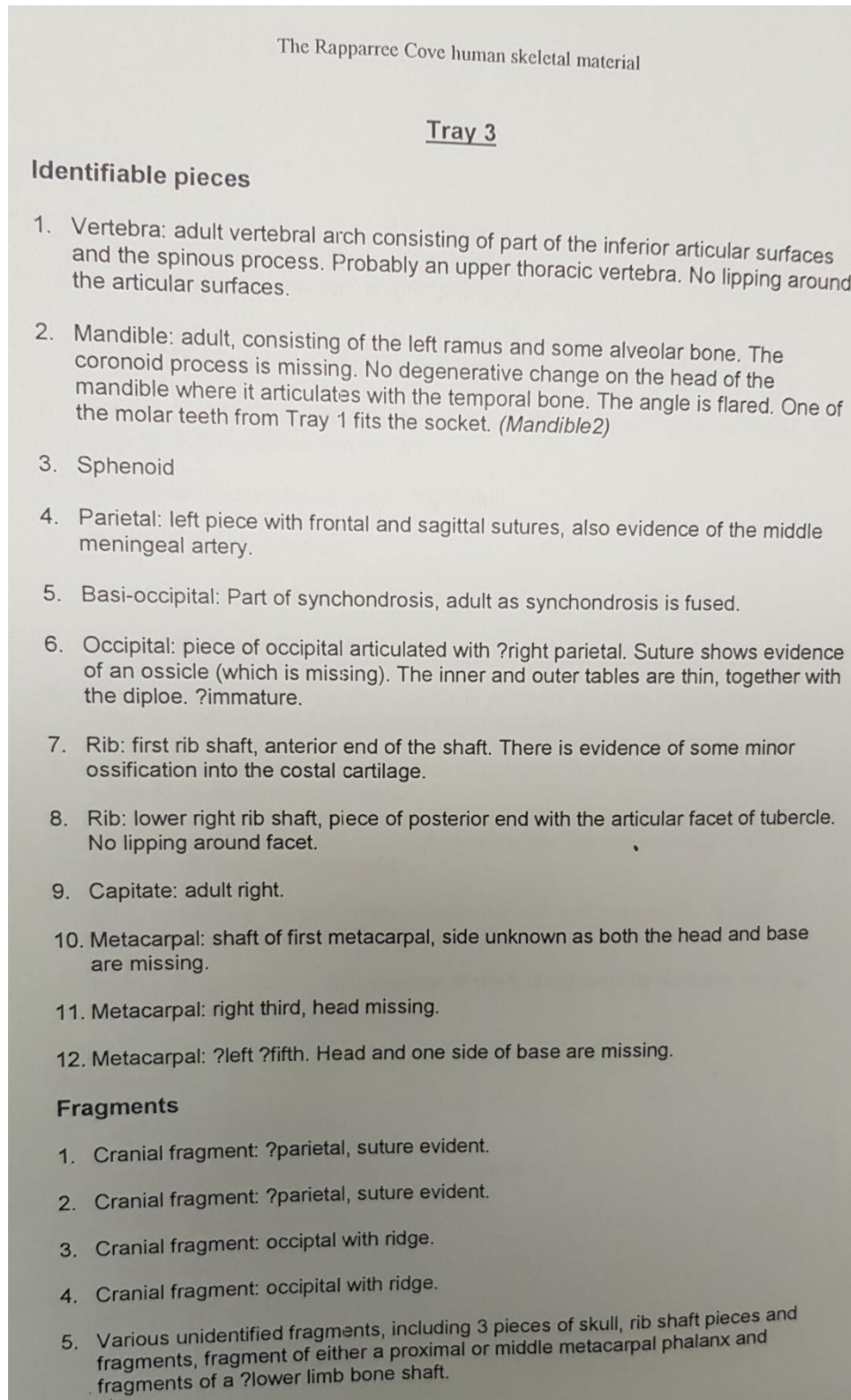
Figure 36. Image of the Rapparree Cove Human Skeletal Report by Dr J. F. Cross.

The Rapparree Cove human skeletal material

Tray 6

Identifiable pieces

1. Rib: right with piece of posterior end with the articular facet of tubercle and angle. Some lipping along the inferior margin of the costal groove.

2. Capitate: right adult.

Fragments

1. Cranial fragment: very thin The inner and outer tables are thin, together with the diploe ?immature. One edge shows a clearly defined suture.

2. Various unidentified fragments, including rib shaft fragments.

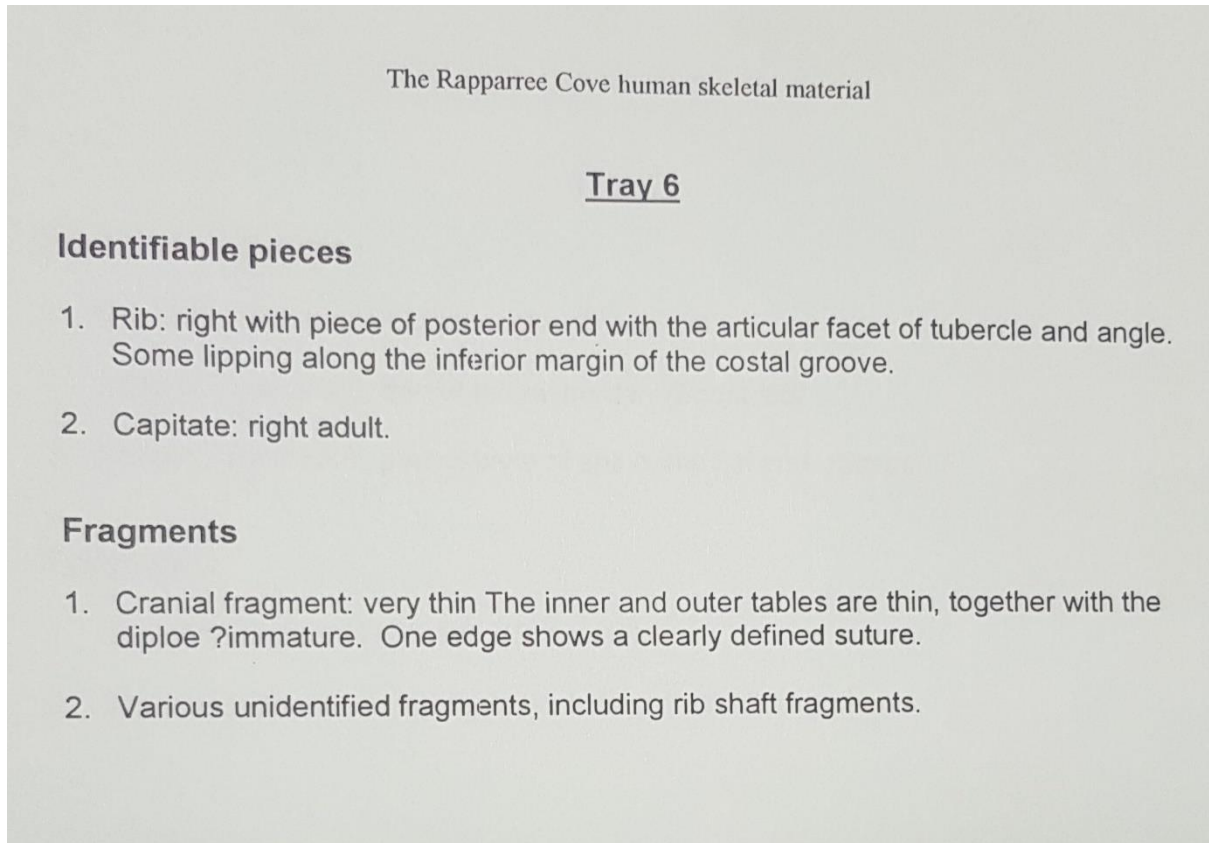Figure 37. Image of the Rapparree Cove Human Skeletal Report by Dr J. F. Cross.

The following images are of the identifiable pieces and fragments of bones

mentioned in the report that were discovered on Rapparee beach in 1997:

Figure 38. Image of bones discovered on Rapparee, Ilfracombe.

Figure 39. Image of bones discovered on Rapparee, Ilfracombe.

Figure 40. Image of bones discovered on Rapparee, Ilfracombe.

Figure 41. Image of Rapparee Cove, Ilfracombe.

This section of the Migration chapter has revealed evidence of Devon's direct connections to the slave trade. Through the range of sources and resources such as archival records, shipping logs, skeletal reports and archaeological discoveries, I have demonstrated the ways in which Devon merchants are implicated in the enforced trade and movement of people. The significance of Devon's connections continues

to reverberate with similar themes and routes of migration that were undertaken by the theatrical and real-world Sir Thomas Stukeley.

The final section of the Migration chapter will consider the legacies of the slave trade and the continued relevance of Devon as a site for later migrations.

To what extent is the geographical region of Devon a significant site for later migrations? What are the legacies of the slave trade? How is this region a space of encounter for local and global identities?

The impact and legacy of the slave trade with its links to Devon have occurred and persist in several ways. In the early nineteenth century, records show that there were several plantations in Jamaica named after Devon places including, Barnstaple, Bideford, Exeter, Heavitree, Saltram, Topsham, Torrington Castle. There were also several slave colonies that had Devonshire estate owners, as the following 1830 record demonstrates:

Location of slave colonies in which there were Devon estate owners in 1830	White	Slaves	Interracial	Total
Antigua	1,187	29,600	5,513	36, 300

Bahamas	5,007	9,503	2,520	17,030
Barbados	14,812	82,026	5,312	102,150
British Guiana	3,701	88,666	8,235	100,600
Dominica	703	14,706	3,591	19,000
Grenada	701	23,884	3,806	28,400
Jamaica	18,903	319,074	40,703	378,050
Mauritius	unknown	64,331	unknown	unknown
Nevis	453	9,194	1,403	11,050
St Kitts	1,498	19,094	2,808	23,400
St Vincent	1,400	23,100	3,500	28,000
Tobago	453	12,551	1,146	14,150
Trinidad	3,323	22,757	15,985	42,065
Total	46,843	707,983	91,372	792,865

Table 4: Location of slave colonies in which there were Devon estate owners in 1830.

As I have shown throughout the chapter, geographical locations also create and have an impact upon cross-cultural encounters. The following table lists the range of places in the Caribbean that enslaved people or slave owners were born. This extensive list is an example of multicultural Devon, revealing that the migration of Caribbean born people to Devon has been an ongoing and important part of Devonshire's cultural life.

Multicultural Devon in the 19th century

Location of birthplace	1851	1861	1871
Antigua	2	5	3
Barbados	27	22	10
Bermuda	49	33	77
British Guiana	8	9	10
Dominica	4	1	0
Grenada	4	4	0
Honduras	1	2	2

Jamaica	110	97	97
Mauritius	5	23	27
Montserrat	1	1	0
Nevis	3	0	0
St Kitts	10	3	5
St Vincent	10	3	5
Tobago	2	0	0
Trinidad	7	4	9
Virgin Islands	0	1	0
Devon total	567, 098	584, 373	600,814

Table 5: Multicultural Devon. Birthplaces of Devon residents.

Not only were merchants trading goods and people in exchange for coins and currency of the period from Devon to Africa and onto the Caribbean, but British plantation owners who were linked to Devon also fathered children in the Caribbean islands. The tables above alludes to these mixed-race, mixed-class Caribbean born children. In 1791, Thomas Atwood wrote that White Caribbean settlers would:

content themselves with the company of a Mulatto or Negro mistress

who brings them a spurious race of children, the maintenance of whom,

together with the extravagance of their sable mothers, soon dissipates the first

savings of their keeper's hard-earned wealth (Atwood, 1791: 20)

W.G Sewell acknowledges that 'interracial children did not have their fathers' social

standing' (Sewell, 1861: 44) and were perceived a socially 'shut out from the Whites

on the one hand, who will not admit them to their society, and from the Blacks on

the other' (Sewell, 1861: 67 – 68).

These cross-cultural interactions, if you will, not only impacted the genealogy of the

islands, mixed-race children also migrated to Devon which created generations of

interracial people in the region. In 1776, Sir Patrick Blake, owner of a number of

West Indian forced labour plantations, returned to England from St Kitts 'with two

daughters whom he had fathered with enslaved women. One, Barbara, subsequently

married Andrew Durnfield and lived in Alphington and Torquay, Devon' (Gray,

2021: 30). In 1834, the interracial grandchildren of Blake, known as the Durnford

sisters, are recorded as living in south Devon.

Historian Todd Gray writes that William McCaul 'moved from St Vincent to London by the spring of 1827 and shortly afterwards arrived in Ilfracombe' (Gray, 2021: 31). McCaul's father 'bequeathed him property in Calliaqua in St Vincent and gave £1,000 to two "Mulatto" children as well as annuity to a "Mulatto" woman from Carriacou.' Gray claims that 'it is probable they were William's siblings' (Gray, 2021: 31). McCaul senior left the following instructions:

> an annuity of forty pounds, a house and his freedom to his servant Frank, who was list in 1822 as a twenty-six-year-old Negro house servant who had been 'brought from Britain'. He also had William 'the service of a Negro woman named Mary together with her daughter Peggy and her sons Jerry and Paul during his lifetime and they are afterwards to be made free'. A slave register shows that this took place between 1 January 1825 and 1 December 1827; the manumissions of Peggy and Paul, described as 'mongrels' were listed at about the time he arrived in Ilfracombe (Gray, 2021:31).

The purchase, inheritance, ownership and freedom of enslaved people led to further migrations and cross-cultural encounters. Whilst enslaved people continued to be

bought, sold or set free, simultaneously, abolition meetings were being held in

Devon. For example,

> at a particularly raucous meeting in Ilfracombe in 1830 Albany Saville, a
>
> former Member of Parliament for Okehampton' he felt that: "slavery having
>
> been permitted by the wisdom of the all Bountiful Creator to be the lot of
>
> some of our fellow creatures" (North Devon Journal 2 & 16 September 1830:
>
> Exeter & Plymouth Gazette 7 April 1878).

In Barnstaple, George Mellis argued against immediate compensation; his argument

was that it would take generations to civilise enslaved people (North Devon Journal,

12. Jan. 1832).

In the years surrounding the abolition of the slave trade, enslaved people attempted

to gain their freedom. To convince estate owners to relinquish their enslaved people,

compensation was paid to them. Several Devon slave owners were awarded

compensation for releasing their enslaved people.

Earlier in this chapter, I explored an incident involving Captain Thomas Stukeley

and his privateering near Lundy which is a small island off the coast of Ilfracombe

and can be clearly seen from Ilfracombe's harbour and coastline. When Stukeley was

engaged in Rome and Morocco between 1577 and 1578, Sir Richard Grenville

acquired the island of Lundy from the St Legers who were down on their fortunes, forced to disperse their estate. Approximately 350 hundred years after this incident, William Hudson Heaven inherited six Jamaican estates from his godfather William Hudson. Ramble Pen was one of the estates he had inherited. 'In 1824 a conspiracy between the workers and some of the surrounding estates was discovered' (*Royal Gazette*, 23 Feb. 1822; *Jamaica Journal*, 18 Dec. 1824). Nine men were charged with attempting to obtain their freedom by force. Seven were found guilty and were hung at the gallows (Papers relating to the manumission, government and population of slaves in the West Indies 1822 - 1824:122-8). Millcombe House on Lundy became their permanent home. Heaven received £11,742 13s 2d [£796,167.50] compensation for 538 Jamaicans on 19th October 1835 and 15th February 1836 (Gray, 2021).

Another example of compensation for a slave owning Devonshire resident is in the case of Catherine Campbell Griffith née Shakespear. Shakespear's parent were married in Jamaica and her siblings were born in Jamaica. Griffith 'married John William Spencer Griffith, an attorney' she lived there until 1811 'each of her children were born on the island' (Gray, 2021: 190).

In 1817 Griffith registered thirty-three enslaved Jamaicans including women named Tamar, Gift, Harriet, Myra, Rachel, Grace, Bessie, Myrtilla, Louisa, Eliza, Clarissa, Lucky, Sally, Kitty, Eve, Minerva, Violet, Annie, Elizabeth, Molly,Ruthie and Mary…Six years earlier Mr Griffith had a daughter, Fatima Campbell Shakespear, with Eleanor Smith, a 'sambo', but neither were listed as enslaved. In 1836 Mrs Griffith received £685 8s 11d [£46447] compensation for 37 Jamaicans (NDRO, 942.3/BAR/NOR, Basil J Northover, Newport Terrace, vol. 2, section 29; TNA, T71/164). Around 1841, 'she and her two daughters Frances and Mary moved to Newport in Barnstaple. By 1850 they were at 1 Newport Terrace [Barnstaple] when Mrs Griffith died five years later' (Gray, 2021: 189).

The legacy of the slave trade persists in details of the previous occupants who lived in the buildings surrounding me, in my hometown and the location in which I am writing this thesis. The financial legacy of the slave trade also persisted into the twenty-first century. In *Fictions of Consent: Slavery, Servitude, and Free Service in Early Modern England* Urvashi Chakravarty recalls the shocking 2018 HM Treasury twitter message stating that:

> 'Millions of you helped end the slave trade through your taxes', reminding taxpayers that they had contributed to the cost of emancipation and celebrating the fact that, as the Treasury put it, 'In 1833, Britain used £20 million, 40 percent of its national budget, to buy freedom for all slaves in the Empire. The amount of money for the Slavery Abolition Act was so large that it wasn't paid off until 2015. Which means that living British citizens helped pay to end the slave trade' (Chakravarty, 2022: 2).

The compensation paid to Devon slave owners in the nineteenth century has only recently been paid off, confirming that the significance and legacy of migration during the slave trade persisted across the centuries.

Tourism as a Form of Migration

By the early 1800s, Ilfracombe was described as 'an agreeable summer residence' which was 'of late years been much frequented as a bathing place' (Hoskins, 1954: 414). The health benefits of the countryside and sea air in Ilfracombe was celebrated by commemorating centenarians who died in Ilfracombe at the ages of 100, 102, 103, 107 (Banfield, 1840: 11-12).

By 1822, Ilfracombe was 'filled to capacity with fashionable visitors'. A visitor observed that: 'Anyone about to write a novel of character should come down to

Ilfracombe, where many most amusing and original traits are awaiting a chronicler. Such a set of oddities would be found among the natives surely cannot be assembled in any other place' (Lady Jackson, The Bath Archives 1873, I, 134).

Also in 1822, another traveller commented that:

> There is not much to be seen at this seaport town which is of considerable extent and a good deal of trade is carried on especially to and from Ireland. The harbour was full of vessels and a scene of some bustle seemed to pervade the place. The houses are mostly whitened which gives an air of neatness to the town which it does not really possess, the ascent into it is very steep and we were obliged to drag the carriage even through the streets which in places are very narrow (Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/ES/14/2).

Ilfracombe and the surrounding countryside and coastline of north Devon has continued to be a popular location for leisure and tourism from the Victorian era to the present day.

Throughout this chapter I have demonstrated Devon's important intercultural and international connections to Europe, Africa and the New World. These links began with the theatrical and real-world figure, Sir Thomas Stukeley. Stukeley's migrations and colonial quests reflect the tensions and ambitions of the early modern period.

Furthermore, Stukeley's birthplace, life and migrations interconnect with other

significant figures of the period such as Hawkins, Drake and Grenville.

The chapter has also shown the contrasts between enforced and free travel. For

instance, colonialists embarking from Devon (voyages which were sometimes funded

or rewarded by British royalty) to participate in trade or political ventures were able

to use their autonomy and agency to undertake these migrations. The cross-cultural

encounters that occurred as a result of these migrations have also revealed further

examples of African autonomy. When Drake left Devon and sailed to Africa, the

crew encountered African people to trade with which confirms the autonomy of

African people. However, this study has also been able to starkly expose tangible

examples of Devon merchants and ships who were directly involved in the enforced

migration of people during the slave trade. Whilst the legacy of the slave trade

persists through place names, wealth and familial links to the Caribbean, by the end

of the chapter migrations to Devon are mostly for leisure and tourism.

Overall, the Migration chapter has made an important contribution to this thesis,

but also to the field of early modern studies more broadly. Firstly, the most

substantial contribution of this chapter is the site-specific study from the perspective

of a Jamaican-British woman. Repeatedly demonstrating Devon as the place of

embarkation has created an opportunity for this location to be a site for critique.

Secondly, the creation and application of the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry

Questions that I have asked throughout this chapter have created opportunities for

me to interrogate places and people migrating from north Devon. Investigating these

voyages has led me to uncover how these migrations have caused cross-cultural

encounters. The breadth of these enquiry questions has instigated a dialogue

between literature, geography and history, further demonstrating the integral links

between the subject disciplines as outlined in my introduction.

Additionally, the range of sources and resources I have utilised to answer these

questions has been wide and varied. Archaeological sources, such as the discovery of

early modern coins, have demonstrated tangible links to voyages and trade between

Europe and the Caribbean. Whilst Human remains suggest potential links to the

bodies of enslaved people who drowned on the coast of Ilfracombe.

Throughout the Migration chapter I have applied my Temporal Tracing

methodology to track migrations from the early modern period through to the

nineteenth century. This has been an effective methodological approach because tracing the legacies has revealed the interconnectedness of migrations across time. Finally, I propose that this Migration chapter serves as a methodological template for further studies. The Temporal Tracing, Enquiry Questions, wide range of subject disciplines and unique site-specific study that I have undertaken here can and should be applied to other literary texts, histories and geographical locations.

PART TWO:

COUNTERPOINTS

Chapter Three

What speaks to and glimmers beneath the surface of the conversations between the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions that trace the legacies of the past, is the presence and urgency of *now*. Hugh Grady and Terrence Hawkes in their edited collection *Presentist Shakespeares* confirm that 'the past speaks, it speaks always and only to – and about – ourselves' (Grady & Hawkes, 2007: 5). There is a distinct conversation, here, between the past and the present. I began this introduction by outlining my amazement and curiosity at my present and personal connections to the texts and the topics I have researched; the past is speaking to and about, me. Therefore, analysing characters and real world people who grew up where I grew up (John Peele's character and the real world Thomas Stukeley); writers who were born where I was born (John Gay); touring the very location in which I live and from where I write this thesis (Shakespeare) creates an immediacy and a tangible connection between then and now.

To converse with, structure, and compare the relationship between the past and the present, I apply Renaissance music as a metaphor for my methodological approach to temporal research. 'Counterpoint' elaborated and evolved in the music of the Renaissance era. In the discipline of music, 'counterpoint' is the relationship

between two or more musical lines which are harmonically interdependent yet independent. The vertical dimension of music is the harmony, whilst melody is described as the horizontal dimension as it develops over time.

Similarly, the opening section of each chapter is a study of early modern plays. The second section of each chapter is a study of the Windrush period and explores how the same themes have continued or developed over time. The distinct studies within each chapter confirm their independent time periods, yet their relationship is clearly interdependent. Early modern plays rely on the present moment to give them life, continued relevance and resonance, simultaneously we are in *this* present moment because of the social, geohistorical, and literary legacies of the past. The separate analysis of *then* followed by *now* allows us to see each time period as an independent case study which recognises the temporal differences and developments. However, as I show in each chapter, their interdependent dialectic relationship demonstrates the echoes, and resonances that recur across the channel of time.

Shakespeare: *The Tempest*

Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Question: How were hostile environments created *then*?

To activate an enquiry into hostile environments and to 'conjure something new from the absence of Africans as humans that is at the heart of the text' (Hartman, 2008: 3), as M NourbeSe Philip enticingly proposed, we must interrogate *The Tempest*'s sea voyages. The staging of storm effects, nautical manoeuvres, 'the professional language of seamanship' (Falconer, 1964: 39) and allusions intertwine in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* to create an 'accurate portrayal of contemporary nautical procedures' (Jones, 2015: 129) which makes the play's sea voyages 'realistic and lifelike' (Falconer, 1964: 39). It is Shakespeare's tale and the playwright's 'career-long engagement with the sea' (Mentz, 2009: 6) which provokes 'place' as the thematic catalyst for this enquiry. Moreover, 'place' will be the analytical framework used to trigger a dialogue with later iterations of the play to reveal continuities and reverberations across the centuries.

Place/Sequence

The place or sequence of sea voyages in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is the first point of contention that I would like to address. Rearranging the sea voyages by re-presenting

the sequence of events and sea crossings to their correct chronological placement, I

release us from Prospero's authorised account and free us from Shakespeare's

imposed *dis*order. Both of which are mechanisms of hostility used to distort the

audience's perception of characters consequently creating a hostile environment. I

deconstruct the narrative place to apply Saidiya Hartman's methodology to

undertake this vital re-presentation which Hartman describes as 'critical fabulation'

(Hartman, 2008: 11). That is writing to play with and 'rearrang[e] the basic

elements of the story, by re-presenting the sequence of events in divergent stories and

from contested points of view...to jeopardise the status of the event, to displace the

received or authorised account' (Hartman, 2008: 11). The account received by *The*

Tempest's audience is a chaotic displacement of events and characters. This is verified

by the way in which Shakespeare disrupted the island's story by opening the play

with its *fourth* sea voyage as opposed to the first.

The Tempest's first chronological voyage was embarked upon by an African woman.

'[B]orn' (1.2.260) and living 'in Algiers' (1.2.261), a city in North Africa, Sycorax

was 'with child' (1.2.269) when she undertook the initial sea voyage 'from Algiers'

(1.2.265) and made landfall on the play's unnamed island. In addition to this,

Sycorax's African origins confirms that the child she was carrying must also be (at

least half) African, as Caliban confirms: 'Sycorax my mother' (1.2.331). Shakespeare intentionally discloses the specific geographical location of Sycorax's North African place of birth ('Algiers' 1.2.261) and place of departure ('from Algiers' 1.2.265) to confirm Sycorax's racial and cultural heritage. Such an identification and classification reveal a wider project of racecrafting (Fields & Fields, 2014: 18-19) - that is the construction and crafting of race and racial identities - by assigning a geographical difference and hostile connotations to Sycorax and her son. Furthermore, Shakespeare's decision to include these significant textual details supports my own assertion of the Mediterranean/North African geographical location of the play.

The authorised account of Sycorax, the circumstances of her migration and life are presented to the audience by Prospero. We are not given the opportunity to hear or see Sycorax. As Abena Busia acknowledges, Sycorax 'is invoked only to be spoken of as absent, recalled as a reminder of her dispossession, and not permitted her version of her story' (Busia, 1990: 86). Instead, Prospero provides sparse details of Sycorax's life and forces Ariel (who is under duress as Prospero threatens 'I will rend an oak/And peg thee in his knotty entrails till/Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters'

(1.2.294 - 296)) to agree with *his* version of *her* tale and follow his commands.

Unlike Hamlet's father who is able to speak after his death, Sycorax's death and the

structure of the play silence her. Saidiyah Hartman has moved beyond the critical

and literary desire to 'give voice to the slave' (Hartman, 2008: 12). Instead,

Hartman's 'intent' is 'to imagine what cannot be verified, a realm of experience

which is situated between two zones of death—social and corporeal death—and to

reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the moment of their

disappearance' (Hartman, 2008: 12). I am aligned with Hartman's intent. However,

for the purposes of this study I would also like to add a third 'zone of death': literary

death for the way in which Africa and the African diaspora are silenced, erased or

killed off in literature. Literary death is another cause and consequence of hostility

and the hostile environment.

An additional function of omissions, hostility and literary death is an attempt to

avoid any possibility of connecting similarities between Prospero and Sycorax. I, on

the other hand, would like to assert their equality. In terms of their ability to use

magic and their colonisation of the island Sycorax (a black African woman and a

mother) is equal to, not less than, Prospero (a white European man of nobility and a

father).

Chronologically, the second sea voyage undertaken by characters in *The Tempest* was

as a result of Antonio's 'ambition growing' (1.2.105) and his desire to usurp his

brother, Prospero, the rightful Duke of Milan. In the 'dead of darkness/The

ministers for th'purpose hurried thence' (1.2.130-131), like Sycorax and her baby,

Prospero and his child, Miranda, were forced to leave and boarded 'a barque/Bore

[them] some leagues to sea, where they prepar'd/A rotten carcass of a butt, not

rigg'd,/Nor tackle, sail nor mast' (1.2.144-147). Prospero and Miranda came 'ashore'

(1.2.158) on the play's unnamed island.

The play's third sea crossing embarked from Italy and arrived in North 'Afric'

(2.2.67). The purpose of this journey was for 'the marriage of the King's

fair/daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis' (2.1.67-68). This is another African

omission and literary death exemplified by the silence of the African King and his

Queen. This Shakespearean mixed-race marriage is excluded from the page and the

stage which alludes to the hostile attitudes towards such a coupling that echoes across the canon from Shakespeare's earlier play, *Othello*.

The fourth journey was the wedding party's attempt to return home to Italy, minus the company of Claribel 'who is now queen' (2.1.94) of Tunis, a country in North Africa. Unfortunately, they were caught in Prospero's 'tempestuous' storm (opening stage directions) which led to the illusion of their ship being wrecked with all passengers and crew washed up safely on the play's island.

After four journeys, the sea an enabler facilitating cross-cultural encounters between Africa, a Mediterranean island, and Italy, Shakespeare's *The Tempest* closes with the play's fifth and final voyage. This is the journey from the unnamed island back to Italy undertaken by Prospero, Miranda and the rest of the royal party with Caliban left alone on the island and Ariel given the final 'charge' (5.1.121) to ensure 'calm seas, auspicious gales' (5.1.118) for their voyage home.

Above, I have created a chronological framework (my 'critical fabulation') to recognise and revere *The Tempest*'s dramatic sea voyages in their chronological

sequence of events to reveal the clear order of migrations. Restoring the chronological sequential place, jeopardises the text's priorities removing restrictions and shaking the text free from its hierarchical bias. As I have proposed, the disordered placement of the voyages results in the dismissal of African characters and African migration. After centuries of enduring the play's *dis*order it is worth reiterating that *The Tempest*'s first chronological voyage was embarked upon by an African woman.

Instead of the chronological sequence that I have outlined above, Shakespeare presented a divergent sequence with Journey 4, followed by Journey 2, then Journey 1, followed by Journey 3, ending with Journey 5. It must be noted that the narrative Place/Sequence framework (which is a mechanism of hostility) that is deeply embedded within the play, can only be contained there by a series of institutional and societal frameworks that are held outside of it. By applying this structure, Shakespeare is at once confirming that such hostile frameworks (of social, corporeal, literary death which silenced, displaced, erased and killed off African women) existed in early modern society, off stage. The porous nature of any play and playwright's imagination, allows the external world to seep into it. It simultaneously

demonstrates the leaky nature of the text: Shakespeare's culpability is revealed through his reduplication and reproduction of such damaging hostilities.

Considering the frameworks that existed outside of the play and repositioning the chronological sea voyages, exposes the potential significance of real world early modern black women's travel. In *Early Modern Women, English Drama and the Wider World*, Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea write of the displacement of women travellers in historical writing and travel guides including in the work of Thomas Palmer. Palmer's *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honorable* (1606) lists women 'under the category "*What persons* are inhibited trauile" or prohibited from travelling' (Akhimie & Andrea, 2019: 1). In history and in literature, therefore, women travellers - and more specifically black women voyaging across seas - were prohibited or displaced. An acknowledgement of this confirms the displacement, dehumanisation and devaluation of sea journeys relating to Africa, undertaken by African characters, or female characters. However, a wide range of women and girls were 'engaged in extensive movement within and beyond the British Isles during the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries despite these proscriptions' (Akhimie & Andrea, 2019: 1).

Place/Hierarchy

In itself, Shakespeare's creative strategy of focusing on journeys of European characters and specific locations may be described as a legitimate way to create main characters, however, Shakespeare's structural displacements are applied in conjunction with hostile language used to negatively introduce, (re)present and dehumanise Africa and the African diaspora. Hostile language, therefore, is another mechanism used by the playwright and wider society as a tool of hostility.

The linguistic demonisation applied to hierarchically place Sycorax (and subsequently, Caliban) is revealed by her entrance to the play. Sycorax does not enter via her sea voyage, Shakespeare's stage directions or through the mercy of her salvation or the courage shown on her journey to the island, instead she is conjured onstage, and in the audience's imagination, through a divergent sequence and hostile language. The account of Sycorax's birth, life and the circumstances of her migration are presented by and mediated through Prospero's hostile attitude toward her. The audience is not given the opportunity to hear or see Sycorax. Insults and foul-

language, such as 'Damn'd witch' (1.2.265), 'hag' (1.2.271), 'A freckled whelp, hag-born – not honour'd with/A human shape' (1.2.285-6), are Prospero's invectives used to demonise the mother, Sycorax, and her 'son' (1.2.284), Caliban, consequently creating a hostile environment on '*The Island*' (opening stage direction Act 1, Scene 2). Naming Sycorax a 'Foul witch' (1.2.259) and naming Caliban a 'poisonous slave got by the devil himself/Upon thy wicked dam' (1.2.322-3) before the characters themselves, or even the audience, can assign words to name them or form an impression of them, benefits Prospero in his attempt to position himself at the height of the island's hierarchy. By querying and deconstructing the language of the play, we become acutely aware of the linguistic hostility intentionally used by Prospero. Prospero's hostile descriptions, which precede Caliban's physical appearance onstage, are used with malicious intent to incite hostility and encourage the audience's hatred of Sycorax, an African woman, and Caliban, an African man. Such characterisation reflects the external racecrafting and rudimentary racialisation that occurred in the world outside of the play.

Place/Geography

The geographical specificity that is clearly defined in the text, anchors the play's location, action and characters to North Africa, Italy, and the Mediterranean. *The Tempest*'s Place/Geography is confirmed by the playwright's textual references which include: 'Algiers' (1.2.261 and 265), 'Milan' (1.2.54), 'Neopolitan' [Naples] (1.2.162), 'Mediterranean' (1.2.235), 'Afric' (2.1.67), 'Tunis' (2.1.67-68), 'Carthage' (2.1.82), 'Naples' (5.1.311), 'Milan' (5.1.313). In addition to Shakespeare's textual references, through my exposure of the distorted Place/Sequence I have revealed and demonstrated Caliban and Sycorax's connections to North Africa. Furthermore, Ian Smith's exploration into finding 'Caliban's Roots' and the 'etymological geography' (Smith, 2000: 252) of the play also acknowledges Shakespeare's 'reanimation of the specificity of North Africa' (Smith, 2000: 252) subsequently asserting that 'Caliban is African'. VM Vaughan and AT Vaughan also confirm that '*The Tempest* is set on an uninhabited island located implicitly but unmistakably between Italy and North Africa' (Vaughan & Vaughan, 2021: 139).

Jerry Brotton affirms '[t]he presence of a more definable Mediterranean geography which runs throughout the play, and which emanates outwards from the disputation

over contemporary Tunis and classical Carthage' (Brotton, 1998: 24). However, I would argue that the geographical specificity 'emanates outwards' from the very first chronological voyage from Africa and across the Mediterranean Sea undertaken by the North African born character, Sycorax.

The critical dismissal and participation in the displacement of the African woman serves to perpetuate the hostility towards her and works as a mechanism to lessen her significance. Instead, the 'Tunis, sir, was Carthage' conversation in Act 2, Scene 1, serves to recall classical literature and allude to the changing relationship along the Mediterranean's 'forgotten frontier' (Hess, 1978: 187). Michael Hess's work considers the 'themes of unity and diversity' in the Mediterranean world, rejecting Braudel's 'sweeping geohistory' which 'deemphasizes' the hostility and 'divisions between Mediterranean civilisations' (Hess, 1978: 187). Hess uncovers the Ibero-African frontier and how inhabitants of lands which bordered the sea 'rejected the union the sea fostered and divided themselves into well-defined and oftentimes hostile civilizations' (Hess, 1978: 187).

Additionally, Barbara Fuchs warns of the dangers of 'privileging of America [and the Caribbean] as the primary context of colonialism' as this interpretation 'runs the risk of obscuring complicated nuances of colonial discourse' (Fuchs, 1997: 45). Furthermore, Fuchs believes this also 'obscures the very real threat in the Mediterranean in the early seventeenth century and elides the violent English colonial adventures in Ireland which paved the way for plantation in Virginia' (Fuchs, 1997: 46).

I argue that Shakespeare specifically located the play in the Mediterranean to draw upon these hostilities. Echoes of 'the rhythm of Mediterranean life' (Hess, 1978: 187) described by Hess and the 'etymological geography' examined by Ian Smith, forms the geohistorical backdrop to *The Tempest*.

Place/Temporal

In the 18th century, David Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769 was a significant moment in the literary landscape which led to Stratford's playwright becoming an enduring literary figure. At this point I would like to pick up from Prospero's final journey to consider later iterations of the play. Shaking free of the stage and 'bands [fetters]' (5.1.327) of the island is an ending to *The Tempest* that encourages us to

imagine a life for the characters that is beyond the boundaries of the shore they were departing.

In 1797, an actor named Francis Waldron wrote *The Virgin Queen*, a sequel to Shakespeare's *Tempest,* which picks up the thread of the action just moments before the characters are due to depart the island. Although Waldron's play was never performed, his text exemplifies the role and cultural significance of the sea in creating cross-cultural encounters, demonstrated the continuation of Sycorax and Caliban being presented as African people, geographically locating the play on a Mediterranean island and in Africa, yet Waldron also signalled a drastic shift in the development of England's 18th century colonial connections to Africa.

In Act 1, Scene 3 of *The Virgin Queen,* the character's course is set for the 5th voyage of Shakespeare's play but the first of Waldron's sequel. Demonstrating the cross-cultural encounters made possible by the sea as well as the continuum of racialised language and (re)presentations that this study traces, Prospero describes Africa as 'swarthy' (Waldron, 1797). Europe, on the other hand, is described as 'fair' (1.1.101):

The earth-dividing sea, now smiling calm,

By swarthy Africk and fair Europe beach'd

Our good keel soon shall plough (1.3.100-2)

The sea not only geographically divides the land but structurally divides the locations

of the play with the watery intermission at the centre of the five-act structure taking

place at sea onboard a ship.

In stark contrast to Shakespeare's play, in *The Virgin Queen* Waldron includes

European characters' encounters with the African landscape, animals, fruit and

characters in the play. A ship arrives in 'swarthy Afrik' (1.1.101), 'a beautiful

country' (A4.S2, stage directions), giving us the opportunity to explore Africa; a

place and its people that were silenced and only ever briefly (and negatively) alluded

to in Shakespeare's play.

The abundant landscape of Africa reflects the period's instigation of the hostile

process of colonising and extracting its wealth, revealed when Prospero instructs his

passengers 'how to ensnare/The antelope, and dappled, bounding fawn;/...younger

Ferdinand doth agile climb the trees and cliffs, for birdlings therein nested' (4.2.98-101) so that they can 'strait victual home our ship;/And nought impeding, quickly re-embark' (4.2.96-97). The African land is 'plenteous' with 'finn'd and feather'd race', animals such as 'stag, the buffalo, and tusked boar'. There they can find the 'taste of the pine, or more nutritious fig;/Whilst the pomegranate and sharp citron's juice' (4.2.150-151). A human need for sustenance led to a cross-cultural encounter as they wished to refill the ship's provisions to sustain them for their journey to Tunis and Italy. European travellers needing to find food was a very serious issue, as the ship's master declares: 'Our lives depend more upon touching food' (3.2.33).

The most striking real-world examples of the extreme conditions faced by travellers during Shakespeare's lifetime was during 'the period known as "starving time", in the fall of 1609 through to the winter of 1610...there was a great faminine' in the colony of Virginia. In Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, a letter 'written by Master Thomas Masham' during Walter Raleigh's third voyage to Guiana in 1596, speaks of a similar experience to Waldron's crew of extracting 'victuals' from new lands during their travels:

for there is great store of as good fish in the rivers, as in any in the

world. Great store of fowle…Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoise eggs

innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes, and hennes…the rarest

fruits of the world, pine, plantain…Beside divers other commodities, which in

good time may be found out to the benefit of our country, and profit of the

adventurers, who as yet having ventured much, have gained little (Hakluyt,

1596: 12)

The encounters with land, food and animals were made possible by the sea which

created a passageway for these goods to be discovered and extracted. Waldron's

mention of the 'pomegranate' is reminiscent of earlier expeditions, monarchical rule

and global connections. The pomegranate was the emblem of Queen Isabella and

King Ferdinand, the parents of Catherine of Aragon.

In the earlier play, Claribel's marriage to the King of Tunis was only briefly alluded

to and imbued with 'great loss' (*The Tempest,* 2.1.123) and tragedy in Gonzalo's

reference to 'widow Dido' (*The Tempest*, 2.1.-70-75) 'whose tragic love affair with

Aeneas is related in Virgil's *Aeneid*'. In stark contrast, Waldron gives voice to African

people. The voice of Abdallah, King of Tunis, is a significant literary and cultural development in the afterlife of *The Tempest*. However, the first words that King Abdallah speaks are to proclaim that 'Night's curtain is withdrawn, and the clear morn/blushes like bashful bride from couch upris'n/Whose yellow tresses, all dishevell'd,throw/A golden glare around, creating day!' (4.2.1-4). The personification of day as a beautiful blonde woman alludes to his wife, Claribel, and draws upon archetypal ideals of feminine beauty which emphasises whiteness as purity and goodness. The oppositional presentation of night and day - night being 'drear' and filled with evil 'sorcery' (4.2.11), day being 'golden' and filled with 'joy' - continues the rigid binaries that are so prevalent in early modern literature as signifiers of cultural, skin, and geographical differences.

In *The Virgin Queen*, Miranda is shocked and finds it strange that Claribel could love and be married to Abdallah: 'What, that dark creature! - tis impossible;-/As soon the swan might on the raven dote!' (4.2.132-133). These are oppositional black/white binaries, which, according to Miranda, cannot and do not belong together. Darkness and difference seem to be the justification for her dislike. Upon seeing Abdallah and Claribel, Miranda is shocked and applies the binaries she has learnt

from her father: 'one seems fair and good,/That with so dark a hue is sure a fiend!' (4.2.40-41). Additionally, Sycorax is given a voice in Waldron's play, however, she is presented as an evil character which reinscribes the hostile connotations Shakespeare wrote of. It is clear that the binary and power oppositions the audience was exposed to in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (Prospero = white/human/good, Caliban & Sycorax = dark/monstrous/evil) have continued in this play.

The 18th century racialisation of blackness/whiteness is clearly linked to behaviour and morality in Miranda's definition and justification here. The racial coding of evil being linked to 'so dark a hue' forms part of the rudimentary crafting of race. Fields and Fields explain that 'racecraft originates not in nature but in human action and imagination.' (Fields, 2014: 18). Miranda's reaction and her imagination typify the process of reinscribing culturally and racially laden (re)presentations of race and difference.

The hostile (re)presentation of the black/white binary prominently exist in the (re)presentation of the interracial marriage between the African king and Alonso's daughter, Claribel, echoing and (re)presenting anxieties surrounding the interracial

marriage of Othello and Desdemona in Shakespeare's earlier play. Brabantio's shock that his daughter would 'not to affect many proposed matches/Of her own clime, complexion, and degree' (*Othello* 3.3.234-5) and instead choose Othello's 'sooty bosom' (*Othello* 1.2.71) suggests disgust towards such a match, which continues to resonate in Waldron's 18th century play. The fear of miscegenation that Iago warned Brabantio of in Act One of *Othello*, urges him to repeatedly intervene in Othello and Desdemona's potential love-making. I argue that this was not out of jealousy but intentional interception to stop the possibility of the (black) husband and (white) wife producing a mixed-race child. Othello and Desdemona's love making is interrupted and intercepted by Iago, again, in Cyprus. In Shakespeare's play, Iago's sexual interceptions and lies lead to the tragic deaths of Desdemona and Othello; the possibility of a mixed-race child dies with them. The possibility of a Shakespearean mixed-race child appearing on an English stage also dies with them.

Similarly, Hycra is Waldron's version of an interception to prevent a sexual cross-cultural encounter. During 'drear nights' Abdallah's 'sweet bride [is] withheld' (4.2.5-6) and she remains his 'virgin-queen' (4.2.85), so that they are unable to enact a sexual cross-cultural encounter and are denied the opportunity to have their own

mixed-race child. Later in this chapter, I explore Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* which also exposes contemporary fear and disgust towards miscegenation.

Although critics and historians have regarded the term 'race' in relation to the early modern period as anachronistic, in these plays it is clear that there is a rudimentary understanding of difference and the early construction of 'race' at this time.

It is striking that in all of Shakespeare's plays which include interracial and interfaith marriage or procreation, the characters must die or at least leave the European location. Such banishment suggests that mixed-race offspring are undesirable and unwanted in Europe or European colonies. Such hostility recalls the social, corporeal and literary death outlined earlier in this chapter.

Another aspect that is in keeping with Shakespeare's *Tempest* is the musicality of the play. Songs are part of the oceanic soundscape of *The Virgin Queen*. Waldron's Ariel embodies synchronicities with the original character, including singing as a form of magic, storytelling and allusion. Ariel's song from Act 4, Scene 1 of *The Virgin Queen*:

ARIEL *sings*

We'll view the wonders of the deep!

The pearl-spread plains

The finny swains,

And green-hair'd mermaids coy, who keep

The herds and flocks

That graze the rocks;

The web-foot sea-beeves, kine, and sheep!

The spirit's ocean floor topography describes the underwater 'wonders of the deep!' with 'herds and flocks/That graze the rocks', evoking images of the English countryside reminiscent of pastoral elegies and English nature poetry. Unlike Milton's *Lycidas* which explores the juxtaposition of the sea and the land, Ariel's song embodies England's land and the sea - they coexist as one. Ariel relishes and celebrates the sea's 'wonder' which is alive with pearls, 'green-hair'd mermaids' and an abundance of underwater pastoral landscape with 'herds and flocks/That graze'. Even English 'kine [cows], sheep' graze in Ariel's oceanic elegy. The song's allusions to the English countryside plunges the quintessential English landscape into the Mediterranean; an ocean which touches the coasts of Europe to the north, northern

Africa to the south and southwestern Asia to the east. This is a relocation which stretches across the globe and speaks to Britain's eighteenth-century Empire. Ariel's pastoral references further implicate England in the processes of colonialism, slavery, exploration, trade and migration.

The second verse of Ariel's song in *The Virgin Queen* laments the dangers of the sea:

Then sadly mark each drown'd man's skull

And bleached bones

Like pebble-stones;

Of which blue Neptune's bed is full!

When gain'd our prize,

To air we'll rise;

And Sycorax' fell decree annul! (Waldron, 1797, Act 4, Scene 1)

Here, we see evidence of shipwrecks which characterised seabeds in the early modern era of sea travel, trade and colonialism during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Death and debris that litters the ocean song creatively expresses tangible

debris lost and discovered along the complex transoceanic pathways which stretched

to the coast of England. In the eighteenth century, the extraction of resources, such

as sugar, tobacco, mahogany, and people were taken from the colonies and imported

into England via the sea. Sea journeys were undertaken in the treacherous conditions

that Waldron's Mariner sang of, resulting in the loss of lives, goods and ships.

As Waldron's Mariner sings:

When the seaman quits the shore,

Let him think on home no more;

For, of those who tempt the main,

But a part see home again!

Some are wreck'd, some tempest-tost,

To the bottom plung'd and lost!

When the raging tempests blow,

High we're mounted, dash'd down low! (Waldron, 1797, 3.1.12 - 21)

It is interesting to contrast these songs with the song of the sea sung by Shakespeare's

Ariel:

Full fathom five thy father lies,

Of his bones are coral made;

Those are pearls that were his eyes;

Nothing of him that doth fade,

Both doth suffer a sea-change

Into something rich and strange.

Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell (Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 1.2.400 – 406).

Waldron's Ariel alludes to but also shifts aspects of the song, for example from

Shakespeare's 'his bones are coral made;/those are pearls that were his eyes' compared

to Waldron's 'bleached bones like pebble stones.' There is an alarming

acknowledgement that in the 18th century the bones at the bottom of the ocean

represent a significant commercial change in materiality being traded, a shift from

from pearls to people. Furthermore, it is important to remember the broader

historical context in which Waldron was writing. Less than 20 years earlier, in 1781,

there was a mass killing of more than 130 enslaved African people by the crew of the British slave ship *Zong* who threw African people overboard so that they would receive the insurance money for 'the bleached bones' at the bottom of the ocean. It is against this backdrop that Shakespeare's *The Tempest* continued to have an afterlife imbued with slavery and colonialism.

Windrush

Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Question: How are hostile environments created *now?*

To initiate an enquiry into the creation of hostility and hostile environments, this study has examined the role of sea voyages in the production and development of *The Tempest* in the 17th and 18th centuries. Paul Gilroy writes: 'The image of the ship - a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion - is especially important for historical and theoretical reasons' (Gilroy, 1999: 4). As I have demonstrated, the sea and ships facilitate migration, extraction, and colonialism, whilst cross-cultural encounters reinforce England's place/hierarchy structures to establish control. Considering these persistent dominant ideologies and later migrations, how is *The Tempest* received *now*? How are hostile environments created in this present moment?

In contrast to my assertion of the play's rootedness to the Mediterranean and Africa, Carey DiPietro describes the play as creating a sense of 'placeless-ness' (DiPietro, 2013: 97) through the decision to unname the island and the illusory quality of magic conjured by Prospero. It is the play's sense of placelessness which has led some writers to relocate the text to countries and peoples that were 'imbricated within the discourse of colonialism' (Barker & Hulme 1985: 191 - 205). For example, Lamming and Cesaire alluded to Caliban's cry for 'Freedom!' and *The Tempest's* colonial sea travel to make connections to the Caribbean whilst Uruguayan writer, Jose Enrique Rodo, called 'upon Ariel to be [his] numen' (Rodo, 1989: 32).

However, DiPietro warns against 'mapping' the play and 'subordinating the island's locale to a global positioning system' (DiPietro, 2013: 85). But what happens when Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is located and performed on English stages in the 21st century? How do the themes of hostility, home and heritage resonate with the Windrush generation? Do the themes of placelessness and a hostile environment take on new meanings for the modern audience as they did for Waldron?

In *The Windrush Betrayal: Exposing the Hostile Environment*, Amelia Gentleman writes that: 'Two Conservative party pledges...sit at the roots of all the Windrush

suffering' (Gentleman, 2019: 117). The first was a promise made by Prime Minister, David Cameron, to cut net immigration to Britain. 'The second promise was made by Theresa May, then Home Secretary, in May 2012, in an interview with the Daily Telegraph, "The aim is to create here in Britain a really hostile environment"' (Gentleman, 2019: 117). May's announcement has now 'acquired a huge historical significance'. It is from this pledge that the Windrush generation (those who had travelled legally from the Caribbean to England to help rebuild the country and the newly established NHS following the end of Word War II) who would find themselves placeless, homeless and unwelcome in a hostile environment, as Elwaldo Romeo explains:

> It makes me cross when I think what my ancestors went through. Antigua was a breeding colony for slaves. When slavery was abolished, no one looked after the slaves; they had no land of their own; they were destitute in the Caribbean. They couldn't go back to Africa, because they were no longer Africans. They were British subjects. That's where my anger sets in. I was born British. Then I get a letter saying: you are no longer British. So what am I? How can you lose something that was given to you? (quoted in Gentleman, 2019: 239).

Elwaldo Romeo's perplexity surrounding the loss of 'something that was given' echoes Caliban's perplexity when he asserts his island birthright: 'this island's mine, by Sycorax my mother' (1.2.334). Furthermore, Caliban declares that Prospero 'sty me/in this hard rock, whiles you do keep me from the rest o'th'island' (1.2.345-346). Their legal status, their heritage and home that were given to them at birth has suddenly been taken. Being placed in the category of unwelcome illegal immigrant to create a sense of 'placelessness' is a devastating mechanism of hostility. Stopping people like Elwaldo and Caliban from possessing any form of place/home or welcoming refuge leads to their anger, sense of unbelonging and estrangement from their ancestral home *and* diasporic home. Watching *The Tempest* against the backdrop of these hostile environment policies, and, more significantly, the Windrush scandal, shockingly resonates with themes of hostility identified in the play and its later iterations.

The Merchant of Venice & Titus Andronicus

Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Question: How is shame, dehumanisation and expulsion presented in Shakespeare's plays and early modern England?

For many people in the UK, Jewish history begins with the Holocaust. The Holocaust Education Trust confirm that: 'In England, by law children are to be

taught about the Holocaust as part of their Key Stage 3 History curriculum; in fact, the Holocaust is the only historical event whose study is compulsory on the National Curriculum (Holocaust Educational Trust website). This is an essential law and an important addition to UK education. I am grateful that I understand these atrocities and significant historical events through my own school studies and that children currently going through our school system continue to learn about the Holocaust. Wilfred Owen's poems are often taught in English and History (and sometimes Drama) alongside the study of the world wars bringing some of the shocking horrors into sharp focus. In Owen's first world war poem, the soldier and poet question the 'glory' of 'the old lie: *Dulce et decorum est/Pro patria mori*'. Heroic glory and patriotism of England winning the wars and saving Jewish people is often the undercurrent of England's social, historical, and educational narratives. However, Jewish history did not begin with the Holocaust.

> Jews arrived in Britain with the Norman regime, following the Norman
> Conquest of 1066. It seems that during the reign of William Rufus (1087 –
> 1100) Jews were encouraged to migrate from Normandy, and support the
> government by offering financial services. Certainly, by 1100 a small Jewish
> community had been established (Our Migration Story website).

Under Henry III (1207 – 1272), the church wanted to place restrictions upon Jews'

finances and King Henry supported and encouraged these restrictions. The

restrictions and tensions from the crown and church towards the Jews continued

into the next generation as Henry's son, Edward I (1272 – 1307) collaborated with

the Archbishop of Canterbury to mastermind a plot against the Jews. Records in the

National Archives confirm that 'King Edward expelled England's entire Jewish

population [of 3,000 people] in the autumn of 1290' (National Archives)

The following images of the Statute of Jewry c.1275, confirm the severe restrictions

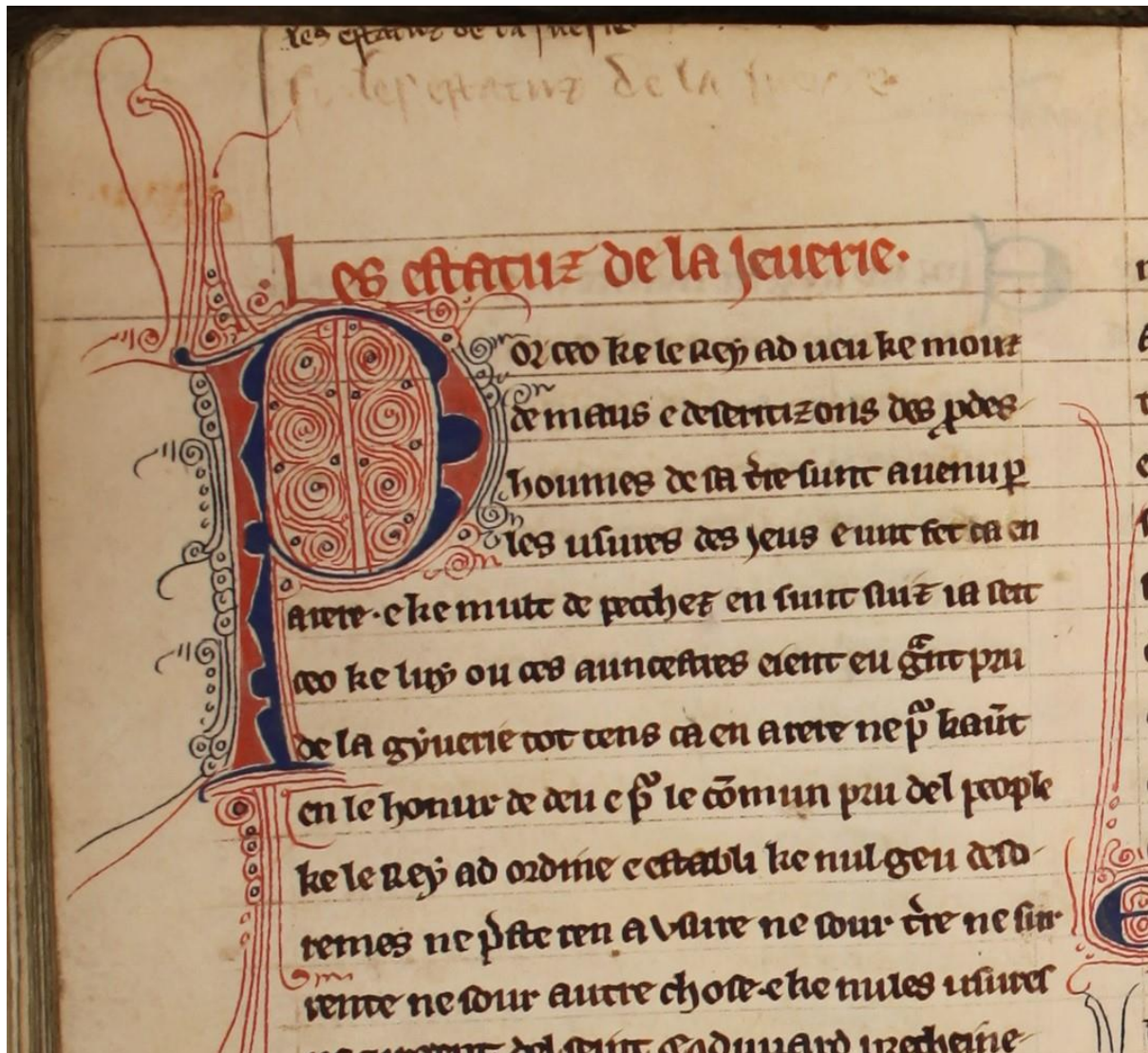placed upon Jewish people leading up to this expulsion.

Figure 42. Image of the Statute of Jewry. C. 1275.

This document 'outlined that Jews had to live in specific areas of the King's towns; those aged over seven had to wear a badge that visually identified them as being Jewish; all aged over twelve years were to pay a tax of 3 pence each Easter; and Jews could only sell property or negotiate debts with the King's permission'.
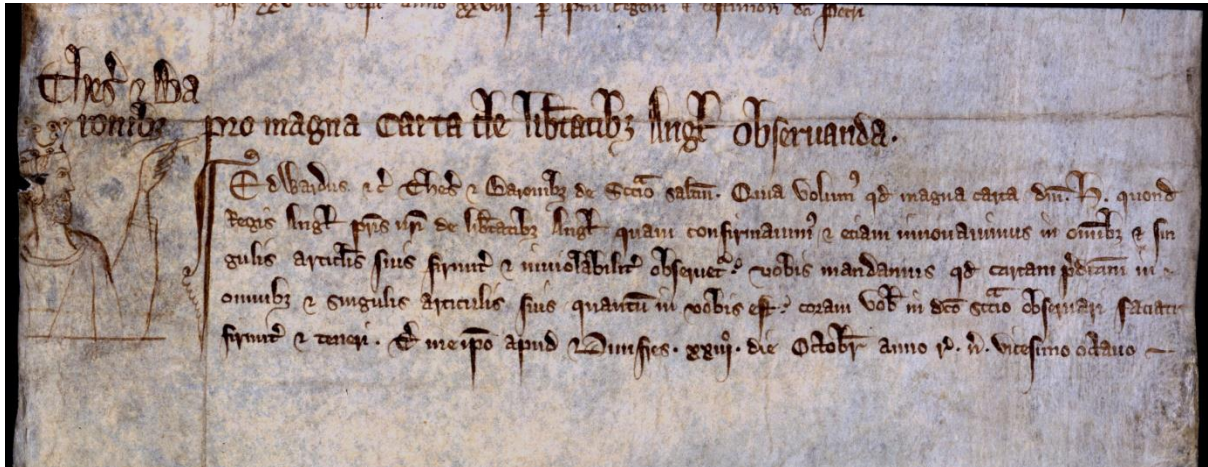
Figure 43. Les Estatutz de la Jewerie, c. 1275, National Archives catalogue ref: E 164/9

Anglo-Norman Transcript

Extract (a), Les Estatutz de la Jewerie, c. 1275, Catalogue ref: E 164/9, fol. 31d. Por ceo ke le Rey ad veu mout[z] de maus e deseritizons des p[ro]des houmes de sa t[re]re sunt avenue p[ro] es usures des Jeus e unt fe[i]t ca en arere, e ke mult de pecchez en sunt sui[tz] ja seit ceo ke luy ou ces auncestres eient eu g[aeg]nt pru de la gyuerie tot tens ca en arere, ne p[re] kau[m]t en le honur de deu e p[re] le com[m]un pru del people ke le Rey ad ordine e establi ken ul geu desoremes ne p[re]ste ren a usure ne sour t[re]re ne sur rente ne sour autre chose [...]

Simplified Translation

Since the king has seen various evils, and the disinheriting of the good men of his land by the usuries (lending money at interest) of Jews made in time past, and that various sins have followed thereafter; [and] although he and his ancestors have received much benefit from the Jewish people in all time past; nevertheless for the honour of God and the common benefit of the people, the king has ordained and established, that from this day forward no Jew shall lend anything at usury, either upon land, or upon rent, or upon other thing.

Once again, Shakespeare's characterisations are not original. Shakespeare's Shylock and his presentation of Jewish people is inspired by real historical events and tensions which continued to reverberate in his own present moment. A poem entitled *A libel, Fixed Upon the French Church Wall in London, Anno 1593* reveals the anti-stranger, anti-alien, anti-Jewish discourse in Elizabethan England:

> Ye strangers that do inhabit this land,
>
> Note this same writing do it understand,
>
> Conceit it well for safeguarding your lives,
>
> Your goods, your children, and your dearest wives.
>
> Your Machiavellian merchant spoils the state,
>
> Your usury doth leave us all for dead,

Your artifex and craftsman works our fate,

And like the Jews you eat us up as bread.

The merchants doth ingross all kind of wares

Forestalls the markets, whereso'er he goes

Sends forth his wares, by peddlers to the fairs,

Retails at home, and with his horrible shows,

Undoeth thousands (Shapiro, 1996: 185).

The poem identifies a clear distinction between those who are permanent, welcome members of society and threatens those who merely 'inhabit the land'. In *Immigration and the Criminal Law in Early Modern Law*, Matthew Lockwood explains that there was a 'difference between a native-born "natural and perpetual" allegiance to the monarch, and [a stranger or] an alien's "local and temporal" rights and allegiance' (Blackstone, 1771: 24). 'Unless endenizened or naturalised, they owed their allegiance to someone other than the English monarch.' (Das et al, 2021: 20). James Shapiro writes of the poem that the line: '"And like the Jew you eat us up as bread"…resonates with the discourse of host desecration on the one hand and, on the other, the cannibalism associated with Jews in the late sixteenth century discussions of usury' (Shapiro, 1996: 185). The line also resonates with the lines in

Sir Thomas More and my analysis of the mob's presentation of 'the strangers' to justify their riots and desire to remove the migrant workers, which I explore in the next section of this chapter.

In addition to the riots of Evil May Day 1517, in 'the year 1595, the poor tradesman made a riot upon the strangers in Southwark, and other parts of the City of London…[and] the like began at the same time within the Liberties (as they are called) where such strangers commonly harboured' (Stow, 1603). Unrest that was creatively expressed in *Sir Thomas More* continued to be explored in 1596 'when, at the Globe Theater in the same Liberty of Southwark, they paid to see Shakespeare's new play, *The Merchant of Venice*, in which the plot turns on the conviction of an alien' (Shapiro, 1996: 187). The language of Shakespeare's play echoes the hostile language of Elizabethan England and expressed in the church wall poem. The terms 'alien' and 'Jew' appear to be interchangeable and constitute unbelonging: not Christian, not Venetian, not English. Not human. In Portia's court speech, Shylock is both a 'Jew' and 'an alien'. Like England's charters overseen by a feudal monarch, Venice's charters encouraged foreigners to live, work and trade in Venice yet it retained 'legislation that renders this equality provisional' (Shapiro, 1996: 188).

Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* is indicative of the instability of an outsider's position in society and the treacherous realities of sixteenth century sea trade. Antonio (a merchant of Venice) borrowed money and sealed a bond with Shylock (the Jewish money lender). Antonio was confident that: 'My ships come home a month before the day' the 'bond expires', believing in a wealthy return on his seafaring prospects with 'thrice three times the value of this bond' (2.1.155).

In his book, *Merchants*, Edmond Smith writes of the English merchant, William Turner, who, in 1606, battled through and sheltered 'from the storm and foul weather'. But 'no sooner had they raised anchor than "the wind came again to the south so that we were forced in the dark to go moor our ship again"' (Smith, 2021: 2). Like Turner and Shakespeare's Antonio, many early modern merchants 'were caught out by the myriad of uncertainties' of sea travel and trading. 'Changeable weather, shifting market conditions, controlling servants overseas, exchanging information, buying goods and navigating diverse jurisdictions were just some of the issues confronting these' commercial sea merchants (Smith, 2021: 5).

Disaster struck Shakespeare's merchant in Act 3, Scene 1, when Salerio brings the news that:

> Why, yet it lives unchecked that Antonio hath

A ship of rich lading wrecked on the narrow seas – the Good-

Wins [Goodwin sands, where the Thames meets the sea] I think they call the

place – a very dangerous flat, and

fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried, as they

say, if my gossip Report be an honest woman of her word (3.1. 2-6).

Shakespeare has drawn upon real world early modern seafaring, shipwrecks, sea travel

and trade for the setting and plot development, revealing the dangerous realities of

potential investment and loss at sea. The early modern business backdrop in which

Antonio 'hath disgraced' Shylock and 'hindered [Shylock] half a million', also creates

the opportunity for Shakespeare to display the hostilities and tensions between

Christians and Jews, searingly outlined by Shylock in his Act 3, Scene 1 speech soon

after Salerio reveals Antonio's financially devastating news.

Wedged between the poetic verse language of Portia's casket scenes, Shakespeare

shifted the style of dialogue in Act 3, Scene 1 (a conversation between Salerio, Salanio

and Shylock) to prose. There is often the suggestion in Shakespearean criticism that

prose usually marks the distinction between lower-class, common people to create a

stark contrast to the higher-class verse speaking characters in Shakespeare's plays.

This line of argument, therefore, suggests that Salerio and Salanio must change their register and 'lower' their language to communicate with Shylock, furthermore, this positions Shylock - a Jewish person and a businessman who facilitated Antonio's sea trading - as lower-class and beneath the Christians. I would also suggest that Shakespeare's use of prose is a linguistic spotlight to highlight the realities and truths of the Early Modern world that Shakespeare was exposing. In this scene, we learn of the shipwrecks and losses that were a devastating and distinct aspect of our global oceans and seabed. Furthermore, Shylock's rhetoric of transposition uncovers just how 'low' Jewish people were placed in society's hierarchy.

Shylock declares that Antonio

> laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my
> bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies, and what's his reason? – I
> am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions,
> senses, affections, passions; fed by the same food, hurt with the same weapons,
> subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by
> the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us do we not
> bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you poison us do we not die? And
> if you wrong us shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will

resemble you in that. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance

be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teacher me I will

execute' (3.1.45-60).

Asserting his basic human features and characteristics through a series of rhetorical

questions – 'eyes', 'hands, 'organs', 'senses', 'bleed', heal, 'laugh' – through his

rhetoric of transposition, the Jewish man asks for his humanity to be acknowledged

and protected. Eric L de Barros confirms that Shylock's 'strategy centers on the

kinds of inconvenient questions intended to get the Christians to reassess their

deepest, defining racist and anti-Semitic assumptions' (Barros, 2020: 79).

Shakespeare's rhetoric of transposition seeks to reposition Shylock from lower-class,

'Jew' and 'alien' to be recognised and restored as a 'human' – just as a Christian

person is.

The second part of Shylock's rhetoric asks for equality between Christian and Jewish

people. The logic of his argument follows that if Christians can behave in a certain

way, then surely Jewish people can too. James Shapiro writes that the play takes 'an

alien's threat of violence (rather than any direct act of violence against a citizen) and

reverses the actual threat existing in London's liberties. That is, we have in the play

not a community's attack upon an alien, but a conviction of an alien' (Shapiro, 1996:

189). The inverted hostility ensures that Shylock – and subsequently the 'aliens' of London – may never claim their humanity.

Similarly, to seek, reclaim and obtain an acknowledgement of Aaron's humanity, the humanity of his child and for them both to be treated as such, in *Titus Andronicus* Shakespeare presents the rhetoric of transposition to challenge the early modern world's hegemonic beliefs. Here, Shakespeare also uses 'inconvenient questions' as a tool to confront assumptions of Black skin and Blackness when he writes for Aaron's character to ask: 'is black so base a hue?'. Although Emily Bartels argues that *Titus Andronicus* 'does not challenge the racial stereotype' (Bartels, 1990: 442), I would argue that through Aaron's question and his proud defence of Blackness, Shakespeare is using the rhetoric of transposition in a further attempt to reposition a black person from the perception of Black equals inhuman to Black equals human. Through this rhetorical tool, Shakespeare appears to be challenging, and urging the audience to question the skin/race stereotypes that existed in his world.

Ian Smith writes that Aaron is 'the eloquent spokesman, the resistor in history's mimetic drama of ethnic and racial oppression' (Smith, 2009: 129). Like Othello in the court scene as he declares his love for Desdemona and testifies to the way in which they fell in love, Aaron is provided with elegant verse in which to defend

himself. On the other hand, the bluntness of Shylock's prose and the question-answer pairings in his transposition used to outline the basic human functions, features and characteristics that he defends, effectively offers the audience an insight into the inhuman treatment he suffers through the anti-alien sentiment. Furthermore, the linguistic simplicity emphasises the simplicity of his first request to be considered, above all, human.

Shakespeare is clearly aware of the early modern world's stereotypes and dislike that shrouds black skin. In the *Merchant of Venice*, when the Prince of Morocco approaches Portia as a potential suitor, he pleads:

> Mislike me not for my complexion,
>
> The shadowed livery [servant's uniform] of the burnished sun,
>
> To whom I am a neighbour and near bred [close kin]
>
> Bring me the fairest creature northward born,
>
> Where Phoebus' fire scarce thaws the icicles,
>
> And let us make incision for your love
>
> To prove whose blood is reddest, his or mine...
>
> I would not change this hue

Except to steal your thoughts, my gentle queen (2.1.1 – 12)

The Norton Anthology's note confirms that the meaning of 'shadowed livery' is another term for 'servant's uniform' suggesting that in spite of his royal status the 'tawny Moor' (stage direction) is beneath Portia and lower in the social hierarchy because of his complexion. Additionally, he seems to apply similar logic to Shylock as he suggests that their blood is red – and therefore human. Although Portia appears to give the Prince a chance to win her love by following her father's instructions, by Act 2, Scene 7, Portia demonstrates palpable relief in not being chosen by the Moor and hopes that 'all of his complexion choose' (2.7.79) the wrong casket.

In the following extract the nurse enters carrying the only mixed-race child in Shakespeare's work. The child is both/and. Aaron's 'blackamore child' is the only character in Shakespeare's canon that represents and reflects my 'skin' in the game. This in itself is an 'entry point' (Thompson & Turchi 2016: 30) into the play, and an opportunity to provoke a dialogue between the past and the present as we may ask of ourselves: What is your first remembered awareness of race? We may ask of the text:

Can you identify the colour-coded language in the text? How is Aaron's child

racialised and morally characterised? How is whiteness deliberately constructed in

this scene?

> Aaron: What dost thou wrap and fumble in thy arms?
>
> Nurse: O, that which I would hide from heaven's eye,
> Our Empress's shame and stately Rome's disgrace.
> She is delivered, lords, she is delivered.
>
> Aaron: To whom?
>
> Nurse: I mean she is brought abed.
>
> Aaron: Well, God give her good rest. What hath he sent her?
>
> Nurse: A devil.
>
> Aaron: Why then, she is the devil's dam.
> A joyful issue!
>
> Nurse: A joyless, dismal, black, and sorrowful issue.
>
> Here is the babe, as loathsome as a toad
>
> Amongst the fair-faced breeders of our clime.
>
> The Empress sends it thee, thy stamp, thy seal,
>
> And bids thee christen it with thy dagger's point.
>
> Aaron: Zounds, ye whore, is black so base a hue?

Sweet blowze, you are a beauteous bossom, sure…

Chiron: It shall not live.

Aaron: It shall not die.

Nurse: Aaron, it must; the mother wills it so.

Aaron: What, must it, nurse?…

Stay, murderous villains, will you kill your brother?…

What, what, ye sanguine, shallow-hearted boys.

Ye whitelimed walls, ye alehouse painted signs,

Coal-black is better than another hue

In that it scorns to bear another hue;

For all the water in the ocean

Can never turn the swan's black legs to white

Although she lave them hourly in the flood (4.2.52-102)

In this extract, characters do not distinguish the child's gradients of blackness or the

specificities of the shade of his skin. All characters onstage racially categorise him as

black. This is a distinct difference from the past to the current insidious

categorisation of skin/race. The interim crafting of gradients of blackness which

took hold in the 400-year chasm, has led to the ambiguous multiplicity of the present moment which violently estranges people from their complete personhood. In addition to his skin/blackness, the child is morally and religiously characterised as 'a devil'. Another entry point to consider skin/race in the text and the art of rhetoric more generally, could be to explore the question: how does Aaron defend his son in this extract? How does Aaron's rhetoric demonstrate black pride?

As for the nurse, blackness is directly linked to religion and morality. With this view of blackness as the starting point, the nurse speaks of 'Our Empress' shame and Rome's disgrace', subsequently declaring that 'we are all undone'. Subsidiary Historical-Literary Enquiry Questions might be: How is shame presented? If the child had been born in a similar shade as a 'fair-faced breeder of our clime', would there be any shame? A question I wish to purse further is: how does shame resonate with the Windrush generation and their descendants?

<u>WINDRUSH</u>

<u>Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Question:</u> **When Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *Titus Andronicus* are performed in the 21st century how do the themes of shame, dehumanisation and expulsion resonate with the Windrush generation?**

> The Windrush scandal has rightly shone a light on an important issue for our country. As so often, the instincts of the British people are right. They want people who have a right to live here to be treated fairly and humanely, which has sometimes not been the case.
>
> Amber Rudd, Home Secretary, 2018 resignation letter.

In *Teaching Shakespeare with Purpose*, Ayanna Thompson and Laura Turchi assert that 'the history of the Holocaust impacts the way we read the play [*The Merchant of Venice*]. The history of the Holocaust allows us to see the that the plays should not [I would affirm, *cannot and must not*,] be frozen and congealed in early modern history' (Thompson & Turchi, 2016: 104). They went on to give an example of The Globe's 1998 production which repelled and repulsed critics in light of their post-Holocaust understanding. Wiesenthal Lion provides an alternative way to 'negotiate antisemitism', when she writes:

The only way to negotiate antisemitism in *Merchant*, as seen by Michelle Ephraim, is to change the plot. In 'Jessica's Jewish Identity' Jessica, seen as a 'lacuna of opportunity,' is 'rehabilitated [into a] loyal daughter who … embrac(es) her Jewish identity.' This Jessica beyond- the- plot surmises an identity of victimization within- the- plot from which Jessica cannot escape. I understand the want to free Jessica from her oppressive setting. It would possibly be a relief if we could all be freed from our settings whenever we might choose. However, I suggest that, ultimately, Jessica's success in her quest for freedom must be derived from within her setting, as it is with all of us (Wiesenthal Lion, 2022: 21).

In my post-slavery, post-Windrush understanding, there are several aspects of Shakespeare's plays and their performances that I am unsettled, repelled, and repulsed by. It would be tempting to 'change the plot' but as Wiesenthal Lion suggests, that is not the solution. It must be acknowledged here that although the atrocities faced by Jewish people and those faced by black people are separate, not comparable and each have their own unique set of horrors and trauma, what can be considered alongside each other is the strategies used to create shame,

dehumanisation, and expulsion against each of these distinct groups of people and how these resonate in the plays and in society.

Dehumanisation & Shame

In his attempt to get the Christians to acknowledge his humanity, in Act 3 Shylock asserted that as humans we are all: 'subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means' (3.1.52-53). Part of the process of dehumanisation faced by the Windrush generation was devastatingly experienced by Sylvester Marshall when he was refused life-saving treatment for cancer after living in England for forty-four years and paying National Insurance contributions for over thirty years (Gentleman, 2019: 75). Under the UK healthcare system these taxes and National Insurance contributions fund the National Health Service which then pays for your treatment.

Sylvester's mother, another young mother in Jamaica who was urged by the government of the 'Mother Country' to help the UK labour shortage and was encouraged to work in the newly established healthcare system, gave 'up her life in Jamaica to travel across the world to take up a job with the National Health Service' (Gentleman, 2019: 79) for which she worked for decades. Sylvester's father travelled with his mother and secured a job as a roadworker which helped the process of

recovery by rebuilding Britain's Nazi bombed infrastructure and establish the thriving road networks for Britain's booming reliance on cars in the 1960s. The family separation for many Windrush families, including my own, is traumatic and devastating. Sylvester's parents left when he was just six years old. Fortunately, he was able to join them a few years later and 'worked constantly since he was nineteen' (Gentleman, 2019: 80) paying taxes and National Insurance contributions.

It must be reiterated that the people of Jamaica, including the Sylvester and his parents, were not travelling uninvited or illegally across the seas or smuggled across a border. Their passports and documentation stated that they are British subjects: Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies. Travelling from Jamaica to London at this time 'was effectively considered an internal journey from one bit of the British Empire to another – in theory, equivalent to going from Glasgow to London' (Gentleman, 2019: 68).

In spite of the raft of evidence of Sylvester's legal status as a human being, the NHS refused his cancer treatment. He was ordered to pay £54,000 if he wanted to receive treatment. Following the loss of his job due to illness and consequently being evicted from his home, Sylvester was unable to pay for his treatment.

The government's strategy to withhold life-saving treatment forced doctors, nurses, and receptionists to act as border force staff. Kitty Worthing wrote in the *Guardian* that: 'These crucial decisions are being made in response to ill-thought out, politically motivated policy that has nothing to do with clinical judgement'. She went on to say that: 'It is clear that these callous policies are ideologically motivated' (Gentleman 2019: 89). Shylock was keenly aware of this type of ideology which results in the dehumanisation of people. In April 2018, BBC News reported that the 'former Head of the Civil Service, Bob Kerslake, said some saw the government's policies "almost reminiscent of Nazi Germany". Despite this, the hostile environment went ahead.' (Kerslake 2018 quoted in Gentleman, 2019: 128).

At the beginning of this chapter, I included the Statute of Jewry from 1275 which stated that in England 'those aged over seven had to wear a badge that visually identified them as being Jewish'. A dehumanising strategy used by the government to identify members of the Windrush generation forced Paulette Wilson, under the threat of expulsion, to carry an identity document with her at all times. 'She felt there was something humiliating about the document – something about it made her feel like a criminal' (Gentleman 2019: 29). Every time this document was

inspected, they wouldn't even speak or make eye contact with Paulette as if she wasn't human, as if she didn't even exist.

Not only did authorities treat these British citizens as if they didn't exist, but the Home Office's record keeping and working practices ensured in many cases that, like Sandra Bullock's character in *The Net*, their identity (and consequently their right to live and work in the UK) was almost entirely erased. This produces a social and corporeal death which echoes with the erasure exposed in my analysis of the character, Sycorax, in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

Expectations of meticulous record keeping and identity carrying were placed upon individuals who arrived as young children. However, it has been revealed that 'the Home Office neglected to keep a record of those people from the Commonwealth who were granted leave to remain on arrival' (Gentleman, 2019: 149). The Home Office held an archive of 'landing cards or registration slips, which recorded a name and date of arrival' (Gentleman, 2019: 148).

The landing cards, ship records and registration documents at the time of their arrival confirmed their identity and status as citizens. Without them, the Commonwealth citizens were becoming wrongfully classified as illegal migrants.

The following photographs are images of the HMS Windrush ship records which

give details of the passengers onboard.

Figure 44. Image of HMS Windrush passenger list from 22nd June 1948.

Figure 45. Image of HMS Windrush passenger list from 22nd June 1948.

In 2010, the files were intentionally and wilfully destroyed by the Home Office.

When people like Sylvester and Paulette were desperately searching for evidence of

their existence 'the damaging consequences of the destruction of the cards'

(Gentleman, 2019: 151) became apparent. A Home Office whistle blower who

helped to uncover this dehumanising and devastating strategy confirmed that 'these

cards represented arrivals of people who went on to dedicate their lives to this

country. It was like in one stroke they were erased from history' (Gentleman, 2019:

153). As a result, Jamaican British citizens faced expulsion.

Expulsion

> You are specifically considered to be a person who has failed to provide
>
> evidence of lawful entry to the United Kingdom, therefore you are liable for
>
> removal (Gentleman, 2019: 17).
>
> LIABILITY FOR REMOVAL
>
> If you do not leave the United Kingdom as required, you will be liable to
>
> enforced removal to Jamaica...If you decide to stay then your life will become
>
> increasingly more difficult (Gentleman, 2019: 17).

Without landing cards and registration documents people of the Windrush

generation began to receive letters from the Home Office, such as the letter above

sent to Paullette Wilson who travelled to join her family in the winter of 1968 aged

11 or 12 years old.

Amelia Gentleman reported that Anthony Bryan, who travelled to Britain in the

1960s to join his mother when he was eight years old, opened his front door over fifty

years later 'to find seven officers...getting ready to smash their way into the house.

Once of them was carrying a shield. "Something like a Viking might carry, but made of plastic"' (Gentleman, 2019: 43).

Threatening letters of expulsion and Immigration Officers forcefully rounding up to expel British citizens were approaches to meet their monetary bonus targets, ultimately destroyed the lives of legal British citizens. Paulette and Anthony both spent time in immigration detention centres and were classified as removable to Jamaica.

Watching *The Merchant of Venice* against the backdrop of the Windrush scandal echoes the instability faced by early modern migrants as the instability of their British status decided by a country's hostile policies and laws recalls James Shapiro's assertion that legislation renders their position as 'provisional' (Shapiro, 1996: 188).

Sir Thomas More

Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Question: How can hostile environments be subverted when racism and religious persecution result in riots?

Figure 46. Painting of the beginning of the riot in Cheapside.

The literary text I have selected to investigate the process of dispelling a hostile environment is an extract believed to be written by Shakespeare and named after a Catholic martyr. The author (referred to as Hand D) departs from the historical accuracy of the role that the real Sir Thomas More played in the violent May Day riots of 1517. In contrast, the fictional Sir Thomas More is presented as a hero of the 'peace' who 'preserved the city/From a most dangerous fierce commotion' (*Sir*

Thomas More, 2.3.189-190). In reality, Sir Thomas More's interaction with the mob at the gate of Liberty of St Martin le Grand 'proved in vain' (Brodie, 2021: 716). According to Edward Hall, following their brief exchange with More, 'the misruled persons ranne to the doores and wyndowes of saynt Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the street, and lefte fewe houses unspoyled' (Hall, 1550: 153).

What remains true and accurate of both the literary text and the historical records is the purpose and target of the vicious riots. In the medieval period, St Martin le Grand had been granted royal status as a place of 'sanctuary' and 'liberty'. During King Henry VIII's reign, people who travelled by sea to migrate to England continued to live, work and trade in the area by invitation, with permission and official protection. The 'misruled' mob violently targeted people who lived and worked in the area. Through a trial in which up to twenty rioters were hanged, drawn, and quartered in a show of 'bloody exemplary punishment' (Brodie, 2021: 716), it is clear that Henry VIII's response to the May Day riots of 1517 reveals his protection of the peace, people, property and the prerogative of the crown in London.

Henry VIII's desire to have his own way eventually led to the execution of the real Sir Thomas More eighteen years after the riots (and by Act 5 of the play) for refusing to subscribe to the king's doctrine. In 1535, More was killed 'with one stroke of the axe', his severed head then 'boiled, impaled upon a pole and raised above London Bridge' (Ackroyd, 1999: 395) – another of the King's executions, which attempted to serve as a warning but ultimately turned Sir Thomas More into *Saint* Thomas More. He became 'one of the few Londoners upon whom sainthood has been conferred and the first English layman to be beatified as a martyr' (Ackroyd, 1999: 395).

During Elizabeth I's rule there remained the threat of violence and tragic retribution for anyone practicing Catholicism or with sympathies towards the Catholic church. Queen Elizabeth I's team of priest hunters would raid homes in search of Catholic priests and the accomplices who protected them. In May 1593, Henry Donne (the brother of poet John Donne 1572 – 1631) hid William Harrington, a Catholic priest, in his chambers. They were both arrested. Harrington was found guilty of high treason and was served the painful death sentence of a convicted traitor: 'drawn from Newgate to Tyborne; and there hanged, cut down alive, struggled with the hang-man, bowelled, and quartered' (Rundell, 2022: 66). In 1593, Henry Donne

died in prison aged nineteen having been tortured by Newgate prison's plague that was rife amongst its inmates; a disease outbreak which had also forced theatres to close in the city. The Donne family had lived with the terrifying threat of religious persecution for generations: the mother of Henry and John Donne, Elizabeth Heywood, was the great-niece of our Catholic martyr Sir Thomas More. The play *Sir Thomas More*, therefore, was a dangerous one.

In the Norton Anthology, Walter Cohen suggests that the play was originally composed between late 1592 and mid-1595, a timescale and authorship which is contested. However, the play is significant in its contribution to literature and socio-historical studies by revealing uncritical admiration for the Catholic man. James Shapiro writes that writers of the play script 'submitted a draft of *Sir Thomas More* to the Master of the Revels, Edmund Tilney, for his approval. Given the fact that their play contained scenes that literally reenacted the bloody anti-alien riots of 1517, Tilney found much worth censoring' (Shapiro, 1996: 185), therefore, Tilney 'struck out again and again passing references to that loaded word, *stranger*' (Shapiro, 1996: 185). Hand D was particularly courageous in their creative revisions and interpretation which reveal sympathy for the real man and for the people that had

travelled on treacherous seas to migrate to England. Reaching back into their own past to draw upon parallels and continuities in divisions, Shakespeare and his authorial collaborators, exploited contemporary religious tensions, antiforeign resentment and threats which continued to resonate in Shakespeare's present moment under the rule of their protestant queen, Elizabeth I (daughter of Henry VIII).

The hostile environment is subverted through rhetorical attempts to create empathy and humanise both the people who have migrated to England and the 'misruled persons' to obtain peace. To set up the subversion, the riotous crowd are repeatedly referred to and symbolised with watery imagery. In particular, More declares: 'Whiles they are o'er the bank of their obedience/Thus will bear down all things' (2.3.43-44). Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchior acknowledge that floodwater imagery is a favourite with Shakespeare to represent rebellion (Munday, 1990: 98). Drawing upon water to represent the rabble, the metaphor absorbs water's natural, powerful, and vast elemental consistency. Yet the allusion also incorporates water's unruly nature. Like Wordsworth's 'charter'd Thames', banks, harbours and flood defences are temporary, manmade attempts to control water. However, the threat

remains. The lingering possibility that the watery rabble will 'o'er bear' and drown

the authorities and submerge the hierarchies, permeates Shakespeare's writing. The

recurring deployment of watery imagery represents the disobedience of the 'tag' who

interrupt the political and social order. John Lincoln (a real-world rioter who was

hanged in 1517 for his part in Evil May Day) is creatively reinterpreted as an

impotent rebel leader in Shakespeare's extract and is finding it difficult to 'command'

the floodwater 'to stillness' (2.3.57). 'They will not hold their peace./The devil

cannot rule them' (2.3.59-60) Lincoln helplessly admits. More replies: 'what a rough

and riotous charge have you,/To lead those that the devil cannot rule' (2.3.61-62), a

duty which ultimately cost the real world Lincoln his life.

Looking across Shakespeare's canon and reaching back through his own literary

history, water as metaphor to drown and overpower is echoed in *Hamlet* Act 4, Scene

5 in which the 'ocean' 'rabble' 'o'erbears' Claudius' officers. In *Troilus and Cressida*

Shakespeare continues the Greek tradition of characterising Ulysses as the intelligent

political hero. Act 1, Scene 3 of the play focuses on the political strife: 'Commotion

in the winds, fights, changes, horrors/Divert and crack, rend and deracinate/The

unity and married calm of states/Quite from their fixture' (*Troilus and Cressida*,

1.3.98-101) as Ulysses decries the 'raging of the sea, shaking of the earth?' (1.3.97). The discord which follows is the overflowing of the 'bounded waters' which 'lift their bossoms higher than the shores/And make sop of all this solid globe' (1.3.111-113). These lines echo across the canon and demonstrate the dangers of anarchy which is represented by the threat of the watery submersive consequence of division. In Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, Cominius speaks to Coriolanus with urgency: 'will you hence/Before the tag [rabble] return, whose rage doth rend/Like interrupted [overflowing] waters, and o'erbear/What they used to bear' (*Coriolanus*, 3.1.247-249). The editorial note in the Norton Shakespeare comments that 'o'er bear...bear' means to overpower that which they ordinarily submit. Henry VIII and Elizabeth I's real world corporal punishments of the overflowing, overbearing, 'misruled persons' was carried out to ensure that the people obeyed and submitted to their laws and will.

For a brief moment in *Sir Thomas More* (with the help of Doll Williamson - wife of a London carpenter - who agrees 'we will' listen to More because he 'keeps a plentiful shrievaltry [is a generous sheriff]' (2.3.48) and is a 'good housekeeper [Patroen; head of a well-to-do household]' (2.3.64-65)) the overflowing floodwater is controlled long

enough to 'hear me speak' (2.3.62). When silence is called, More uses the another

rhetorical device, anacoluthon, to replace social disorder with syntactical order.

More declares:

> Look what you do offend you cry upon,
>
> That is the peace; not one of you here present
>
> Had there such fellows lived when you were babes,
>
> That could have topped the peace, as now you would –
>
> The peace wherein you have til now grown up
>
> Had been ta'en from you, and the bloody times
>
> Could not have bought you to the state of men. (2.3.68-73)

As opposed to immediately addressing the xenophobia of the crowd, More emotively

appeals to the rabble by forcing their imagination to regress to their most vulnerable

state of humanity. More creates empathy by reminding the 'unruly persons' that

they were once children who relied on adults for protection. More initially points

out that if adults during their own childhood had 'topped' [beheaded, overthrown

and destroyed] the peace and established order they would have died in infancy.

Drawing on the inherited, generational divisions, More continues to emotively

present the vulnerability of childhood. Seeking to reclaim the humanity of people

being preyed upon during the riots More provokes the crowd to 'imagine...their

babies at their backs' (2.3.81). Creating an affectional atmosphere in the crowd

through shared childhood experiences, sympathies and vulnerabilities generates a

sense of equilibrium between the opposing May Day forces.

Floodwater momentarily abated, the image of the sea is transformed from rebellious,

dangerous, and overflowing to a form of oceanic 'transportation'. Imagine the

people with their babies at their backs being forced out of England 'plodding to th'

ports and coasts' (2.3.81) should the riotous crowd 'sit as kings in [their] desires'

(2.3.82) to have the people forcibly removed from England. More's rhetoric of

transposition works by exchanging the position of each group. Placing both groups

of people in the transformative position of migrating to or emigrating from England

forces the disgruntled crowd to reposition their thinking. For instance, facing the

possibility of their own banishment, sea travel and emigration from England is

brought into focus as More asks: 'to banish you, whither would you go?/ What

country, by nature of your error,/Should give you harbour?' (2.3.136-138). The

nine-line rhetorical question urges the crowd to imagine their departure from

familiar shores and their vulnerable arrival at a foreign port.

> Would you be please
>
> To find a nation of such barbarous temper
>
> That breaking out in hideous violence
>
> Would not afford you an abode on earth,
>
> Whet their detested knives against your throats
>
> Spurn you like dogs, and like as if that God
>
> Owed not nor made not you, not that the elements
>
> Were not all appropriate to your comforts,
>
> But chartered unto them? (Lines 142-150)

More's 'supposition' solicits arguments for being obedient. To behave with a

'barbarous temper', carry out 'hideous violence', and 'spurn' people 'like dogs' is

inhuman. More's speech is an attempt to classify the rabble as barbarous to liberate

London from their aggressive and dangerous behaviour. The rebels wanted to 'kill'

the people, 'cut their throats, possess their houses/and lead the majesty of the law to

Iyam' (2.3.130-131). To be barbarous – More's argument suggests - 'tis a sin'. More

proclaims:

> Which oft th'apostle did forewarn us of,
>
> Urging obedience to authority,
>
> An 'twere no error if I told you all
>
> You were in arms 'gainst God.

All: Marry, God forbid that.

More: Nay certainly you are,

> For to the king God hath lent
>
> Of dread, of justice, power and command,
>
> Hath bid him rule, and willed you to obey;
>
> And to add ampler majesty to this,
>
> He hath not only lent the king His figure,
>
> His throne and sword, but given him His own name,
>
> Calls him a god on earth. What do you them.
>
> Rising 'gainst him that God Himself installs
>
> But rise 'gainst God? What do you to your souls
>
> In doing this...?

'God hath lent' and having 'only lent the king His figure' appears to be a veiled jab which undermines the power of the crown and emphasises the authority of God. Here, God is on More's (and therefore the Catholic) side of the argument, dangerously reinforcing pro-Catholic as well as pro-foreign sentiment.

Through his rhetoric of presenting the 'stranger's case' (2.3.150), More successfully transposes the misruled to ruled. Even to the point that all the crowd declare: 'let's do as we may be done by', echoing the gospel of Matthew. Following this solemn declaration literary Lincoln submits: 'we'll be ruled by you, Master More' (2.3.153). The rhetoric of transposition to obtain submission, obedience and yielding to a Catholic man and God Himself leads to the stage direction '*They lay by their weapons*' (2.3.161). This is a powerful and peaceful act, dissipating the rabble and subverting the hostile environment that the misruled persons had created.

Although this appears to be a successful conclusion which places literary More as a white hero, representative and saviour of persecuted peoples and the immigrant population of London, it is essential to interrogate the undercurrent of ideas

contained within More's speech which the writer included to draw upon England's notion of 'humanity'. According to this rhetoric, what constitutes humanity?

By incorporating 'barbarism' into More's speech, Shakespeare draws upon early modern dichotomies of civilised/uncivilised; human/inhuman; sinner/virtuous, behaviour, beliefs, temperament, and language. Ian Smith writes that: 'Barbarism is a technical term taken from classical rhetoric and grammar to denote linguistic vices...debased, incompetent or vulgar speech'. Errors of language signified inhumanity and 'were specifically associated with foreigners or cultural outsiders' (Smith, 2009). Furthermore, the idea that people from foreign shores have a 'barbarous temper' is infused with 'antiquated early modern notions of climatic influence' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). Mary Floyd-Wilson's examination of geohumoralism confirms that these ideas are linked to 'a long history of racialist thinking' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003:). Geohumoralism explores the early modern beliefs around climate, temperance and the humors. Hippocrates's belief that 'climates differ and cause differences in character' somewhat influenced Renaissance geohumoralism and 'resemble modern "intuitive" assumptions about regional traits' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). In *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, published in 1605,

Richard Verstegan continues the early modern argument that 'the temperature of the ayr of any regio[n] doth make the inhabitants more or less learned or ingenious'. He finds that the civilisations of Africa, Greece and Rome – those warm southern regions – have since declined into barbarism (Floyd-Wilson, 2003).

Positioning the watery rabble as barbarous outsiders places them in stark contrast to 'the evolving role of linguistic eloquence in English self-definition' (Smith, 2009) and the nationalist movement that they claimed to be defending. The crowd feared being categorised as uncivilised. This stemmed from a system which defined Barbarians and Barbarism with negative connotations. To be positioned in such an adverse classification, the rabble began to feel disgusted by their own 'inhumanity', 'barbarous inhumanity' and animalistic behaviour.

Before the crowd succumbs to his will, More's speech culminated in these final words: 'this your mountanish inhumanity' (2.3.150). More's use of the word 'mountanish' is a significant adjective which intensifies the humanity/inhumanity dichotomy in the play. Inflected with narratives of early modern ethnology the words 'mountanish inhumanity' are not neutral but part of the process of categorising

human and barbaric behaviours in socially subordinate terms. Ethnology which led

to racialisation and became entrenched in England's psyche in preparation for the

later categorisations of who and is not valued as human.

Gabrieli and Melchiori assert that mountanish means 'barbarous' referring to the

mob's wild and rude behaviour (Munday, 1990: 104-105). In Act 4, Scene 1 of

Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, the lines 'ungracious wretch,/Fit for the mountains and

the barbarous caves' (Munday, 1990: 104-105), whilst in Act 4 of *Cymberline*

'mountaineer' also reference mountainous barbarous. Gabrieli and Melchiori

confirm that it 'has been understood as 'moritanish' with reference to the savage

inhabitant of Mauritania [a country in Africa], or as a contraction of

'Mohametanish' (as cruel as the infidels)' (Munday, 1990: 105). Infidels were people

of no belief or members of another religion not the majority, further alluding to the

notion of outsiders being against God as well as referencing the historical,

generational, and contemporary tensions surrounding religious persecution and

linked to the derogatory, racialised notions of the inhumanity of African people.

Repositioning the migrated people from inhuman to human and the ferocious floodwater from human to inhuman, unsettles and diminishes the power of the rebels and the power of their antiforeign case, ultimately restores peace but does not succeed in restoring 'the humanity of both.' (Freire, 2017: 1). Instead, it succeeds in continuing the categorisations of what it is to be human – peaceful, submitting to the will of the English God, eloquent in speech, and civilised. These views fuelled negative ideas of racialised people as inhuman, brutish and uncivilised. During the early modern period's ongoing construction of racial categories this use of language allowed European societies to build racialised hierarchies and civilised/uncivilised binaries. Floyd-Wilson confirms that 'the erasure of Africa from the civilised world and the reinterpretation of "blackness" as monstrous and unnatural, allowed for the construction of a European race...under an invisible badge of inherited superiority' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). Having considered the construction of racial categories which led to riots in the early modern period, it is essential to consider the counterpoint perspective: Are racial categories and race riots constructed and re-enacted in later periods?

Windrush

Literary- Geohistorical Enquiry Question: How can hostile environments be subverted when racism and religious persecution result in riots?
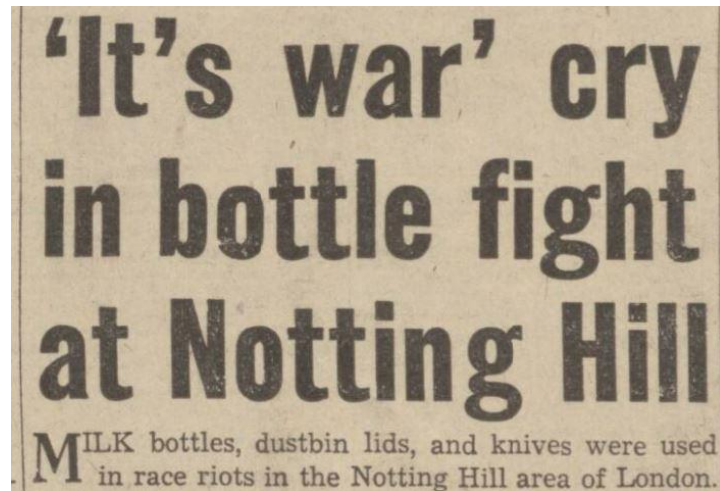
Figure 47. Britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk Manchester Evening News, 4th September 1958

Riots and unrest relating to race relations have occurred at several points in England's history. This section will specifically focus upon 'racism as riot' (Fryer, 2018: 303) from the first world war, through the migration of the Windrush generation to the riots of the 1980s.

Caribbean, Indian, and African soldiers fought alongside British soldiers in the first and second world wars, as unified Commonwealth and British citizens fighting for the Mother Country. Following the world wars, West Indian soldiers remained in the UK or travelled to Britain to live, work, and rebuild the country.

David Olusoga writes that: 'the size and makeup of black Britain in 1919 was a reflection of centuries of contact between Britain and Africa but also the global nature of the conflict the nation had just endured' (Olusoga, 2016: 451). Just a few weeks after the end of the first world war, William P Samuels from British Guiana, a seaman living in Cardiff, wrote to the Colonial Office:

> We kindly beg to appeal to you for justice. We are seafaring men that has served this Country faithfully…The places of our birth are surely British Possessions or Protectorates and here in Great Britain which is the Capital of the British Empire we are badly treated by the British People. We do not want any favour all we want is fair play. Every morning we go down to the shipping offices to find our selves work so as to make honest bread and are bluntly refused on account of our colour (Samuels quoted in Fryer, 2018: 303).

The sense of betrayal and injustice is palpable in Samuels' words. Being denied opportunities and refused work because of their race and 'colour' is racism. Issues regarding employment and workers resonates with the persecution and injustice

faced by the workers in *Sir Thomas More* play and the England of 1517 which persists in Britain's workplaces and educational institutions to this day.

Peter Fryer writes that 'in the spring of 1919, about 120 black workers employed for years in the big Liverpool sugar refineries and oilcake mills were sacked because white workers now refused to work with them. Unemployed black workers…were being turned out of their lodgings…some were practically starving' (Fryer, 2018: 303). Some of the black soldiers 'have been wounded, and lost limbs and eyes fighting for the Empire' (Toummavah quoted in Fryer, 2018: 303).

In June of 1919 the streets of Liverpool saw savage anti-black attacks, riots, and civil unrest. The hostels and lodgings where black people, ex-soldiers and seamen lived were set alight and destroyed. Charles Wotton was chased by a mob 'of between 200 and 300 hurling missiles…The lynch mob tore him [from the police] and threw him into the water [at Queen's Dock] Shouting "Let him drown!"' (Fryer, 2018). Charles Wotton died in the water. Other black people were brutally attacked and robbed.

On 11th June 1919, reporting on the riots as racism, the *Liverpool Courier* perpetuated negative views of black people as they wrote:

> One of the chief reasons of popular anger behind the present disturbances

lies in the fact that the average negro is nearer the animal than is the average white man…The white man…regards [the black man] as part child, part animal, and part savage…It is quite true that many of the black in Liverpool are of the low type (Liverpool Courier, no.23, 186 (11 June 1919) quoted in Fryer, 2018: 307)

Not only is this a shocking example of racism in print and on the streets, but also the land and docks upon which this took place held the wealth, ghosts and remnants of slavery, reminding us that attitudes towards black people had not changed. From about 1500 to 1865, millions of African people were enslaved and transported across the Atlantic Ocean. Liverpool ships carried approximately 1.5 million enslaved Africans to the Caribbean and North America. The ships travelled back to Europe with sugar, cotton, coffee and tobacco. Liverpool grew rich from trading in goods and enslaved people. Liverpool's connections with slavery continued through cotton and other trades that were dependant on slave labour for much of 19th century. There are continuities in the centuries of enslavement, racism, and dehumanising treatment faced by African and Caribbean people.

The interim years between the first and second world war did not have the outward, outspoken display of segregation that social rules and Jim Crow laws held in America, yet there were clear divisions, prejudice, and a colour bar in England. The polite mask of welcome was worn hypocritically to veil the restrictions and limitations placed upon black people in Britain. During the second world war, what Commonwealth soldiers of the Caribbean and Africa found unsettling was 'the subtle, silent and obviously racial prejudice and indecent display of superiority from people of British nationality' (Manchester Guardian, no. 30,251 (14 September 1943), 4). The British cold shoulder stopped them from obtaining jobs, good homes and even places to eat and shop.

A manager of a cafe was asked by a commanding officer if he could provide a meal for his black soldier, which he had been barred from obtaining in several establishments. The manager remarked that: 'I could not help feeling ashamed that in a country where even stray dogs are "looked after" by special societies a citizen of the world, who is fighting for the world's battle for freedom and equality, should have found it necessary to place himself in this humiliating position' (*The Times*, no. 49, 356 (2 October 1942): 5). Humiliation and degradation are clear and continuous strategies which seek to oust minority groups.

In the post-war years there were labour shortages in Britain and a desperate need for help to rebuild the country, therefore, Britain was forced to welcome black people into the country. People were actively recruited from the Commonwealth islands in the Caribbean to assist British industry. In June 1948, *Empire Windrush* docked in Tilbury bringing people from the Caribbean to work for London Transport, hotels, restaurants, factories. Even Enoch Powell, the Tory Health Minister, 'welcomed West Indian Nurses to Britain' (Fryer, 2018: 379). By 1958 there were approximately 125,000 people who had travelled to England to work in the Mother Country.

In spite of the labour shortage's enforced welcome, cross - cultural encounters continued to provoke underlying racism which sporadically erupted into riots across the intervening years throughout Britain. In 1958, following unrest in Nottingham in which black people were told to go back to their own country, homes of black people were destroyed, and MPs responded by suggesting restrictive and deportation laws to formalise the colour bar, riots broke out in Notting Hill, London. 'Four hundred mainly young, working-class white men carrying improvised weapons launched two successive nights of attacks on local black people and their homes' (Olusoga, 2016: 510). Thuggish attacks on black people continued throughout the summer of 1958. Just as the apprentices (young working-class white men) of the Evil

May Day riots carried out attacks on people in London sparked by racism and resentments, over 400 years later similar attacks took place in London. Although the specific 'race' of the victims had changed since the early modern period, there are continuities in the acts of prejudice, negative attitudes, and persecution against people of difference.

By 1962 the Immigration Act sought to restrict the amount of black people travelling from the Commonwealth whilst white people from other areas of the Commonwealth were not affected by the act. The Race Relations Act of 1968 which made it illegal to refuse people employment, housing, or public services was brought in alongside restrictions upon immigration. The openness and freedom of movement in the 1948 Nationality Act was undone by further legislation and immigration controls between 1968 and 1971. However, this political stance did not simply limit the influx of more people. Although Enoch Powell had previously welcomed West Indian nurses when the NHS needed help, a few months after his Rivers of Blood speech, the restrictive and racist approach to British-born children of the Windrush generation that: 'The West Indian or Asian does not, by being born in England become an Englishman' (Hansen, 2000: 10). Before launching into her role

as Prime Minister (in which she served from 1979 until 1990), in 1978 Margaret Thatcher commented that 'people are rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture...if there is any fear that it might be swamped people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in' (Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 1978 Jan 27, Fr Margaret Thatcher TV interview for Granada *World in Action*).

The opening line of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, 'a winter of discontent', became the by-line for economic downturn and strikes that took place from 1978 and throughout the 1980s. Times of challenging working and economic conditions often leads to an excuse for division, blame and unrest. Under Thatcher's leadership, the 1980s began with sus laws which unfairly targeted black people and vicious, racist attacks. 'The riots of 1981 spread beyond London to other inner-city areas in which young black people, the children of the Windrush generation, felt themselves marginalised and persecuted by the police' (Olusoga, 2016: 516). In the summer of 1981, Liverpool saw further acts of racist violence during the Toxteth riots which sparked 9 days of rioting.

Through education, Shakespeare's plays and Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions, we encourage our young people to cultivate empathy and use their voices instead of violence to share their point of view and subvert such dangerous hostility.

Othello: The Military, the Marital and the Windrush Generation

'One ever feels the two-ness – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder'

(*The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. DuBois, 1903)

The migration of the eponymous character, Othello, immediately alerts the modern audience to connections between Shakespeare's character and the Windrush generation through the experiences of a black man living in Europe. Although Shakespeare's lifetime did not mark the beginning of such migrations, *Othello: the Moor of Venice* (the play and the character) highlights a significant moment in the creative expression of cross-cultural encounters in Europe during the early modern period which resonates with the Windrush generation's migration to England. Kim Hall asserts that '[e]very time we read or see *Othello*, we must ask what stories we bring to the experience, what histories and beliefs shape our responses to the play'

(Hall, 2007: 2). Therefore, this section of the chapter initiates a critical analysis of

then to instigate a dialogue with *now* which will enable me to examine the

experiences, histories, and beliefs of the Windrush generation and their descendants,

that coalesce into my reading of the play allowing us to observe, and undermine,

crucial continuities in race, hostility and belonging across the '400-year channel of

time' (Hawkes, 2013: xi).

The geographical 'places' and characteristics that Othello occupies and embodies as

'*The Moor of Venice'* echo the duality experienced by the Windrush generation as

they are *of* the Caribbean *and* England. Similarly, Emma Smith writes that reading

'Othello involves the immediate engagement with a paradox...it is the preposition 'of'

that particularly activates *Othello'*s central paradox. A Moor – literally a black man

from North Africa – cannot ever be 'of' Venice.' (Smith, 2005: 4 -5). Smith goes on

to assert that:

> the preposition 'of ' has two ambiguous meanings in the early modern period.
>
> One, waning sense is 'from, away from, out of' (*OED*), and suggests the idea
>
> of expulsion retained in the modern spelling 'off'. This disconnective sense, in
>
> which 'of ' indicates separation or distance from, is being replaced by a
>
> contradictory meaning stressing affiliation, 'indicating the thing, or person

whence anything originates, comes, is acquired or sought' (*OED*), with a particular stress on 'racial or local origin' (OED). Thus the historical meanings of 'of' register the sense in which Othello both belongs to and is rejected by the Venice he simultaneously serves and threatens. He is both 'of' and 'off' Venice (Smith, 2005: 4 - 5)

In the second counterpoint section of this chapter, I will investigate how the Windrush generation and their descendants both belong to and are rejected by the England they serve and the ways in which they are both of and off England. Here, I shall examine Othello's 'place' as the Moor of Venice.

The complexity of the subtitle alludes to the multiplicity of 'places' that Othello may be 'of' and 'off' through the word 'Moor', a term which also alerts us to the possibility, contestability and instability of terms relating to 'race'. Ambereen Dadabhoy has observed that: 'contained within the word 'Moor' is a geographic distinction, religious differentiation, and colour consciousness' (Dadabhoy, 2021: 34). The widespread use of 'Moor' to refer to both religious and physical difference means that 'the word proves incredibly elastic, stretching to encompass a wide range of peoples and cultures' (Hall, 2007: 3). Hall goes on to confirm that

[d]espite the overall ambiguity of Moor, one can safely say that in the long tradition of (usually male) Moors in the English stage, the Moor is most frequently and profoundly connected to Islam (the religion most feared by Christian Europe) and to Christian conceptions of blackness' (Hall, 2007: 3). Tracing the long literary tradition of 'Moors on the English stage' along which this thesis is chronologically plotted, Andrew Gurr suggests that '*Othello* was in part Shakespeare's reaction to Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*' (Gurr, 2008: 10). However, there are striking differences between Peele's presentation that I examined in Chapter One and Shakespeare's response. With the exception of Muly Mahamet, Peele created the majority of his (male and female) 'Moors' as autonomous, trustworthy, self-governing people and royalty of an African country. In stark contrast, Othello – the only Moor amongst the cast of Europeans – ultimately became the Machiavelli character Iago crafted him to be. I argue that the legacy of Shakespeare's Moor has outshined Peele's by being upheld, promoted, and recreated across the centuries precisely because Othello, eventually, embodies and enacts the most feared conceptions of blackness. Such negative characterisations of blackness, black men and, more broadly, the black population was – and continues to be – beneficial for

Europe's nation-building, the forging of national identities and the wider project of crafting a social, geopolitical, class and cultural hierarchy.

Gurr suggests that 'the white Iago, posing as the stereotype of an honest soldier, became the real Machiavel' (Gurr, 2008: 10). Iago, one of the villains of the tragedy, weaved what Fields and Fields describe as 'racecraft'. Racecraft, they argue, 'is not a euphemistic substitute for racism. It is a kind of fingerprint evidence that racism has been on the scene' (Fields & Fields, 2014: 19). The ways in which Iago works against Othello alludes to the distinction of racecraft which refers to the 'mental terrain and to pervasive life…unlike the physical terrain, racecraft originates not in nature but in human action and imagination' (Fields & Fields, 2014: 18 - 19). Although 'the audience might…have heard about noble Moors who were learned, trustworthy and devout' (Hall, 2007: 177), such as those presented by Peele, Iago's actions grasp and fuel early modern fears of Moors and blackness in the imagination of Brabantio and in the minds of the audience. The negative portrayal of the 'Moor' through the character of Othello is instigated in the first scene and crafted through propaganda and perception strategies which are mediated through two key areas of Othello's life: the military and the marital.

The Military Moor

In the first 33 lines of the play, Roderigo and Iago's application of the pronouns 'his' and 'him' (1.1.6) is a dismissal of Othello's importance despite his role as general of the Venetian army. Norman Sanders' edited version of the play interprets that the 'him...him...his: All refer to Othello' (Sanders, 2005: 68). Eschewing Othello's name or formal military title reinforces the disrespect Iago demonstrates. The nameless character becomes monstrous in the imagination of the audience and thereby worthy of the 'revenge' (2.1.275) Iago seeks. When Iago eventually directly refers to Othello, it is in a derogatory, mocking way. Iago already held Othello 'in thy hate' (1.1.6) but it is the word 'Moorship' (1.1.33) - a pun on worship used with mock respect - that 'is the first example of Iago's obsession with Othello's race and colour' (Sanders, 2005: 68) in the opening scene of the play. G.K. Hunter acknowledged 'a powerful and ancient tradition associating black-faced men with wickedness...[which] came right up to Shakespeare's own day' (Loomba, 1989: 42). It is Iago's 'obsession' with his belief in the 'wickedness' of 'black-faced men' that combines with resentment that 'doth like a poisonous mineral gnaw my inwards' (2.1.277). The vengeful resentment, we learn, is as a result of Iago's disappointment that Othello did not

'make me his lieutenant' (1.1.9) although Iago had previously 'off-capped' (1.1.10) to show Othello respect in the hope that he would be promoted.

Iago's opening rant alerts us to the frustrations and 'interests of a professional soldier' (Hall, 2007: 292). However, Hall argues that Iago's attitude here 'is at odds with the culture's prevailing belief in the virtue and necessity of "service"' (Hall, 2007: 294). Thomas Proctor's 1578 *Of the Knowledge and Conduct of Wars* 'represents war as the proving ground of masculinity and discipline...it generated a sense of pride in national character based on specific ideas of manhood' (Hall, 2007: 294). Iago's rejection of respect for his captain appears to be part of the competitive vying for power and masculinity coupled with his repudiation of the significance Shakespeare places upon Othello's first name for the title of the play, another aspect of duality emerges. Paradoxically, by rejecting Othello's name indicating disrespect and a lack of importance yet simultaneously making much of Othello by 'Proclaim[ing] him in the street' (1.1.70) instigates a doubleness that we see recreated throughout the play. The duality here also draws our attention to the play's military culture confirming that this is not just a play about the title character but also 'the theatre of war' (Hall, 2007: 291).

Walter Cohen asserts that the threat of the Turkish fleet was a 'crucial event absent from Shakespeare's primary source, Giraldi Cinthio's *Gli Hecatommithi* (1565)' (Cohen, 1997: 2091). In *The Tempest* section of this chapter, I examine the 'defining struggle of the age' (Cohen, 1997: 2091 - 2098) of European forces attempting to protect their interests from the power of Islamic forces in the Mediterranean. In *Othello*, Shakespeare absorbs the political resonance and contemporary haunting threat of war into his reworking of Cinthio's tale by directly alluding to the war between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Venetians. Over a series of split lines in Act 1, Scene 3, the Duke and Senators frantically discuss the imposing threat of war from a 'Turkish fleet...bearing up to Cyprus' (1.3.8). The marine threat approaching quickly increases the pace of the scene as they discuss varying reports:

1 Senator   My letters say a hundred and seven galleys.

Duke   And mine a hundred and forty.

2 Senator   And mine, two hundred.

Potentially, a vast number of galleys – which are a low, flat ship with one or more sails and up to three banks of oars, chiefly used for warfare or piracy and often manned by slaves or criminals – are approaching, to which a Sailor (*within*)

shouts with more frightening news: 'What ho! What ho! What ho!' (1.3.12).

Entering he declares that: 'The Turkish preparation [a 'fleet fitted for battle'] makes

for Rhodes' (1.3.14). Realising that they must not underestimate the very real

military threat they face: 'We must not think the Turk is so unskilful' (1.3.27), the

Venetian state desperately seek to gather their defence 'against the general enemy

Ottoman' (1.3.48). Shakespeare's audience would have been aware of the Ottoman

Empire and the threat they posed to Europe. They would have also known of the

'notorious Battle of Lepanto since their king, James I and VI, had written an epic

poem in 1585 [republished in 1603] celebrating the Christian victory' (British

Library).

It is significant, then, that Othello, the Moor of Venice, was sent to secure a

'Christian victory'. John Gillies asserts that 'it is worth recalling the hints that

Othello's rank might owe as much to contingency as to virtue. Had the Turkish

threat not been so pressing and had 'Marcus Luccicos' (1.3.44) not been

mysteriously absent, Othello might never have been chosen as commander in chief'

(Gillies, 1994: 138). However, the Duke's prose which follows the court scene

confirms that 'the fortitude [strength of the defences] of the place is best known to

[Othello]…[public] opinion, a more sovereign mistress of effects, throws a more safer

voice on you' (1.3.220-223), which suggests that Othello is actually a more favourable, suitable and useful choice to lead the Venetian army against the Ottoman force. Gillies goes on to undermine Othello's role further as he questions the state's position which, Gillies suggests, 'is compromised by the city's over reliance on the alien' (Gillies, 1994: 139). Dadabhoy acknowledges that this starkly contrasts with Elizabethan England whose queen, Elizabeth I, rejects blackamoors from her kingdom. Venice, on the other hand, 'has depleted native agency to the point that it must rely on the military strength of strangers' (Dadabhoy, 2014: 138).

However, the threat of the Ottoman Empire and future of the Venetian state continues at the end of the play when Cassio is declared Lord Governor which, Raphael Falco suggests, has gone from a domestic tragedy to a political disaster. Dadabhoy enlightens us further with her assertion of the conflation of the 'barbarous brawl' with that of the Turks is incompatible with the 'order and discipline displayed by the sultan's forces' (Dadabhoy, 2014: 128). 'Such rude, drunken, and riotous behaviour', Dadabhoy writes, 'is not Ottoman at all, but quite distinct features of European armies' (Dadabhoy, 2014: 128). Cassio, who got drunk whilst on guard, is not a suitable choice and raises the issue of the looming political and military

instability beyond the frame of the play into the geopolitical world the audience lived in.

Despite Othello's appropriateness for the role of commander, the 'Christian victory' was seemingly won by providence as the 'high-wrought flood' (2.1.2) drowned the Turkish fleet (2.1.17-18) with the celebratory declaration at the start of Act 2: 'Our wars are done!' (2.1.20). The play might have been 'done' by this point of the play were it not for the second propaganda and perception strategy used to denigrate Othello's character.

The Marital Moor

The threat of 'Ottoman imperial stories and practices' haunts the second part of Iago's bilateral attack on Othello as he proclaims that 'Thieves!' have 'robbed' (1.1.87) Brabantio of his daughter, alluding to 'Othello's 'theft' of Desdemona, so like the slavery and concubinage of European women in the Ottoman seraglio' (Dadabhoy, 2014: 127).

There is a distinct shift from Iago's military frustration and disrespectful 'him…his…Moorship' (Act 1, Scene 1) to the crafting of the perceived 'pollution danger' (Gillies, 1994: 27) threatened by the Moor's marital status. Iago reduces Othello to his racialised features, such as his 'thick-lips' (1.1.67) which, Kim Hall

notes, directly refers to Othello's features and his blackness in her 2007 edition of the play: 'thick-lips: (Elizabethans often applied the term "Moor" to Negroes)' (Hall, 2007: 48). Othello's external signifier – his blackness – is then explicitly proclaimed in the streets of Venice through the animalistic metaphors of Desdemona and her husband's love making: 'an old black ram/Is tupping your white ewe' (1.1.89-90) and 'your daughter and the Moor/are now making the beast with two backs' (1.1.115-116). Ben Okri writes that 'to reduce the colour is to diminish the force of the sex. Working together they can be quite unbearable' (Loomba, 1989: 41). Evoking Desdemona and Othello's colours here which works together with the sexually explicit image becomes 'quite unbearable' for Brabantio and for some members of the audience. Shakespeare continues to apply the strategy of reinforcing the pattern of exploiting the Moor's exteriority as a signifier for broader early modern fears of aliens/strangers and the 'people of beastly lyvyng' (Eldred, 1965: 11) by using Iago to circulate 'the most explicit and negative visions of Moors as lascivious, duplicitous, vengeful, superstitious, and jealous' (Hall, 2007: 4).

Anxieties surrounding 'strangers' created binary divisions between 'natives and foreign-born aliens, also known as "strangers", [which] had a long tradition dating back to the fourteenth century' (Das et al, 2021: 20-29). In England, there were two

distinct 'legal groups: Aliens, that is, born out of the dominions, or Allegiance of the

crown of Great Britain or Natives, that is, born within it' (Das et al, 2021: 20-29).

England's divisive distinctions seeped into Shakespeare's writing with the geopolitical

landscape of England transported to Venice where similar anxieties and fears festered.

The keywords definition alerts us to the impact of migration as the 'distinction

became increasingly troubled over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, as the number of migrants into England increased as English commerce

grew and religious groups fled persecution and conflict' (Das et al, 2021: 20-29). In

Shakespeare's Venice the duality of threat and assimilation of strangers is evident in

the dukes of both *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello* who are 'obliged to

countenance especially intimate forms of alien intrusion and incorporation' (Gillies,

1994: 139). Shakespeare presents Othello as an 'alien/stranger' both, militarily and

maritally, intruding upon and incorporated into the political and domestic spheres of

Venice.

I argue that the play is written as a warning against the seventeenth century's 'alien

intrusion and incorporation' that was taking place due to multiple migrations.

Reinforcing my initial contention in this chapter that *Othello* is upheld, promoted,

and recreated across the centuries precisely because Othello, eventually, embodies

and enacts the most feared conceptions of blackness, in this section, The Marital Moor, I shall demonstrate how *Othello*/Othello is intended to be a warning to parents and the Desdemonas in the audience as they observe the feared consequences of 'intrusion and incorporation' actualised on stage. In 1693, Thomas Rymer read contempt into the mixed-race marriage between Othello and Desdemona with the play socially and culturally performing 'as a caution to all Maidens of Quality, how, without their parents' consent they run away with Blackamoors' (Rymer quoted in Loomba, 1989: 40). Let us consider how Desdemona fell in love and 'ran away with' Othello, the Moor.

It is Othello's migration story that Desdemona's 'greedy ear' (1.3.148) devours, making her fall in love with him. The Duke also admits that 'this tale would win my daughter too' (1.3.170). In Othello's 'travels' history' (1.3.138) he reveals the 'disastrous chances' he underwent:

> Of moving accidents by flood and field
>
> Of hair-breadth scapes I'th'imminent deadly breach
>
> Of being taken by the insolent foe
>
> And sold into slavery; of my redemption thence...
>
> Wherein of antres vast and deserts idles,

> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
>
> It was my hint to speak – such was the process:
>
> And of cannibals that each other eat.
>
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
>
> Do grow beneath their shoulders. (1.3.127-169)

Not only do we get an insight into the beginnings of their interracial relationship and the reason Desdemona ran away to marry Othello, but his speech also gives the audience an awareness of the real-world travellers' tales that were circulating at the time and clearly influenced Shakespeare's depiction of early modern migration here. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* is a travel memoir which first circulated between 1357 and 1371. Despite the extremely unreliable and often fantastical nature of the travels it describes, it was used as a work of reference. Christopher Columbus, for example, was heavily influenced by both this work and Marco Polo's 13th century *Travels*. Mandeville claims to have travelled to countries populated by dog-headed men, cannibals, Amazons and Pygmies. The following images from Sir John Mandeville's manuscript appear to be the pictorial inspiration for the details of Othello's migration.
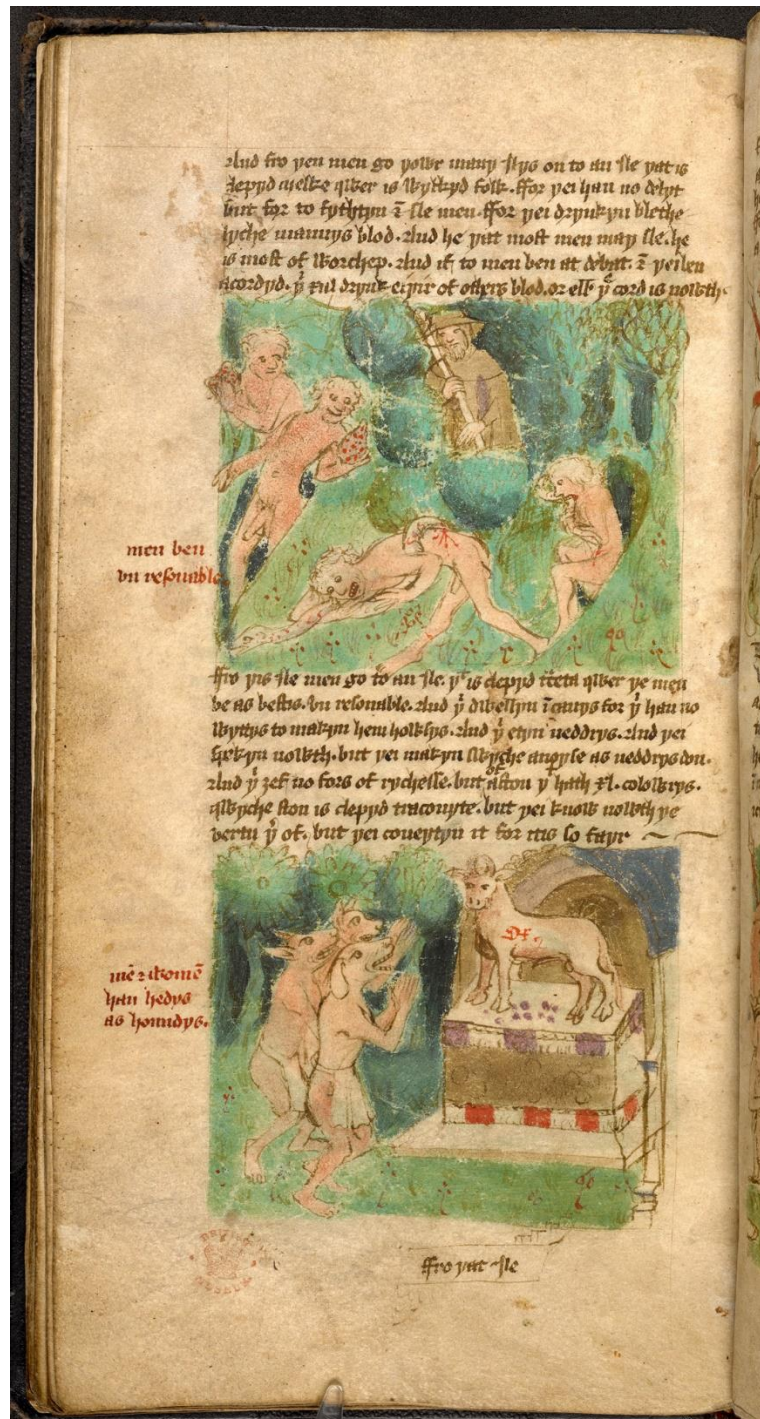
Figure 48. Image of Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.

Figure 49. Image of Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.

Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality: From Peele, Shakespeare, and Gay to the Windrush Generation
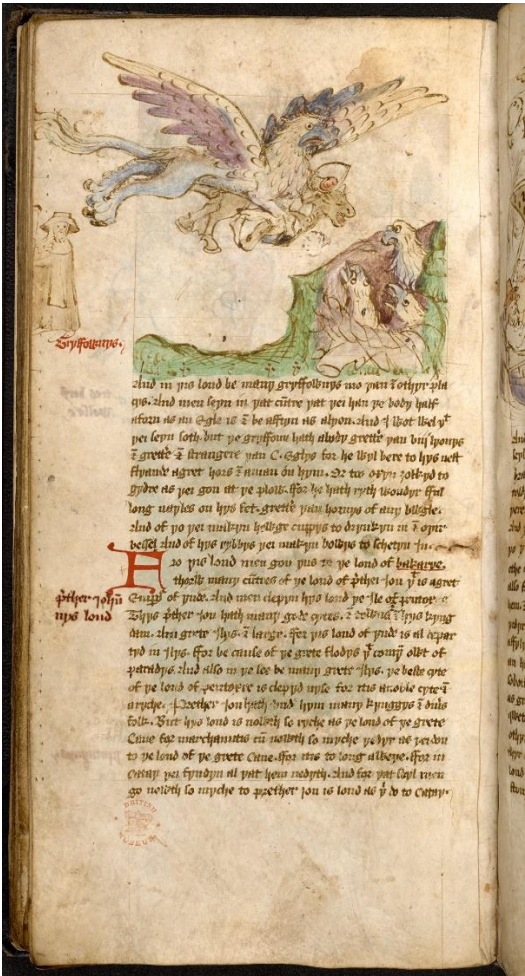
Wendy Lennon

Figure 50. Image of Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.

Figure 51. Image of Sir John Mandeville's manuscript.

Eldred Jones confirms how Mandeville's *Travels* 'fired the imagination of ordinary intelligent people about the [African] continent and its inhabitants. Many of the commonest notions which were held about the continent by Elizabethans can be traced back to this book' (Eldred, 1965: 5). Eldred goes on to cite sources which make connections between the word Moor and blackness:

> It is to understande that the people whiche nowe inhabite the regions of the
>
> coast of Guinea and the mydde partes of Affrica, as Lybia the inner, and
>
> Nubia with dyvers other great and large regions abowt the same, were in oulde
>
> tyme cauled Ethiopes and Nigritte, which we nowe caule Moores, Moorens or
>
> Negros, a people of beastly lyvynge, without a god, lawe, religion, or common
>
> welth, and so scorched and vexed with the heate of the soone, that in many
>
> places they curse it when it ryseth (fol. 355 verso, Eldred, 1965: 11)

The account contrasts with my Chapter One analysis of George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* in which the play and original accounts of the battle confirm the laws that were in place in this African country. I suggest that Shakespeare's interpretation of these fantastical accounts delivered through his Moor maintains and fuels the negative view of Africa, African people, and blackness. By presenting 'Moors, Moorens or Negros' as 'people of beastly lyvygne' early modern travel writers and,

here, 'a geographical writer' (Eldred, 1965: 11) create a hierarchy of civilised Europe

and savage Africa. Accounts such as this also illuminate the 'uneasy conjunction

between internal and external markers of character and identity' (Dadabhoy, 2014:

125). Mary Floyd-Wilson investigates the connections between race as an external

signifier for the internal character of a person. Floyd-Wilson asserts that

Desdemona's 'appraisal of the Moor's humoral complexion...is supported by a long

line of classical, medieval, and early modern texts wherein climatic explanations of

color [sic] and disposition were grounded in humoralism' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003).

Othello's internal character and identity continues to be haunted by the associated

mythologies of his birthplace and 'travels' history' which are identifiable by the

'external marker' of his race.

Developing the monstrous characterisation of Othello is the focus of Iago's

obsession. Iago is determined to 'rouse' (1.1.69) Desdemona's father with the

intention of 'incens[ing] her kinsmen' (1.1.69). Declaring to her father that, 'an old

black ram/Is tupping your white ewe' (1.1.89-90), when Iago shouts in the street,

reduces Othello's marital love and love making to bestial lust. He is constructing a

monstrous characterisation of the Moor to intentionally destroy Othello. As John

Gillies suggests, this image raises fears in the father and in the Elizabethan audience that Moors were sexually 'polluting'. Gillies goes on to argue that there is a contradiction 'between his romantic pathos and the always potential pollutiveness of his match to Desdemona (a potential which Iago merely serves to interpret and release)' (Gillies, 1994: 27). I also find a tension in the way in which critics describe this contradiction. Moving forward, it is essential to release ourselves from the language of 'pollutiveness' that Gillies insists upon applying which continues to do Iago's bidding by creating monstrous characterisations of people of colour. As a mixed-race, Jamaican-British woman, I must assert that: I am not pollution.

After Othello: War to Windrush

Just as Othello served a European city that he is both 'of' and 'off' (Smith, 2005: 4 - 6), during the first and second world wars people of the West Indies dedicated military service to England, a country that they are both 'of' and 'off' (Smith, 2005: 4 - 6). Through their positions as members of the military service and their personal cross-cultural encounters as spouses and partners, we can begin to identify parallels between the Military and Marital Moor, Othello, and the black soldiers and female volunteers of the first and second world wars.

In the interim seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries - from Shakespeare to the Windrush - slavery and colonialism had intensified in the Caribbean, enforcing the migration of millions of people from Africa to the West Indian islands, crafting a brutal system of slave labour and claiming ownership over the land and the people. Frantz Fanon viewed colonialism as a violent force of domination. As a result of Europe's social, legal, and hierarchical structures that migrated to Africa and the Caribbean through colonial rule to decimate indigenous and African peoples, a psychological domination also ensued. England - perceived almost as a biological creator of the Caribbean - was referred to as the 'Mother Country'.

Britain's ownership of Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica, created a sense of 'belonging' to the 'Mother Country' which instilled a feeling of familial loyalty towards Britain and the British Empire. Immediately after the outbreak of the first world war in 1914, 'men from the colonies…demonstrated their willingness to support their 'Mother Country' and enlist in the Army' (Bourne, 2019: 27). Ros Howells, who grew up in the Caribbean and migrated to London, England, recalls that:

> We didn't see England as a separate entity. For example, in my convent school
>
> we spent a lot of time knitting little bits of wool for people during the war,

you know, the poor. We wept when the Catholic church was bombed, we

rejoiced over the statue of the Virgin Mary wasn't hurt...we were very much

part of England...when England went to war, we were at war' (interview with

Ros Howells, quoted in Phillips & Phillips, 1998: 13).

Vince Reed, who migrated to England on the *Windrush* at thirteen-years-old

and later served in the RAF, admitted that: 'I knew more about England than

I did about Jamaica' (quoted in Phillips & Phillips, 1998: 13).

The religious, social, cultural, educational and political connections between the

West Indies and England reveal the impact and legacy of colonialism.

Lieutenant Colonel Charles Wood-Hill confirmed that 'there was a great desire

throughout the West Indies to participate in the struggle...nothing daunted,

individual West Indians paid their passage from the West Indies' (Bourne, 2019: 69)

to migrate to England to attempt to join the war effort.

As I have already established, 'Marcus Luccicos' (1.3.44) appeared to be the first

choice to lead the Venetian army to war with the Turks in Shakespeare's *Othello*.

Similarly, recruiting black soldiers from the Caribbean was not the initial priority.

Britain's War Office 'was not enthusiastic about recruiting black volunteers…There were concerns that, if a black soldier was given a gun, he could be a source of danger to his white comrades' (Bourne, 2019: 66-67). The 'threatening Violent Black Man type' (Smith, 2022: 156), reveals the legacy of fear that was aroused in the early modern period, reproduced in Shakespeare's creative expression of a black man through the character of Othello and seeped into the government's war strategy hundreds of years later which excluded black people from the war effort due to racialised and racist stereotypes.

Stephen Bourne writes that,

> Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, did not want black recruits.' Bourne goes on to acknowledge that the War Office had considered the dangers of West Indian autonomy as there were 'concerns that black soldiers would outshine their white comrades on the battlefields, and this would give them the confidence to demand self-determination in the colonies of the British Empire in the post-war world (Bourne, 2019: 68).

The creation of regiments from the British Empire's colonies, such as India, meant a 'war euphoria took a firm hold' (Olusoga, 2014: 52). The freedom and unity that was hoped for following the abolition of slavery had an opportunity, here, to be

enacted for Caribbean troops too. Edwyn Bevan's tract *Brothers All: The War and the Race Question* (Bevan, 1914: 7) which was written after the successful creation of Indian corps to fight for the first world war effort, suggested that the government's rallying cries was a 'rejection of outdated racial taboo'. Bevan wrote:

> To our enemies the disregard of the 'colour bar' in the combination against them is a matter for reproach. We know already that they charge us with disloyalty to the cause of the European culture...As a matter of fact, there is nothing new or strange in the employment by a civilized Power of alien troops, as a weapon...If we were merely using Indian troops in the same way, without any will of their own, there would be nothing so very remarkable in it...What gives the moment its significance is that the presence of Indian troops does not represent solely the purpose of England. It represents in some degree the will of India...the general voluntary adherence of the leading class in India, the fighting chiefs and the educated community, to the cause for which England stands (Bevan, 1914: 7).

Bevan confirms that the Indian colonial troops had autonomy to contribute to the war effort. He goes on to declare 'the will of India' as the driving force between unity in the empire against a common enemy. In spite of the British government's direct

rule over India, which changed the social, legal and hierarchical structures of the country, many people of India felt the same desire and will as other members of the colonies to support England. Although there is a sense of unity between the Indian 'alien troops' and England which goes 'against the attempts of German propagandists to portray it otherwise' (Olusoga, 2014: 52), use of the word 'alien' suggests that there was still a divide and a distinction between the troops. However, what were the experiences of the West Indian soldiers? What was the colour bar? With Marcus Luccicos out of town the threat of the Ottoman Empire was so great that Othello was instructed to lead the Venetian army. Similarly, the fighting during the first World War had become a desperate situation. King George V 'wanted to show the world a united empire in wartime. He was also concerned that the exclusion of black troops might undermine British rule in the colonies' (Bourne, 2019: 68), therefore, 'the War Office and the Colonial Office realised that they could not ignore the requests of West Indian men to join up' (Bourne, 2019: 68). The National Army Museum confirms that 'following the intervention of King George V, the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) was formed in 1915. The new regiment raised 11 battalions during the war and over 15,600 men enlisted. Most of Britain's Caribbean colonies were represented among its ranks, but the majority of soldiers

were from Jamaica.' Enslaved people and their descendants were legal subjects 'of' Britain. As subjects and as people with a sense of loyalty to their ruling country, West Indian people committed to fight for King George V and the 'Mother Country'.

The following recruitment poster (Figure 52) demonstrates the recruitment drive which took place to urge men from the colonies to fight. Locations listed on the poster reveal that they were dispatched to Africa, a continent 'about which they knew very little and from which their ancestors had been taken centuries earlier' (Olusoga, 2014: 136). This resonates with Othello who was asked to fight against the Ottoman Turks whilst there is an underlying suggestion that he may have been aligned with their religious beliefs.

The National Army Museum wrote that:

> In accordance with the colonial policies of the time, the War Office did not want to have non-white troops fighting against white troops. As a result, the regiment's 1st and 2nd Battalions were sent to Egypt - along with the 5th, a training battalion - to fight the Ottoman Turks. They served with distinction, taking part in actions in Palestine and the Jordan Valley.

Figure 52. Image about the West Indian Regiment.

The wartime migrations of West Indian men and women created more opportunities

for cross-cultural encounters in England, a country that they were both 'of' an 'off'.

With the migration of the newly formed West Indies Regiment, it is also essential to

address 'the colour bar' that Bevan alerted us to and consider the experiences of West Indian soldiers in England. The colour bar is described by Peter Fryer as 'racism that poisoned the everyday lives of black people in Britain' (Fryer, 2018: 361). When the black West Indian soldiers and volunteers migrated to England, they were barred from jobs; they were refused housing; experienced 'refusal of service in cafes, refusal of admittance to dance halls etc' (Kenneth Little Colour Prejudice in Britain, Wasu, X/I (May 1943), 28). England's approach to racism is very different to the outspoken segregation and Jim Crow laws explicitly implemented in America. The mostly unspoken, complex, subtle, and psychologically violent hostility implemented through the colour bar has devastated the lives of black people in Britain.

Harold Moody, born in Kingston, Jamaica in 1882, migrated to England 1904 to read medicine at King's College London. Refused work due to the colour bar, Moody set up his own practice and became an activist. Moody was the Founder and President of a civil rights movement called the League of Coloured People. During the second world war, he wrote to *The Manchester Guardian* regarding the colour bar:

> It is high time that we realised that we cannot be fighting a war against Nazism and at the same time be perpetrating its principles within our own borders.

When there are so many men and women who have voluntarily left their own

countries and faced the perils of the deed in order to assist Britain's war effort

either in the factories or in her forces (a further group of 24 keen women

arrived last weekend), when it is further remembered what tremendous

sacrifices all the colonies have made to help Britain in this hour of her need, it

seems to me that it should be the duty of everyone to exhibit the greatest

courtesy to these fellow-citizens of ours from the colonies. Any other course

is, in my opinion, un-English and calculated to do untold harm ('The Colour

Bar', Harold A Moody, The Manchester Guardian (1901 – 1959), Sept 11,

1943: Proquest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer, p.

4)

In his 1943 letter, Moody raises several issues. Firstly, he acknowledges the hypocrisy

of fighting a war against Nazism whose regime Moody compares to the racist, hostile

'principles within our borders'. Moody's own experiences of racism in Britain and of

the black people he supported through his medical practice and activism led him to

speak out against such hypocrisy. It is interesting to note the duality Moody

experiences of being both of and off England. Born in the British colony of Jamaica

and living in England, Moody is a British subject and uses the word 'our' to confirm

the shared subjectivity. Furthermore, his letter refers to 'these fellow-citizens of ours from the colonies' confirming the status of Jamaican people as citizens of Britain and Jamaica. Yet Moody experienced a hostile environment as if he didn't belong to England. In the midst of the second world war, Moody asserts the 'tremendous sacrifice' that both men and women of the colonies have made 'to help Britain in this hour of her need'. The pronoun 'her' alludes to the feminine, maternal 'Mother Country'.

Although Moody refers to the pervasive, implicit rules and impact of the colour bar, an explicit example of the hostile environment encountered by black soldiers fighting for and with England has been identified. Ninety miles from the birthplace of Thomas Stukeley, there is a small village near Weston-Super-Mare called Worle. In 1942, the village vicar's wife, Mrs May gathered the women of the village to outline the hostile 'principles' that Moody likened to Nazism and 'suggested the following code of behaviour:

1. If a local woman keeps a shop and a coloured soldier enters she must serve him, but she must do it as quickly as possible and indicate that she does not desire him to come there again.

2. If she is in a cinema and notices a coloured soldier next to her, she moves to another seat immediately.

3. If she is walking on the pavement and a coloured soldier is coming towards her, she crosses to the other pavement.

4. If she is in a shop and a coloured soldier enters, she leaves as soon as she has made her purchases or before that if she is in a queue.

5. White women, of course, must have no relationship with coloured troops.

6. On no account must coloured troops be invited into the homes of white women' (Peter Fryer, 2018: 364-365).

Although Mrs May was very outspoken in her prejudices, such hostility was usually subtly delivered. Of course, not all women wanted to avoid the West Indian and African American troops who migrated to England for the war effort. Echoing the denunciation Desdemona experienced from her father for marrying Othello, 'British women in relationships with black GIs were frequently condemned as sluts', Lucy Bland writes. Kenneth Little was advised that 'for a girl to walk out with a coloured man would mean a very definite loss in social standing; the girl would be generally considered a very loose and undesirable sort of person' (Little, 2010: 1).

The cross-cultural encounters between black and white people in England during the first and second world wars fuelled resentment and opposition to inter-racial relationships and marriages. The legacy of 'pollution danger' Gillies writes of in his analysis of Othello and Desdemona's inter-racial marriage echo in the war to Windrush years. A 1919 article in the *Morning Post* warned that Britain 'cannot give full privileges as "a man and a brother" to other racial types without accepting them also as brothers-in-law; and that path leads to racial degeneration' (*The Morning Post*, 13 June 1919, quoted in David Olusoga, 2016: 459-460).

In 1919, the *Liverpool Courier* pointed out to its readers that, 'The white man...regards [the black person] as part child, part animal, and part savage' (*Liverpool Courier*, 11 June 1919). The continuities in racist attitudes towards black people are particularly striking here when we compare them to Iago's savage, animalistic insults of Othello: 'beast with two backs' (1.1.116); 'a Barbary horse' (1.1.111); 'an old black ram' (1.1.89). Although David Olusoga suggests that it was '[d]ecades of colonial propaganda [that] had conditioned many people in Britain to view men and women of African descent as lesser peoples who had been defeated and subdued by British power' (Olusoga, 2016: 461), this study demonstrates that it has been *centuries* of propaganda that has crafted racism and created a colour bar in England.

Sir Ralph Williams explained to *The Times* the repugnance felt by such unions. 'The cause is far deeper [than a feeling of social superiority]. It is an instinctive certainty that sexual relations between white women and coloured men revolts our very nature' (quoted in Olusoga, 2016: 460). Williams appears to echo the disgusted sentiments of Charles Lamb who found 'something extremely revolting in the courtship and wedded caress of Othello and Desdemona' (Gillies, 1994: 33). An inevitable consequence of inter-racial relationships (a consequence that Iago persistently attempted to intervene and avoid), are mixed-race children.

Britain's 'Brown Babies'

In this section on *Britain's 'Brown Babies'* (the title of which is taken from Lucy Bland's book), I argue that the autonomy of black West Indian men and women who migrated to England to support the war effort, as well as the autonomy of their white British partners and spouses, is very much like the autonomous acts of defiance we see in the marriages of Othello and Desdemona and even Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. In both *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, the daughters of powerful men are expected to marry specific types of men. Eve Sedgwick argues that marriage uses women to form bonds between men (Sedgwick, 2003). This is certainly the case in *Romeo and Juliet* when Lord Capulet demands that Juliet marries a 'gentleman of

noble parentage/Of fair demesnes, youthful, and nobly lined/Stuffed, as they say, with honourable parts…I'll give you to my friend' (3.5.179-191). By secretly marrying a man of the Montague household, Juliet goes against her duty, her father's will, and societal expectations for a woman of her standing. I argue that the marriage between Romeo and Juliet, which ultimately ends in suicide, is not advice for the reconciliation of families and the prevention of future civic disputes but another dramatic and tragic warning against mixed-cultural marriages.

Similarly, Desdemona was expected to marry 'proposed matches/Of her own clime, complexion and degree' (3.3.231-232), however, she chose to secretly marry a black African man, Othello. Iago confirms the autonomy of Desdemona who 'hath made a gross revolt' (1.1.133) by defying her 'duty' to her father and '[t]ying her duty, beauty, wit, and fortunes/In an extravagant and wheeling stranger/Of here and everywhere' (1.1.134-136). Here, Othello's migrations which are '[o]f here and everywhere' (1.2.136), confirms the 'of' and 'off' status of Othello and is presented at once as threatening and unstable. Furthermore, the word 'stranger' brings Othello's allegiance and belonging into question. Attempting to pour dishonour on Othello's name, Iago is describing Othello as a blackguard and a thief.

Desdemona angers her community when she rejects the likes of Iago, Roderigo and Cassio and is shunned by her father who will 'not have it so' (1.3.237) when she requires shelter as Othello goes off to war on behalf of Venice. Similarly, in 1940s wartime England, white women who married black men or had interracial relationships were shunned by their communities. A mixed-race daughter remembers that one day a lady 'hit my mum and she shouted in the street, "you nigger lover"' (Bland, 2019: 50). Terry, a mixed-race child born in post-war 1940s England, recalls that people 'would bang on their metal dustbins whenever my mother walked by. It also became a daily ritual for people to cross the road to avoid my mother' (Bland, 2019: 50). Such strategies of violence, racial abuse and alienation were used in an attempt to shame and eradicate interracial families. It is the legacy of prejudice against the autonomy of interracial couples that we can compare with the tragedy of Othello and Desdemona to the tragedy, racism, and hostility faced by the War to Windrush generation.

Shakespeare refused to allow Othello and Desdemona's mixed-race baby to exist – onstage or in Europe. As reassurance for his royal patrons and his audience, Shakespeare's endings restored order and restored the social expectations of

courtships and marriage. In the tragedies, *Othello* and *Romeo & Juliet*, Shakespeare ensured that the tragic endings of murder and suicide would warn against such defiant acts and halt the possibility of descendants who defy rigid social expectations of marriage partners and future generations.

I argue that the Caribbean-British mixed-race children of the early twentieth century are Othello and Desdemona's hope realised. Britain's 'brown babies', who were a result of War to Windrush interracial relationships, are a symbol of autonomy and defiance. Historian Sonya Rose asserts that interracial relationships and their children blur 'the racial lineaments of British national identity' (Rose, 1997: 146-60). This blurring is a physical and social rubbing out of the perception of the rigid lines of British national identity, thereby defusing their distinction. The mixed-race child is a physical signifier of the blurred line, a result of colonialism and a symbol of the defiant autonomy of both black and white people.

However, such defiance led to the continuation of the hostility faced by Othello and his seventeenth century, real-world, black, male counterparts, as we saw in Shakespeare's play. In 1937, Cedric Dover highlighted the extent of the prejudice facing those of mixed race:

> The 'half-caste' appears in a prodigal literature. It presents him...mostly as an undersized, scheming and entirely degenerate bastard. His father is a blackguard, his mother a whore...But more than all this, he is a potential menace to Western Civilization, to everything that is White and Sacred.
>
> (Dover, 1937: 13)

If we place Dover's analysis side by side with the language of Iago, we can see anew the continuities in the fear of miscegenation that have persisted across the channel of time. Iago warns Brabantio of the interracial and generational dangers of a mixed-race child when he declares that 'the devil will make a grandsire out of you' (1.1.92). Norman Sanders' editorial note, 'devil, i.e Othello, because he is black' confirms the religious connotations of the association with the devil which is often represented by blackness. Iago's assertion that a connection with a black person was synonymous with intertwining the devil's evil immorality into the white European family's DNA is echoed in Dover's outline through the fear that 'everything...Sacred' will be undermined. Such a definition alludes not only to the physical and the moral characteristics but also the Christian religion's faith-based principles by which black people and mixed-race children are condemned.

In line with Iago's characterisation of Othello and condemnation of his marriage to Desdemona, not only will Brabantio's grandchild be a descendant of the devil, but the animalistic connotations also used to describe Othello continue through his bloodline to which Brabantio is warned that 'you'll have your nephews [grandsons and close relatives] neigh at you' (1.1.112). The pseudoscience used by Iago continues through the centuries as a tool to justify slavery and during the War to Windrush period to reject interracial relationships and children. This highlights the 'half-caste' condemnation outlined by Dover which suggests that through such a genetic combination mixed-race children will be 'degenerate'. Such an unscientific and inaccurate diagnosis creates fear by constructing a harmful image of mixed-race children who, the pseudoscientists argue, will have lost the physical, mental, or moral qualities considered normal and desirable, showing evidence of decline.

In 1942, a pamphlet was created for the British soldiers to educate them on inter-racial unions and mixed-race children. The pamphlet titled *The Colour Problem as the American Sees It* declared that: 'the children resulting from [interracial unions] are neither one thing nor another and are thus badly handicapped in the struggle for life' (quoted in Bland, 2019: 47). The pamphlet echoes Brabantio's lines that unions

of this type are: 'Against all rules of nature' (1.3.101) and the child will have difficulty surviving. There is also a sense of confusion emanating from the warning within this pamphlet when mixed-race children are described as being 'neither one thing nor the other'. Here, the writer appears to be aware of the 'of'/'off' duality. As a mixed-race woman and descendant of the Windrush generation, I am both Jamaican and British. However, there is not a confusion but an exciting fusion of both cultures. Although, it could be argued that Jamaican culture is deeply rooted with elements of British culture.

In 1944, in an attempt to defend interracial relationships and mixed-race children, Harold Moody wrote: 'Hybridisation is supposed to improve the stock in plants and animals. Why then should it not the same thing obtain in the human being?' (Moody, 1944). Moody's unfortunate comparison to animals and plants serves to maintain the legacy of animalistic, savage racism used by Iago, persevering into wartime England. For instance, in 1919 the *Liverpool Courier* wrote that 'one of the chief reasons of the popular anger behind the present disturbances lies in the fact that the average negro is closer to the animal than is the average white man, and that there are women in Liverpool who had no self-respect' (*Liverpool Courier*, 16 June 1919, quoted in Kingsley Kent, 2009: 51). Yet Moody's challenge was an attempt to

defend interracial relationships and mixed-race children. Moody also echoes Shylock's declaration of humanity which appears to underpin Moody's activism against the colour bar.

Cedric's acknowledgment of the prejudice against mixed-race children and interracial marriages is emphasised by the threat they pose to 'everything that is White and Sacred'. According to the racist perceptions the mixed-race child is 'a potential menace' (Dover, 1937: 13). The fear of miscegenation, here, recalls Gillies' reference to the 'pollution danger' (Gillies, 1994: 27) of Othello and Desdemona's relationship, which suggests that the white race is under threat and might be harmed by being 'contaminated by a foreign substance' (OED). The potential 'pollutiveness of the other' (Gillies, 1994: 27) was feared and therefore condemned. However, amongst the duality of belonging to and being owned by a European country, Othello and people of the Caribbean are also of and off Africa.

Post-War & Windrush

Post-War Britain faced austerity and social tensions. A Jamaican solder explains that:

> when I went back to Jamaica it was shocking. Men who had been Home
> Guards, men who were working in the American factories and farms, men
> who were on the Panama Canal, and all of us, I would say 30,000 men were

thrown back without any planning. It was bad...And I decided that my

children would not grow up in a colony, so I came back on the SS Empire

Windrush on 22 June 1948 (Phillips & Phillips, 1998: 47).

What caused me to be on the Windrush, is that I – by virtue of signing on [in

the RAF] for a further four years – was due some home leave...[before heading

back to Jamaica on leave] this shipping company asked me the colour of my

skin, the colour of my hair, what shade I am, and all that nonsense. It's a fact.

So I suppose it was to segregate me on the ship (Phillips & Phillips, 1998: 47).

After the war...I used to sit on court martials and also defend the West Indian

ground crew who were still in the Air Force and they were, you know, there

was all this friction between the white and the West Indian airmen. Always

friction. Jealousy with women (Phillips & Phillips, 1998: 49).

Tensions continued both socially, economically and politically. There were attempts

to control and define the British citizens who are 'of' and 'off' Britain. Figure 53,

below, is a letter dated 5th July 1948 written by Prime Minister, Clement Attlee,

responding to MPs who expressed concerns over the arrival of people from the West

Indies on the Empire Windrush. He discusses '236' arrivals with 'no immediate

prospects'. By 30th June he states that 145 had been placed in employment.

Therefore, these arrivals should not be described as 'undesirables' but 'honest

workers'.
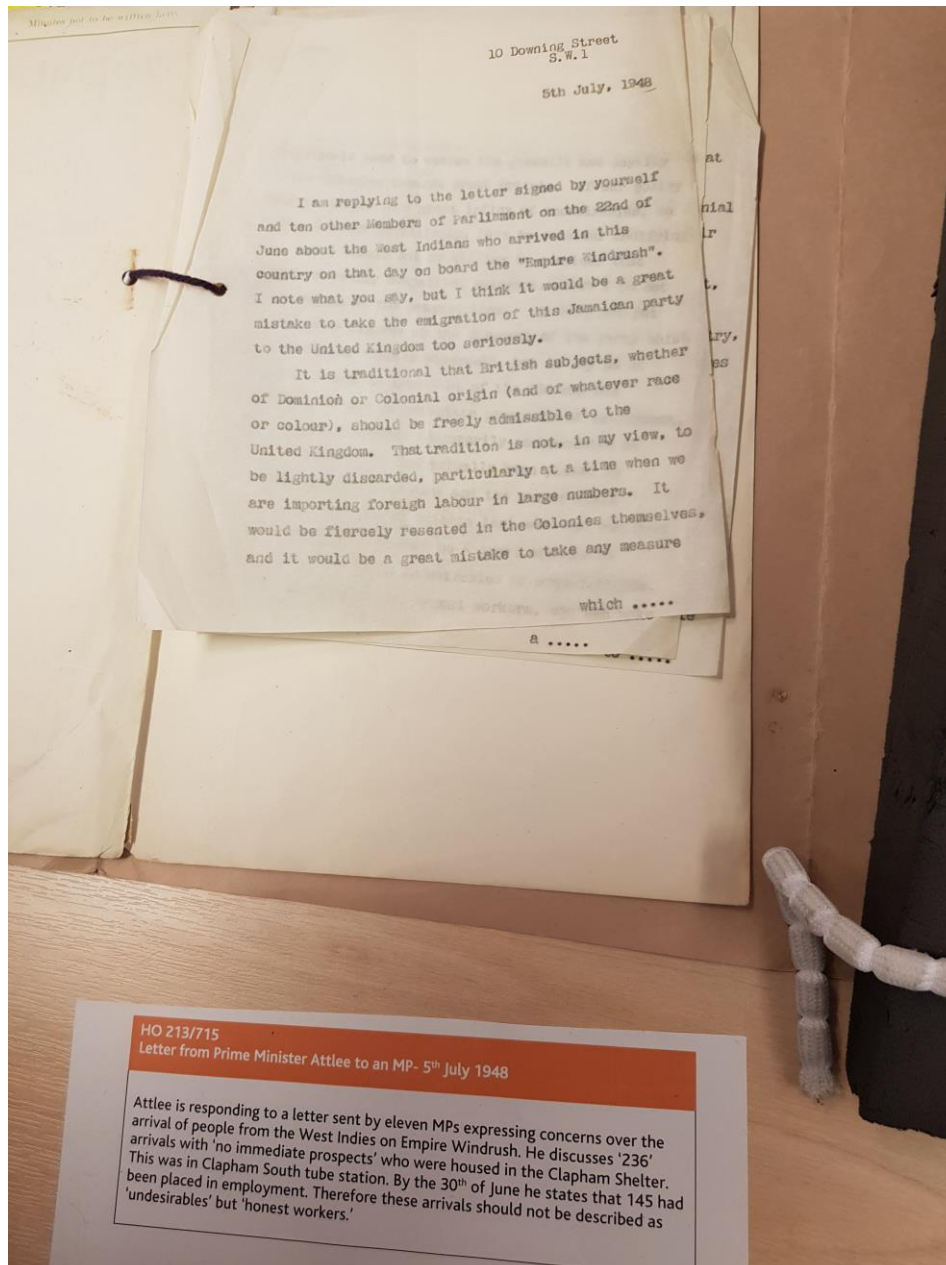
Figure 53. Image of a letter from Prime Minister Attlee to an MP on 5th July 1948.

Political debates persisted including in July 1948 regarding the Nationality Act that was debated in the House of Commons:

> I know there are also some who feel it is wrong to have a citizenship of the United Kingdom and the colonies. Some people feel it would be a bad thing to give the coloured races of the Empire the idea that, in some way or the other, they are the equals of people in this country. The government do not subscribe to that view. We believe whole heartedly that the common citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies is an essential part of the development of the relationship between this Mother Country and the Colonies. We believe and hope it will be understood that citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies, etc, we recognise the right of the colonial peoples to be treated as men and brothers with the people of this country' (Parliamentary Debates (Commons) 453, 7 July 1948. Cited in Brooke, 1995: 125-6).

Grappling with the political and legal debates and definitions of what it meant to be a citizen or legal immigrant continued into the subsequent decades as the children of the Windrush generation continued to migrate to England. Below, I have included the social and legal complexities that underpin and determine one's right to remain.

Citizenship by birth

Subject to the provisions of this section, every person born within the United Kingdom and Colonies after the commencement of this Act shall be a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies by birth:

Provided that a person shall not be such a citizen by virtue of this section if at the time of his birth—

(a) his father possesses such immunity from suit and legal process as is accorded to an envoy of a foreign sovereign power accredited to His Majesty, and is not a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies; or

(b) his father is an enemy alien and the birth occurs in a place then under occupation by the enemy.

Citizenship by descent

(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, a person born after the commencement of this Act shall be a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies by descent if his father is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies at the time of the birth:

Provided that if the father of such a person is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies by descent only, that person shall not be a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies by virtue of this section unless—

(a) that person is born or his father was born in a protectorate, protected state, mandated territory or trust territory or any place in a foreign country where by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance, or other lawful means, His Majesty then has or had jurisdiction over British subjects; or

(b) that person's birth having occurred in a place in a foreign country other than a place such as is mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph, the birth is registered at a United Kingdom consulate within one year of its occurrence, or, with the permission of the Secretary of State, later; or

(c) that person's father is, at the time of the birth, in Crown service under His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom; or

(d) that person is born in any country mentioned in subsection (3) of section one of this Act in which a citizenship law has then taken effect and does not become a citizen thereof on birth.

(2) If the Secretary of State so directs, a birth shall be deemed for the purposes of this section to have been registered with his permission notwithstanding that his permission was not obtained before the registration.

The British Nationality Act 1948 came into force on 1 January 1949, introducing the status of citizen of the UK and Colonies (CUKC) whilst retaining the term British subject to cover every citizen of a Commonwealth country, including the UK and the Colonies. Later, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 came into force. The notion that the British Empire constituted a single territory, and that all British subjects were free to enter the UK, came to an end with the enforcement of this Act. Windrush families and people migrating to the UK continue to wrestle with the legalities of their rightful citizenship.

<u>Chapter 4: John Gay</u>

Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality

in the life and operas of John Gay (1685-1732)

The duality of the counterpoints throughout this thesis creates a dialogue between seemingly disparate time periods, socio-cultural contexts, disciplines, histories, and texts. Similarly, John Gay's satire 'showed that original work could, paradoxically, be generated out of a dialogic assembly of disparate, incongruous pre-existing materials and forms: comedy, opera, folk song, country dance, pirate tale, tragedy, street ballad, ballet, and farce' (Gladfelder, 2013: ix). The oxymoronic title, *The Beggar's Opera*, of Gay's first piece immediately alerts the audience to the complex combination, a duality of opposing ideas and status of the high and low classes. Opera, created for the cultural elite, was 'expensive to produce and attend…musically and dramatically sophisticated and abstruse' (Gladfelder, 2013: viii). The possessive noun 'Beggar's' indicates how Gay claims the operatic form for the excluded lower classes to assert the power and morality of lower ranking people as a tool to ridicule the elite. *Polly*, the operatic sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*, addresses key issues regarding race, class and power in the eighteenth century which have intensified along the literary and temporal continuum which this thesis traces. I shall examine how duality is deployed

346

to reveal the themes of autonomy, migration and transculturality which permeate

Gay's operas.

Satire itself is duality. Satire is composed of a complex combination of two parts: the

first is widely accepted and expected perceptions whilst the second is an undoing of

those perceptions. John Richardson argues that 'we must always be cautious in

interpreting liberal sentiments in an eighteenth-century text' (Richardson, 2004: 20).

However, I argue that through satire Gay exposes and opposes the immorality of

British customs, class structures and the British empire itself. Throughout this

chapter I will demonstrate how Gay uses satire to unsettle and unravel perceived

ideas in an attempt to expose political, financial and societal hierarchies and

immorality as a tool to inspire social reform.

In addition to the thematic and satiric dualities, this chapter explores the duality of

geographical place. The settings and transcultural contact zones of each opera

continue the dialogue that this thesis has instigated between England and the

Caribbean. *The Beggar's Opera* is set amongst the 'lowlife milieu' (Gladfelder, 2013:

xxix) of Newgate, London whilst the sequel, *Polly*, signals a 'radical shift'

(Gladfelder, 2013: xxix) to the West Indies. The migration of Gay's characters gave

the writer the opportunity to craft contact zones echoing real-world locations,

migrations, power dynamics and cross-cultural encounters that took place in the eighteenth century which, I argue, continues to demonstrate the significant geographical connections and relationships from the early modern period to the Windrush generation. Geographical place is a significant point of analysis and thematic thread which runs throughout this chapter to demonstrate the persistent connections between *then* and *now*. Diane Dugaw asserts that it 'is no fluke that *The Beggar's Opera* has been read in its own time – and in ours – as a play about politics at every level' (Dugaw, 2001: 184). Therefore, this chapter seeks to examine the geopolitical duality of the eighteenth century which echoes in the Windrush generation's migration and the subsequent political scandal.

Gay also created a subsequent duality between the real world in which Gay lived and the imagined world of his opera through characterisation and plot. In *The Beggar's Opera* Gay reveals the underworld of criminal London with the character of Peacham believed to be based on the real criminal and double dealer, Jonathan Wild. Wild, exploited the rudimentary criminal justice system 'by creating a network of information and dependence, bringing London's thieves under control' by protecting and betraying them for a fee from both the thief and victim. Here, Gay is acting in a 'double capacity, both exposing the morally corrosive effects of the

burgeoning commercial economy, and ideology, of early eighteenth-century England and inviting us to question Peachum' (Gladfelder, 2013: xviii).

I seek to investigate the geopolitical duality of the real and the imagined worlds activated in Gay's operas through a series of interdisciplinary enquiry questions, such as: How did John Gay use satire to 'expose, reflect, indeed magnify the decadent, rotted underbelly of a society' (Soyinka, 1994: 298) which led Walpole to ban the rehearsal and performance of *Polly*? What drove John Gay's characters and the archetypes they represent to migrate from England to the West Indies? To continue my investigation into north Devon's connections to the West Indies and the wider world, I shall ask how did John Gay's birthplace of Barnstaple, north Devon in 1685 continue to be a significant site of cross-cultural encounter during Gay's lifetime? How has this north Devon location influenced his operas? Which migratory factors impact transculturality in the West Indies and in England? What is the legal and social status of those born, living, and migrating between England and the West Indies in *Polly* & the Windrush generation?

Responses to these key questions will be interweaved through an analysis of three significant contact zones in the play. As Albert Wertheim acknowledges, across the three acts of the play it is the title character, Polly, who takes the audience 'into three

sectors of the new world' (Wertheim, 1990: 195-206). The first sector is the microcosm of Ducat and Trapes in their position as colonial slave owners; the second is 'the pirates who prey on legitimate traders' (Gladfelder, 2013: vii - xliv); the third is the Indians who embody 'the moral paradise that Europeans hoped existed across the Atlantic' (Wertheim, 1990: 195-206). The structure of the *then* section of this counterpoint analysis will reveal the key real-world determinants which informed Gay's satire and resonates with the themes of autonomy, migration and transculturality shaping the opera, *Polly*.

<u>Sector One: Ducat, Trapes and Colonial Slave Owners</u>

Act One, Scene One of John Gay's 1728 opera *Polly* opens with Mrs Trapes, a bawd, declaring to a 'wealthy, very wealthy Mr Ducat' (A1, S1) that: 'Though you were born and bred and live in the *Indies*, as you are a subject of Britain you shou'd live up to our customs' (A1, S1). Such a declaration in the opening lines of the play immediately raises the issue of how Gay used characterisation to unveil the geopolitical dual identity of colonial slave owners. Additionally, Ducat's surname which is the name of a gold coin formally in circulation in Europe, alludes to economic and commercial corruption of the upper classes.

In the opening lines, Mrs Trapes activates Mr Ducat's dual identity as a person born, bred, and living in the West Indies, yet is simultaneously subject to British customs. Despite his birthplace and current geographical location, Ducat is *both* West Indian *and* British. As Mrs Trapes asserts, not only is Ducat performatively embedding and maintaining British customs and culture in the Caribbean, legally and politically Ducat is also 'a subject of Britain'. In *Keywords of Identity, Race and Human Mobility*, the term 'subject' is indicated as:

> A subordinate or dependent individual ruled by a monarch or sovereign state…The subject's political, legal, and social identity had a long tradition in England, whose foundations were firmly rooted in common and civil law. Dating back as far as the thirteenth century, the 'subject', as position and identity was legally defined through a complicated mixture of both 'soil & blood' (Das et al, 2021: 20 - 29).

The expansive term 'subject' - for those with colonial connections to England as well as those born, bred, and living in England - is reinforced through Trapes' use of the possessive determiner 'our' which confirms their shared legal, political, and social status as subjects of Britain. Part one of Gay's operas, *The Beggar's Opera,* was located in London, England where Diana Trapes worked as a bawd, trading in

women of the town. Having recently migrated from England to the West Indies to

work in the same profession for the operatic sequel, *Polly*, Trapes continues to be a

subject of Britain – in spite of her migration. Whilst Richard Frohock categorises

Ducat as a 'creole' which positions him as a person of mixed European and black

descent or a descendant of European settlers, working in the Caribbean as a 'planter'

(Frohock, 2017: 148). The planter class (the plantocracy) which Mr Ducat belonged

to and the archetype he represents, implemented, and preserved distinct British

customs in the Caribbean. Such a process of enforcing and embedding British

cultural practices was a significant strategy of Britain's colonial rule and expansion.

The duality of Ducat and Trapes echoes my earlier examination of Othello's status,

in which Emma Smith asserts that Othello is both 'of' and 'off' Venice. The duality

of Ducat and Trapes is immediately striking: they are both 'of' and 'off' England,

additionally, they are both 'of' and 'off' the West Indies. Gay's radical shift of

geographical location from Newgate, London in his first opera to the West Indies as

the setting for the sequel, mirrors the real-world migration of British settlers who

went to 'mend [their] fortune in the Plantations' (*Polly*, Act 1, Scene 1). Petzold

argues that 'the play is primarily concerned with corruption in England rather than

the West Indian colonies' (Petzold, 2012: 107 - 120). However, I argue that through

Trapes and Ducat Gay is also demonstrating concern of corruption in both locations. The duality of Ducat and Trapes gives them a powerful status which connects them socially, legally, and politically to both geographical locations. Such a dominant duality also allowed them to trade in people.

Ducat made his vast wealth and gained his higher-class status by trading in African people who were enslaved on his plantation. Ducat represents and mirrors the real-world of colonial slave owners who enslaved African people on Britain's colonial plantations and colonised the West Indian islands, actions which had become a significant aspect of Britain's legal system as well as a distinct part of British economic growth, customs, and culture in the eighteenth century. Holly Brewer's work in *Creating a Common Law of Slavery for England and its New World Empire*

> reveals a relentless unidirectional expansion of the legal frameworks that made 'the buying and selling of slaves fully legal and enforceable across the empire' under the Stuart monarchs who 'presided over a series of [judicial] rulings that made slavery more fully legal not only in England itself, but also in its empire'. Brewer shows how these rulings 'brought the phalanx of English property law to support slavery,' arguing that the Stuart kings used the common law as 'an instrument . . . to create new laws, in the form of new precedents, and thus to

both expand their own power and to legitimate slavery' (Rabin, 2022: 581 –

590).

Eighteenth century colonial slave owners and the character Ducat in Gay's *Polly*,

benefitted from the legalities of their dual identity which put them in a powerful

position of owning people. In Act 1, Scene 11 Ducat declares to Polly that 'you

are...legally my property'. Similarly, although Trapes is a lower class woman, her legal

and social duality of being *both* of and off England *and* the West Indies gave her the

powerful ability to own lower class women and profit from her trade in women's

bodies on both sides of 'the herring-pond' (A1, S1).

Albert Wertheim asserts that 'Gay sees through the surface romance of colonial

expansion to its true and sordid economic underpinnings' (Wertheim, 1990: 195 -

206). Without the economic underpinnings and 'money' even Ducat is desperate

for, they will descend British society's hierarchy, as Polly has done.

I argue that it is through Gay's satiric presentation of the colonised and colonising

duality of all the characters in *Polly* which mock British politics, financial

institutions, racial hierarchies, and class structure, that he can attack, undermine and

expose 'the rotted underbelly' (Soyinka, 1994: 298) of Britain and the British

Empire. A fundamental aspect of this exposure is Gay's acknowledgement of the

widely accepted perceptions of British customs swiftly coupled with an undoing of those behaviours and culture in Britain and the colonies.

Initiated in Mrs Trapes' opening speech and Air 1 'The disappointed Widow', is Gay's deconstruction of the cultural behaviour of Britain's class system through satire. Trapes acknowledges and emphasises the perception that the economic and social upper echelons of this hierarchical system hold a moral, economic, legal and political superiority over the lower classes. However, through Gay's presentation of the satiric duality of class, he undermines and exposes this perception. Air 1, sung by Trapes, advises Ducat that: 'Morals and honesty leave to the poor/As they do at London.' This gestures not only towards the colonial process of recreating the customs of London in the West Indies but also attacks the immorality and dishonesty of the higher classes.

As a rhetorical device to convince Ducat to buy her 'goods', Trapes continues to outline and enforce the culture, behaviour and customs of the rich: ''Tis genteel to be in debt. Your luxury should distinguish you from the vulgar' (A1, S1). Here, Gay appears to be mocking the beliefs of plantation owners in the Caribbean and the British upper classes by satirising the noble custom for a man of Ducat's class to risk financial instability in pursuit of luxury. In Air 1, Trapes goes on to sing that: 'The

more in debt, run in debt the more,/Careless who is undone' which alludes to the 'superfluities' she insists that a 'man of fortune in *England*' (A1, S1) would have. Through Ducat's defence of his 'polite taste' (A1, S1), Gay exposes the ways in which wealthy colonial planters and the British higher classes wasted their money: 'I have a fine library of books that I never read; I have a fine stable of horses that I never ride; I build, I buy plate, jewels, pictures or any thing that is valuable and curious, as your great men do, merely out of ostentation' (A1, S1). Reflecting upon the real-world British custom of gathering items for show rather than function or the 'necessaries of life', Gay makes his upper-class audience members culpable in the frivolities of the characters onstage as a strategy to urge them to reconsider their own customs and spending habits. Simultaneously, Gay is subtly suggesting that wasting money made through the trade and enslavement of African and indigenous people, rather than distinguishing Ducat from the vulgar, is the epitome of vulgarity.

Gay's knowledge of colonies such as those in the West Indies was not only through literary legacies and his contemporary frustrations with politics but also learned through his childhood in north Devon. As I established in Chapter 2, Barnstaple, John Gay's childhood hometown, 'enjoyed a flourishing trade in corn, wine, wool, pottery, and other goods with France, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Norway,

Newfoundland, North and South America and the West Indies' (Nokes, 1995: 18).

Furthermore, Nokes acknowledges that

> Gay's own family were intimately involved with all this commercial activity, particularly with the West Indian trade…[Gay's] uncle Matthew…died while trading in the West Indies. His aunt Martha…impulsively ventured her whole fortune in various West Indian enterprises. Her letters contain lists of cargoes comprising several hundred pounds worth of laced shirts, gloves and other fancy goods (Nokes, 1995: 18).

Such a frivolous lifestyle echoes the superfluities and luxury of the customs and polite taste expressed through Ducat's extravagance. Gay's aunt Martha 'fell bankrupt and suffered the humiliation of a two-year imprisonment for debt in Newgate gaol from 1681 – 1683' (Nokes, 1995: 18). Furthermore, Martha's daughter, 'Naomi, married Nathanial Pinney, son of a wealthy merchant family with extensive trading interests in the West Indies.' (Nokes 1995). Nathanial's brother, Azariah Pinney, 'was saved from execution' and had his death penalty commuted to 'transportation' (Nokes, 1995: 20). Such family legacies laid the foundation for what would become the setting, characters and plot which must have inspired Gay's operas. There would also be a sense of fear in the audience at this level of

extravagance and the punishment of potential ruin. Here, we can clearly see the ways in which the tangible real world and the imagined worlds of the literature are in dialogue with each other. Such a conversation gives life to both the real and the imagined, which I have demonstrated throughout this thesis. Literature and life are not separate spheres but intimately intertwined.

Crucially, Gay harnesses the form and structure of the text to reflect the real-world and create additional opportunities to intertwine the audience with the action and activism of the opera through the cultivation of satiric duality. In many instances, dance and songs are used to examine widely accepted perceptions to ridicule and criticise the higher classes – a strategy which ultimately provoked Walpole. An emphasis on financial crises is undoubtedly present in Gay's operas not only through the mocking of lifestyle choices, the disparagement of the trade in people and the disparities between the morality of the rich and poor but also as a commentary on a contemporary financial crash which dominated the political landscape during the 1720s. The duality of the personal and political intertwined for Gay himself who 'lost a considerable investment in the crash' (Dugaw, 2001: 182) of the South Sea Bubble.

The frenzy of buying and selling investment stocks in the South Sea Company reached its peak in the autumn of 1720 when 'parliamentary moves to regulate the marketing of stocks and foreign withdrawals of investments triggered the collapse of the expanding "bubble"' (Dugaw, 2001: 182 - 183). Dugaw, Dickson, Carswell, and Neal go on to suggest that

> Robert Walpole consolidated power largely through...payoffs and cover ups – of both the new financial order and the Hanoverian monarchy. His screening protection of the court after the corruption of the Bubble was key to the control he maintained (Dugaw, 2001: 182).

The South Sea Bubble was a significant contemporary issue that Gay's audience would have been aware of and perhaps directly impacted by.

Duality is created again with the arias echoing the personal and political on and off the page and stage through the form and structure of the music in Gay's operas.

Thomas D'Urfey's song *The Hubble Bubbles* was a popular ballad whose lyrics incorporated the contemporary financial crisis:

> A bubble is blown up with air
> In which fine Prospects do Appear.
> The Bubble breaks the Prospects lost,
> Yet must some bubble pay the cost,
> > Hubble bubble bubble hubble all is smoke
> > Bubble bubble hubble bubble all is broke

> Farewell your Woods and your Houses Lands your
> Pastures and your Flocks.
> For now you have nought but your Selves in ye Stocks.

Gay exploited the tune of D'Urfey's song which was 'sung to *Over the Hills and Far Away* [in *The Beggar's Opera*], proving the referent Gay's audience would have had most immediately in mind for this tune' (Dugaw, 2001: 183). Absorbing contemporary events and the audience's lived experiences enhances the opera by interweaving the duality of the public and the private. Furthermore, Diane Dugaw argues that the intensely intimate and individually applied experience as the act of dancing brings home

> the satire in a notably personal way for members of the audience who had
>
> performed the patterned movements to the tunes with their own bodies. The
>
> play thus applies its story to its audience, invoking their pleasures with a new
>
> proximity, individuality, and intimacy. The onlookers themselves...become
>
> the metaleptic references (Dugaw, 2001: 198 - 199).

I would develop this further by suggesting that through the creation of intimacy between the audience's bodies and the dances onstage, Gay is not simply involving the audience in the performance, he also makes them culpable in the corruption and immorality he is satirising. Similarly, each of the Windrush sections of this thesis

explores the ways in which the Windrush audience, their bodies, their blackness and their legal and cultural identities continue to be impacted by and involved in British politics as well as the themes raised in earlier periods and productions of the plays I have explored throughout this thesis.

In the sequel, *Polly*, Gay intensifies his attack on the morality of the rich through the intimate implication of the bodies onstage and in the audience which brings into question marital fidelity as well as the integrity of politicians and the upper-class. Act I, Scene 4 opens with Mrs Trapes comparing the morals and scruples of herself (a bawd) and the rich: 'for, o' my conscience, I have as few scruples as those that are ten thousand times as rich'. Furthermore, Trapes invites the audience to compare her 'work' with those in power as alone onstage she asks the rhetorical question: 'Can I in conscience expect to be equally rich with those who betray and ruine provinces and countries?'. Linking immorality with politicians even further, Gay continues to attack the wealthy and the ruling class through Trapes' satirical song, Air 5 'Twas within a furlong'.

> *In pimps and politicians*
>
> *The genius is the same;*
>
> *Both raise their own conditions*

On others guilt and shame:

With a tongue well-tipt with lyes

Each the want of parts [the lack of real abilities or talents] supplies,

And with a heart that's all disguise

Keeps his schemes unknown.

Seducing as the devil,

They play the tempter's part,

And have, when most they're civil,

Most mischief in their heart.

Each a secret commerce drives.

First corrupts and then connives,

And by his Neighbours' vice thrives,

For they are all his own.

Trapes admits to the immorality of her 'profession' and exposes the same 'genius' of politicians. Both 'pimps and politicians' earn money from 'lyes' and other people's 'guilt and shame'. Neither have any skill or abilities, instead use 'schemes', corruption, 'the devil' and secret commerce to succeed. Satirical revelations such as

this are one of many examples of Walpole's reasons for suppressing the performance of Gay's opera.

The preface to *Polly*, written by John Gay on 25th March 1729, explains how 'every thing was ready for a Rehearsal; The Lord Chamberlain sent an order from the country to prohibit Mr Rich [the director] to suffer any Play to be rehears'd upon his stage till it had been first of all supervis'd by his Grace' (Gay, 1729: Preface). Gay goes on to explain that

> on Thursday December 12 [1728], when I receiv'd it from his Grace with this answer; that it was not allow'd to be acted but commanded to be supprest. This was told me in general without any reasons assign'd or any charge against me of my having given any particular offence. Since this prohibition I have been told that I am accused, in general terms, of having written many disaffected libels and seditious pamphlets...I have been inform'd too, that in the following play, I have been charg'd with writing immoralities; that it is filled with slander and calumny against particular great persons, and that Majesty it-self is endeavour'd to be brought into ridicule and contempt (Gay, 1729: Preface).

It seems that Gay's satire which exposes the lies, immorality and corruption of the government, colonial slave owners, and the higher class sufficiently threatened the integrity, superiority and 'customs' of the British ruling class to suppress Gay's writing.

The 'scandal of its suppression made it an immediate best-seller' (Gladfelder, 2013: xi) when Gay published *Polly* within a few months of the ban. The initial 'audience' I refer to, therefore, will have been the literate and wealthy readers of the script, who quickly bought 'the play's initial print run of 10,000 copies [which] was quickly followed by a spate of pirate editions' (Gladfelder, 2013: xi). Gay's satire, therefore, directly infiltrated and exposed the class he was attacking. Sadly, Walpole's ban and political power suppressed the stage performance of *Polly* in Gay's lifetime. The first performance took place in 1777, however, as I have established throughout this thesis, later audiences would have recognised (and we continue to live with) the legacies of British customs which Gay mocked.

A shocking revelation for wealthy wives who were amongst the first readers of the playscript in the 'drawing rooms where the audience have enacted [the dance] motions themselves' (Dugaw, 2001: 209) would have been scandalised by the bawd's songs, dances and claims that 'married men are my best customers' (A1, S1).

Furthermore, they may have recognised such behaviour in their own marriages as Ducat reveals that his wife is 'vexatious upon account of my visits to you'. These revelations continue the negative presentation of marriage which began in *The Beggar's Opera* in which Peachum declared that 'Gamesters and Highwaymen are generally very good to their Whores, but they are very Devils to their Wives' (*The Beggar's Opera*, A1, S4). Polly's parents were devastated in part one of her story that she had married Macheath, calling her a 'Hussy', 'Jade', and 'Baggage'. Peachum claims that marriage would have ruined their lives: 'Do you think your Mother and I should have liv'd comfortably so long together, if ever we had married?' (*The Beggar's Opera*, A1, S4). Marriage, as a British custom and institution, is undermined in both of Gay's satires which sought to question and unravel the fabric of British society.

In spite of the marriage vows which are a binding agreement and traditional British custom that continue to the modern day, Trapes asserts that 'your wife is not so unreasonable to expect to have you always to herself' (A1, S1). The solution she offers is 'a fresh cargo of ladies just arriv'd: no body alive shall set eyes upon 'em till you have provided your self'. Not only is Gay mocking the use of upper-class wealth once again, here, he also alludes to the trafficking of people. The word 'cargo' reduces female bodies to 'fresh goods' (A1, S1) and a product to be purchased. Polly

is reduced to her parts: 'She is the most delicious creature…Such lips, such eyes, and such flesh and blood!' (A1, S3). The plural 'ladies' suggests a vast number of female bodies were transported and purchased for sex. Gay implicates the government in the purchase of such 'fresh goods' as Flimzy declares that: 'If you had her in London you could not fail of the custom of all the foreign Ministers' (A1, S3). Married men in Gay's audience and the wives who expect to keep their husbands to themselves must have felt great discomfort in the exposure of their sexual immorality and marital infidelity.

In Act 1, Scene VI, we return to Ducat and Trapes discussing the purchase of Polly. Trapes declares: 'Sure you cannot think a hundred pistoles too much…Why your fine men, who never pay any body else, pay their pimps and bawds well; always ready money' (A1, S4). The 'pistoles' that Trapes refers to are 'Spanish gold coins worth about eighteen shillings…one hundred pistoles would have been a substantial sum in the period' (Gladfelder, 2013: 202). Figure 54 (below) is an image of the pistoles Trapes was referring to. Figure 55 (below) is an image of the coins found on the beach at Ilfracombe, north Devon, a town just a few miles from where John Gay was born, as discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

Figure 54. Image of 1646 gold pistole coins

Figure 55. Image of early modern gold pistole coin found on Rapparee, Ilfracombe.

Tangible archaeological discoveries of early modern Spanish coins found in north Devon, close to the birthplace of John Gay, are intimately connected to the bodies of women trafficked in Gay's 1728 opera and, potentially, the transport of Black enslaved people transported from St Lucia and shipwrecked on the north Devon coast in 1796. The literature that we are left with, that continues to be published and hopefully in the future performed, has deep historical connections and significance beneath the surface of our seas and on British shores that I have uncovered in this body of work.

In addition to the real and imaginary world connections Gay makes, he also satirises society's perception of the value of white women and valueless black women. Ducat admits that 'I married her...only for her money' (A1, S1) revealing the value of a white woman to a potential husband. Such a view is explicitly stated again in Ducat's outrage at the cost of a white woman's body: 'But, dear Mrs Dye, a hundred pistoles say you? Why I could have half a dozen negro princesses for the price' (A1, S4). Here, the value of a single white woman's body and sexual desirability is weighed against the value of six, not only black women, but 'negro princesses'. In Gay's presentation of the duality of white women = valuable / black women = valueless, we can trace along the continuum of this thesis the persistent devaluation of black

women and the female African diaspora, symbolised in the disturbing image on

Hawkins' 1566 Grant of Arms.

Through the valuations made by Ducat and Trapes we can identify a clear definition

of and distinction between races. The assertions of race I identified in earlier

chapters, some critics may argue were anachronistic determinants of race or the

foreshadowing of race (and racism) in earlier works, however, in this chapter

eighteenth century literature clearly demonstrates that racial categorisation and

racism towards the African diaspora is firmly entrenched and embedded in Britain,

British colonial society, British customs, economics, and even sexual desire by this

point in time.

Sexual desire in the play also reveals the 'rotted underbelly' (Soyinka, 1994: 298) of

commerce and class divisions that John Gay seeks to undermine across both operas.

At the end of Act 1, once Ducat has paid Trapes and purchased Polly, he '[*Bars the

door*]' (A1, S6 stage direction) and '[*kisses her*]' (A1, S6, stage directions). *Air 14

Bury Fair* is a tune sung by both Polly and Ducat as they struggle when he tries to

force himself on her. Ducat sings: '*All maid I know at first resist/A master may

command*' whilst Polly declines: '*You're monstrous rude; I'll not be kiss'd:/Nay, fye, let

go my hand*'. Ducat, aware of his status as a slave owner and wealthy man, asserts his

right in the legal framework which supports his claim over the 'cargo' he has purchased: 'Yes, hussy, that you are; and as legally my property' (A1, S6). Threatening to 'force' (A1, S6) Polly, in the stage directions she attempts to resist his advances by '[*Pushing him away*]' and tries to escape his threats of rape. Polly acknowledges that being poor 'is the only thing now-a-days men are asham'd of' (A1, S6) because when a person is poor, they lack power. Gay places Polly in a powerful position to uncover and expose the fears of the wealthy audience. The admission that wealth means power is emphasised in Air 17 'March in Scipio' sung by the extremes of the class hierarchy as it is performed by the wealthy Mrs Ducat, Ducat and their servant:

> Mrs Ducat: How can you be disgrac'd!
> For wealth secures your fame.
> Servant: The rich are always plac'd
> Above the sense of shame.
> Mrs Ducat: Let honour spur the slave,
> To fight for fighting's sake:
> Ducat: But even the rich are brave
> When money is at stake.

Jochen Petzold notes that in 'his remonstrations, Ducat moves [Polly] from servant to slave' when he reprimands her for refusing a powerful, wealthy man. 'Is this language from a servant! From a slave!' (A1, S6) he complains as he uses his wealth, power, and legal status to mark her descent down Britain's socio-cultural and

economic hierarchy. Petzold goes on to say that 'calling her 'slave' makes Polly the ultimate victim and a worthy recipient of an audience's sympathies' (Petzold, 2011: 346). Further still, the reading pointed at by Petzold undoubtedly dictates that Gay systematically creates situations to 'encourage sympathy for her' (Petzold, 2011: 347). Petzold goes on to suggest that Polly herself is an immoral character who uses 'flattery and lies' (A2, S2). However, I argue that Petzold underestimates the danger Polly faces in both operas and diminishes the steps that she is forced to take which are for her own protection.

To avoid rape by Ducat and the onslaught of the 'pyrates' and 'militia' (A1, S12) who will ravish 'us poor helpless women' (A1, S12), Polly is forced to dress in 'a man's habit' (A1, S14). In Act 3 when Pohetohee asks 'Why this disguise [as a man]?' (A3, S7), Polly replies that it is 'To protect me from the violences and insults to which my sex might have expos'd me.' (A3, S7). Although I am making distinctions between lies and perhaps creating a hierarchy of legitimate and illegitimate lies, I argue that a woman's pursuit of protection and marital unity is very different to lies of governments which 'ruine provinces and countries' (A1, S4) as Trapes spoke of. Furthermore, to consider 'transculturality' in terms of Polly's duality, I would argue that her actions are the product of the necessary compromises subjugated cultures

make in order to survive. Perhaps it is because of Polly's duality – the duality of virtue/lies, survival/rape & death – that she, and the audience, are rewarded with her safety.

The eponymous character's autonomy and her 'constant' (A1, S5) heart urged her to travel to the West Indies to find her husband, Macheath. Like Desdemona before her who 'wished/That heaven had made her such a man' (*Othello* 1.3.161-162) who could undertake and survive 'the travel's history' (*Othello* 1.3.138) and 'battles, sieges, fortunes' (*Othello* 1.3.128) that Othello and male travellers like him had lived through, Polly undertook a dangerous voyage to the Caribbean. Carmen Nocentelli argues that

> while the travels of men were generally appreciated, the travels of women [were] met with prejudice and suspicion. Across linguistic and national boundaries, women were told to stay home, lest their voyages compromise their gender or jeopardise their chastity. "[M]en have the freedom to travel with honour in foreign lands…Women, on the other hand, are…more useful when they sit still", wrote Leon Batitista Alberti in the mid-fifteenth century, voicing a sentiment that would resonate, over a century later (Nocentelli, 2019: 81).

As we have seen money can provide a level of power and protection. However, the 'summ of money' (A1, S5) Polly had brought with her 'was broke open at sea' (A1, S5). She found herself 'a vagabond expos'd to hunger and want, unless charity relieve' (A1, S5) her. Devastatingly, it may have been safer for Polly 'to stay home'; once arrived in the West Indies Polly's female body is in danger as she is sold by Trapes and almost raped by Ducat. I strongly disagree with Petzold's conclusion that Gay is seeking sympathy, rather, he is reflecting the travels and travails for female travellers during this time.

There is, however, a clear distinction that must be acknowledged here: Polly was a white lower class woman using her autonomy and her money to travel to the West Indies which is a very different experience and level of vulnerability than the experience of the enslaved African women who were forced to migrate to the Caribbean for slavery and not through their own autonomy in pursuit of love.

In spite of being sold for her body and knowing that her 'freedom may be lost' (A1, S6), Polly is determined to hold onto her 'vertue and integrity' (A1, S6). In Act 1, Scene 5 Polly admits that although 'I was educated among the most profligate in low life, I never engag'd in my father's affairs as a thief or a thief-catcher, for indeed I abhorr'd his profession' (A1, S5), which confirms her integrity despite corrupt men

luring her. Polly survived her family's profession and went against their familial conventions by marrying Macheath. Rejecting her parents' customs was an attempt to seek the protection she craved within the British custom of marriage. However, in *The Beggar's Opera* Gay sought to undermine both the high- and low-class morals and the customs of interpersonal relationships. Nokes acknowledges that 'Gay was bought up in a household where…the dutiful observances of Nonconformist worship provided his earliest moral code' (Nokes, 1995: 19). Therefore, perhaps through his play, Gay reveals to us his own rejection of conventions, customs and even a rejection of romantic love itself.

Sector Two: The Pirates

As Act One of *Polly* comes to a close, the characters are alerted that 'the whole country is in an uproar! The pyrates are all coming down upon us' (A1, S12). As I have established, Polly was forced to 'put on the courage and resolution of a man' (A2, S1) to avoid rape and further dangers she may face, ultimately joining the pirate gang as a strategy to stay safe and potentially find Macheath. Polly's plot and character development here allows the audience to gain entry into the pirate gang's conversation in a way that Hakluyt's real-world reports in Chapter Two of this thesis do not give us access to. It must be acknowledged that in spite of the vulnerabilities

she faces, Gay puts the eponymous character into a very powerful position by giving

Polly the opportunity to migrate, transform her gender and finally join the Indians.

The pirate revolt which ambushes the colonial slave owner's plantation is led by

'their chief' Macheath, who is now disguised in blackface as 'Morano, a Negro villain'

(A1, S12), in an attempt to reclaim freedom by plundering and pillaging the

plantocracy. To continue the dialogue and demonstrate the connections between the

real and the imagined further, it is essential to address the themes of autonomy,

migration and transculturality via the duality of Macheath/Morano.

David Armitage asserts that through migration the audience can observe and are

entangled in 'the mobile worlds defined by the experiences of lower-class and darker

skinned populations' (Armitage, 2001: 479 - 486). The duality of

Macheath/Morano embodies and enacts the experience of a lower-class white

English man and, through racial mimicry, the experience of the darker-skinned

population. He is both Macheath the transported criminal and Morano the enslaved

African man, thereby, defining a theatrical duality of transculturality. The migratory

factors of slavery and British criminality which impact transculturality in the West

Indies and Britain are displayed through Macheath/Morano and the real-world

contemporary archetypes they represent; Macheath and Morano are the product of

colonization, diaspora of different types and exile. Via his duality we can observe the transcultural collision of race and class.

I argue that in *The Beggar's Opera* Macheath's character created the foundation for Morano. Macheath was a criminal and a womaniser, therefore, he embodies the literary legacy of blackness which is depicted in Morano/Macheath's literary heritage of Shakespeare's Othello. In Act 2, Scene 2 of *Polly*, Morano is described 'tho' he is black, no body has more the air of a great man' which echoes the way in which Othello was described by the Duke as 'far more fair than black' (*Othello* 1.3.285). Other charges made against Othello are intwined in the creation of Macheath/Morano. For instance, Othello is accused of being a lustful thief. Iago lies and accuses Othello of being a 'Thief!' (*Othello*, 1.2.63): 'now, very now, an old black ram/Is tupping your white ewe' (*Othello*, 1.1.89-90) and 'your daughter and the Moor are now making the beast with two backs' (*Othello*, 1.1.115-116). Whilst Macheath really is a 'Highwayman' (*The Beggar's Opera* A1, S10) with 'two or three wives already' (*The Beggar's Opera* A1, S10) and several women of the town too, including: 'Mrs Coaxer...Dolly Trull! Kiss me you slut...Mrs Vixen, I'm yours...Betty Doxy! Come hither, Hussy...Jenny Diver too!...Mrs Slammekin! As careless and

genteel as ever!...Sulky Tawdry...Molly Brazen *she kisses him'* (*The Beggar's Opera*, A2, S4), thereby, crafting the behaviour of blackness that Iago orchestrates. Mary Floyd-Wilson traces the classical views which permeated the early modern world and continue to our own in which it is believed that African people and the African diaspora are sexually unrestrained. Floyd-Wilson writes that: 'Scholars have long cited the classical depictions of polygamous tribes in Ethiopia as evidence that Greek and Latin writers viewed Africans as sexually wanton' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). In addition to this, 'J.W Johnson's biases are telling in his discussion of Herodotus, where he finds "that Africans as a whole were of a highly sensual and passionate nature and were notorious for sexual promiscuity"' (Floyd-Wilson, 2003). This is the type of promiscuity displayed by lower class white British, Macheath and, arguably, the colonial slave owner, Ducat.

Before becoming absorbed in Gay and Shakespeare's masks of blackness, it is essential to remember that for centuries Othello would have been performed by a white actor and there is a further duality with Macheath/Morano who would have been performed by a white actor playing the role of a lower-class white man pretending to be a black man. It seems that the legacy of Gay's Macheath/Morano with his 'deliberately self-blackened outlawry proved compelling and the form influenced

later depictions of Caribbean rogues' (Reed, 2007: 241), such as John Fawcett's

Three-Finger'd Jack. The continuities and links to the past, in addition to the impact

of Gay's work on his contemporary literary and political landscape which then

influenced subsequent literature confirms the significance of John Gay and his

writings.

In *Polly*, Macheath/Morano reminds Jenny that 'I disguis'd myself as a black to

screen my self from women…Macheath is dead' (A2, S3). Later, Jenny confesses to

Polly (disguised as a man) that Morano 'is no black, Sir, but under that disguise, for

my sake, skreen'd himself from the claims and importunities of other women' (A3,

S8). Here, Morano is not only in disguise to hide himself, but there is also an echo of

my earlier identification with the price of white Polly and six black princesses, in that

Morano's blackness does not evoke the same level of sexual desire that Macheath's

whiteness did. As a black man he is 'skreen'd' from recognition *and* sexual attraction.

Although we have continuities in the representations of blackness in the script and

onstage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in both *Othello* and *Polly* real

black men are silent. Further still, Morano is 'a black leader of escaped and

presumably black slaves, even though none speaks' (Richardson, 2002: 24). This

echoes the third 'zone of death': literary death for the way in which Africa and the

African diaspora are silenced, erased or killed off in literature that I acknowledged in Shakespeare's presentation of Sycorax. Furthermore, like Othello's character Peter Reed confirms that Morano's character was 'tragically born to die' (Reed, 2007: 241). Literary death is another cause and consequence of hostility and the hostile environment.

It is actually the European voices of the pirate gang that Gay allows us to hear. Subtly and satirically, he is foregrounding the voice of the European, not as a tool to agree with them but as a strategy to expose and mock the European. Robert G Dryden asserts that in '*Polly*, Gay condemns the British planter, the British soldier, the British slave trade, the transportation of the British criminal and the pirate' (Dryden, 2001: 540).

The pirate crew is a cross-cultural assemblage of the 'specific national backgrounds of those European powers that were mucking about in the Caribbean' (Hawes, 1998: 151). Although I reject the flippancy of Hawes' comparison of the violently oppressive pattern of capturing and enslaving people whilst colonising land and indigenous people to build an empire as 'mucking about', the observation that the gang comprises 'the Dutch Vanderbluff, the British Hacker, the French Laguerre' (Hawes, 1998: 151) confirms the cross-cultural interactions and European nation-

building competition that took place in the eighteenth century. Perhaps Hawes'

offhand comment actually mimics the way in which Gay mocks the nations who

divided up lands.

Transported British criminal, Hacker, claims 'the kingdom of Mexico shall be mine.

My lot shall be the kingdom of Mexico' (A2, S2) whilst Capstern rises up declaring

that 'I'll never give it [Mexico] up' (A2, S2). Laguerre bargains that 'The island of

Cuba, methinks, brother, might satisfy any reasonable man' (A2, S2). The pirates

consider the monetary value of each place: Peru 'the country of gold…Mexico hath

only silver…Governor of Cartagena, brother, is a pretty snug employment' (A2, S2).

In Chapters One and Two I explored the rudimentary beginnings of colonisation

and piracy with Stukeley, Drake and Hawkins. Here, Gladfelder's notes on the text

confirms the sixteenth century piratical attacks and colonisation that continued into

eighteenth century customs and literature: 'Cartegena was a Spanish colonial

settlement (founded 1533) on the coast of present-day Columbia and known as the

treasure city of the Spanish Main; target of numerous piratical attacks and invasions,

including one led by Sir Francis Drake, who seized Cartegena in 1586' (Gladfelder,

2013: 204).

Gay's absorption of the contemporary colonial, piratical and criminal migrations of a variety of Europeans also exposes the different legal and social status of the various groups in the colonies which are most keenly exposed during the interactions of the pirate invasion. Petzold succinctly outlines the distinctions between races and the difference in status between indentured servants, criminals and slaves:

> in the colonies the legal status of an indentured servant and even of a criminal sentenced to transportation would not have been that of an actual slave – a condition in which 'an absolute and unlimited power is given to the master over the life and fortune' of another man, as William Blackstone defines 'pure and proper slavery' in his Commentaries on the Laws of England. The laws of Barbados and Jamaica (as well as of the English colonies on the American continent) made a clear distinction between white English 'servants' and black 'slaves': only the latter were considered the property of their masters. And while slaves had virtually no chance of legally regaining their freedom, servants were expected to work the time specified in their contracts or sentences and were then set at liberty – according to Farley Grubb, about 75% of convicts were transported for seven years, and the Transportation Act specified that, when they had served their time, this had 'the Effect of a Pardon to all Intents

and Purposes, as for that Crime or Crimes for which they were so transported'

(Petzold, 2012: 346 - 347)

Gay incorporated the contemporary legal and social realities of the Caribbean into both operas. For instance, in Act 2, Scene 1 of *The Beggar's Opera*, the character Ben Budge had just arrived in England from his 'Return from Transportation' to the West Indies (A2, S1) and in *Polly*, Hacker and Macheath's punishments were criminal sentences to be transported to the West Indies. Gay also portrayed characters, such as Hacker and Macheath, who represented British criminals punished with Transportation to the West Indies used to assist with the menial work on plantations and building the colonies in the West Indies. In spite of their criminal punishment, even Hacker was able to return to England once he had served his time due to his legal status as a subject of Britain.

Gay was acutely aware of the legal status and socio-cultural attitudes towards white British criminals, enslaved African people and colonised indigenous people. Possibly the most striking duality in the text is the connection between criminal and colonial, with colonialism legally and socially containing notions of legalised crime and 'glorified piracy' (Hawes, 1998: 139 - 159). Furthermore, with regards to geographical classification and a sense of 'place', the West Indies was relegated to a

disposal area for Britain's lowlife milieu and those enslaved to produce and extract goods. In some ways Gay's Caribbean echoes Shakespeare's earlier island in *The Tempest* which served as a literary blueprint for the creative expressions of Britain's vast empire in several eighteenth century colonial locations. On the unnamed island Sycorax was banished for her crimes, indigenous Ariel and African Caliban enslaved, whilst European Prospero used his power to rule over them.

Once European countries, represented by Hacker et al, had colonised the West Indian islands, there were revolts from those enslaved and colonised. Gay presents Morano, as the 'black' rebel leader of such a revolt. Morano's character forces the audience, who may have owned or had a stake in the plantations, to reflect on and encounter the enslaved people in the British colonies. There would have been a sense of fear as they witness creative expressions of the real-world slave revolts that took place in the Caribbean.

The name Morano is a variation of the word 'maroon' whose origin began with the Spanish word 'cimarron' 'which was the name originally given to domestic cattle that had taken to the hills in Hispaniola. It was given also to Indians who had escaped from the lowlands and by the 1530s it referred to African runaways' (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998: 16). From the Spanish word 'cimarron' meaning 'wild' the word

transitioned to the French 'marron' meaning 'feral'. By the mid-seventeenth century the word became 'Maroon' which meant and continues to be defined as a member of any of various communities in parts of the Caribbean who were originally descended from escaped slaves. In the 18th century Jamaican maroons fought two wars against the British both of which ended with treaties affirming the independence of the Maroons. The duality of the character and the name Morano, therefore, is representative of the legacy of linguistic development which continued across the centuries to associate animalistic and derogatory terms to African/Caribbean people. Yet simultaneously, and characteristically of African people and the African diaspora it is also a demonstration of their autonomy and the way in which the diaspora turned the word Maroon from animalistic enslavement to freedom fighters who revolted against their captors.

John Richardson confirms that 'the idea of Caribbean slave rebellion would have been more familiar to Gay's audience than that of land raids by pirates' (Richardson, 2002: 24). In *Polly*, the revolt 'commanded by a Neger' (*Polly*, 3.5.142) echoes contemporary newspaper reports of similar rebellions. In 1721 Mr Kurtz reported in *The St James Evening Post* that '1,500 Jamaican mosquito Indians, armed at the expense of the Government of this island', were to be sent against the 'rebellious and

run-away Negroes, who were scatter'd about the montaneous parts, and very must

infest the country. The orders are to kill and destroy them.' (*The St James Evening*

Post, 879, 5-7 January 1721). Furthermore, reported in the *London Journal* in 1725

'Negro slaves' and 'mutineers' were being forced to submit (*London Journal* 329, 13

November 1725). It would have been widely known amongst the audience and

people in Britain that slaves who rebelled faced severe punishments including:

'burning them, by nailing them down to the ground with crooked sticks on every

limb and then applying the fire by degrees from the feet and hands' (Richardson

2012). Whilst 'Morano's revolt enacts social disorder and the disciplinary response

in the eighteenth century Atlantic World' (Reed, 2007: 246), these contemporary

reports echo the cross-cultural connections we encounter in *Polly* with the Indians

who 'are in alliance' (1.12.102 & 103) with Ducat and are 'now in arms ready for

battle' (1.12.103) to gain control and seek punishment on behalf of the British

Empire. In the third sector of this counterpoint section, I shall examine the Indians

who Albert Wertheim suggests represent 'the moral paradise that Europeans hoped

existed' (Wertheim, 1990: 195 - 206).

Sector Three: The Indians

If we are to fully examine the role played by King Pohetohee, his son, Prince Cawwawkee and the Indians, it is essential to consider their duality. Firstly, the complexity of the term 'Indians' implies that they may be descendants of the early inhabitants of the Caribbean such as the Caribs and Tainos on the island of Jamaica. Peter Reed describes the Indians as 'tractable Native Americans' (Reed, 2007: 246). The 1728 date of Gay's play positions them as too early to encapsulate people who migrated in 'the system of indenture in the British Empire that lasted from 1834 to 1917, and which brought my ancestors from India to the Caribbean' (British Library). However, the setting identified at the beginning of Act 2 'The view of an Indian Country', suggests there is a sense that the Indians Gay refers to are native people of the Caribbean Island. They are 'of' the island, yet their duality can be identified in their colonial connections which marks them both of and, to a certain extent, off the island.

Before we are introduced to the Indian characters, we hear of their alliance with Ducat's English colony as the footmen declare that the pirate militia 'are all coming down upon us' (A1, S12). In this crucial scene it is confirmed that King Pohetohee 'with whom [the English colony] are in alliance' (A1, S12) and 'The Indians...with

386

whom we are in alliance' (A1, S12) are on their way to support the colonial slave owners. Reed's assertion that the Indians are 'tractable' suggests that the 'Native American' people he speaks of are compliant and easy to reach a deal of mutual alliance with the British colonial slave owners. The footman's repetition of the Indian-British allegiance reinforces to the audience that pirates and the African diaspora are the enemy of the Indians and the British. Furthermore, this allegiance creates a contradictory duality as I will demonstrate through an analysis of the final Acts of *Polly*.

In Act 2, Scene 8 'Gay sets up the scene in which an Indian…accuses a visible African [Morano] though actual European [Macheath], of all the vices of Europe. By this, the African is given the worst characteristics of both savagery and civilisation' (Richardson, 2002: 24). The following exchange reveals how Gay both undermines the perception that Indians are savages, instead presenting them as noble and virtuous which puts them in opposition to the corrupt British colonial slave owners, reinforcing Gay's satire of Britain's home and foreign affairs.

Morano: Do you know me, prince?

Cawwawkee: As a man of injustice I know you, who covets and invades the property of another.

Morano: Do you know my power?

Cawwawkee: I fear it not....

Vanderbluff: We must beat civilising into 'em, to make 'em capable of common society, and common conversation.

Morano: Stubborn prince, mark me well. Know you, I say, that your life is in my power?

Cawwawkee: I know too, that my virtue is in my own.

Morano:...can you feel pain?

Cawwawkee: I can bear it.

...

Cawwawkee: I speak truth, I never affirm but what I know...What betray my friends! I am no coward, *European*.

Morano: Torture shall make you squeak.

Cawwawkee: I have resolution; and pain shall neither make me lie or betray. I tell thee once more *European*, I am no coward.

In the pirates' frantic attempt to revolt and take over the island, Morano/Macheath and Vanderbluff seek violence through 'torture' and beating. The '*Europeans*' refer to the Indians as 'creatures', 'savages', 'brute', and 'ignorant'. Morano/Macheath

even goes as far as to question the humanity of Cawwawkee as he asks 'can you feel pain?'. Dehumanisation reappears here echoing the necessity of Shylock's speech in the *Merchant of Venice* in which he asserts that 'Hath not a Jew...hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means' (*The Merchant of Venice* 3.1.49-61).

It is important to note that it is the Indian character who speaks up against the injustice of colonialism. Furthermore, Cawwawkee asserts that the 'treasure' the pirate gang are searching for ''tis so rank a poison to you *Europeans*, that the very touch of it makes you mad' (A2, S8). The word *European* is an italicised insult used in a derogatory way several times. Here, we can also see how Cawwawkee begins to be aligned with Polly in his determination to have control over and maintain his 'virtue', 'truth' and bravery. Gay attempts to present the Indians as having the utmost courage and morality amongst all of the multicultural characters. In spite of Cawwawkee's 'virtue' and his outrage at the behaviour of Europeans, he does nothing to prevent their colonisation of his island or to stop the enslavement of the African diaspora.

When Pohetohee (Cawwawkee's father) and Ducat collide, Pohetohee immediately notices the disparities between the immoral customs of the colonial slave owner and

their intergenerational Indian code of conduct: 'How different your notions from ours! We think virtue, honour, and courage as essential to man as his limbs, or senses; and in every man we suppose the qualities of a man, till we have found the contrary. But then we regard him only as a brute in disguise. How custom can degrade nature!' (A3, S1). To which Ducat asks: 'why should I have any more scruples about myself, than about my money' (A3, S1), reinforcing Gay's satire of the eighteenth century's 'sordid economic underpinnings' (Richardson 2012). Similarly, Morano's only 'shame' (A3, S11) is his fear 'of being poor' (A3, S11). To which the frustrated Pohetohee responds with aghast: 'How can society subsist with avarice?' which is the root of Gay's satire and the 'avarice' he is trying to expose and eradicate. John Bender writes that John Gay's work 'was considered subversive not because it exposed authority to temporary ridicule...but because it depicted an existing authority as permanently corrupted by self-interest...the ideas of justice and authority are effectively overturned' (Bender, 1987: 88). The ending of the play is Gay's limited attempt to restore justice. The ending is symbolic because it creates a limited resolution for issues raised in the play. Such an ending alludes to Gay's significant literary contribution which, I argue, leads to the continued reverberations and reappearance of these issues in later literature and geopolitical events.

By the end of the play, Morano/Macheath is executed as his punishment for the pirate revolt to which the audience may feel a mixed sense of justice that Macheath has been unable to escape a punishment this time but equally sickened that it is Morano, a visible black man, who has been executed for the crimes committed by the '*European*' white Macheath.

Jenny, Polly's foil, begs for 'Slavery, Sir, slavery is all I ask' (A3, S14) as her punishment by the end of the opera. The audience feel little sympathy for her following her earlier affair with 'a young gentleman' in her husband's pirate gang (A2, S4) who was actually 'Polly in Boy's Cloaths' (A2, S12). Gay makes Jenny (and arguably the wives in the audience) culpable for the actions of her husband, Macheath/Morano, when she admits that: 'I was indeed like other wives, too indulgent to him, and as it was agreeable to my own humour, I was loth to baulk his ambition. I must indeed, own too that I had the frailty of pride. But where is the woman who hath not the inclination to be as great and rich as she can be?' (A3, S13). Polly, by contrast, is utterly devastated by the death of Macheath. However, the audience is relieved that she might seek solace in a marriage to Cawwawkee, a prince whose values of virtue align with her own. Joan Hildreth Owen 'interprets the final dance as a "marriage dance beyond reprieve" in which…"celebrates moral virtue"…a

new sexual democracy that marries pastoral independence to ethical idealism' (Petzold, 2012: 345). Whilst Richard Frohock asserts that the 'play's ambivalent ending celebrates Polly's choice of virtue but within the West Indian setting' (Frohock, 2017: 148) suggesting that such a framework of integrity and virtue is not possible in eighteenth century England or the English controlled colonies under Walpole's leadership.

Although virtue is restored, it must be acknowledged that the ending does not offer an outright derision or ending of slavery. Instead, when the 'Indians return the other revolted slaves who fought with the pirates, the exploitative colonial system remains firmly in place' (Frohock, 2017: 157) and the (silent) African diaspora continue to be enslaved on the Caribbean Island.

Windrush after John Gay

The reappearance of the Indian-Caribbean relations we saw in John Gay's *Polly* occur again in the twentieth century. Sam Selvon, born in Trinidad in 1923, is the son of an Indian father and a Scottish-Indian mother. Selvon's mixed-race heritage and childhood experiences of growing up in the Caribbean are in direct dialogue with and as a direct result of the seventeenth century cross-cultural encounters we observed in John Gay's opera.

Writing an article titled 'Three into one can't go – East Indian, Trinidadian or West Indian?' in the Autumn 1986 *Wasafiri* magazine, Selvon recalls an encounter from when he was a little boy in Trinidad which speaks of the silent and subtle 'colonial indoctrination' (Selvon, 1986: 8) that took place over the intervening hundreds of years of colonial rule along which this thesis traces.

> There was a dark old Indian named Sammy who came around our street selling fish. He was partly paralysed and walked with a limp…He was the butt of the neighbourhood and we teased and jeered at him…One day he turned up with a white man toting the fish for him: I learnt afterwards that he was an escaped convict from Devil's Island whom Sammy had come across on the beach and took him in hand to be an assistant. I was furious with the old Indian for putting the white man in such a humiliating position…this gut feeling I had as a child, that the Indian was just a piece of cane trash while the white man was honoured and respected – where had it come from?…White people were the rich ones and bosses, living in big houses and driving motor cars: they were the people in charge of everything (Selvon, 1986: 8)

To answer Selvon's rhetorical question – where had it come from? – is to recall key characters and geopolitical situations analysed in the *Then* section of this chapter.

The white, Mrs Trapes and colonial slave owner Mr Ducat, both subjects of the British Empire were the 'wealthy, very wealthy' (A1, S1) 'bosses' (Selvon, 1986: 8) who were 'in charge of everything' (Selvon, 1986: 8), and, I might add, everyone. Selvon's observation of the same hierarchical structures on the Caribbean Island of Trinidad confirms that the legacy of colonial rule had continued for centuries. Additionally, the 'escaped convict' (Selvon, 1986: 8) reflects the lower-class milieu of *Polly*'s Macheath, Hacker and Ben Budge of *The Beggar's Opera* who had been English convicts transported to the Caribbean. The Devil's Island location that Selvon mentions is a French penal colony operated between 1852 and 1953, which confirms the way in which the '*Europeans*' (*Polly*) treated the Caribbean Islands as a cesspool for the European criminal underworld.

The legacy of Macheath appeared to live on in the real-world convict whose status as a white man superseded that of his moral and legal status as a criminal which also echoes the way corrupt politicians and higher-class men in England and the colonies continued to be well respected in spite of their 'scruples' (*Polly*) which were likened to that of a bawd.

Selvon's emotional response of being 'furious' and the feeling of empathy he experienced towards the white criminal for being 'in such a humiliating position' of

assisting a paralysed dark old Indian is reminiscent of the way in which Pohetohee

and Cawwawkee maintained an alliance with Ducat, in spite of the fraught

relationship in the midst of their cross-cultural encounters, owing to the colonial

hierarchy governing the island. Jeremy Poynting confirms the 'sensitive issue of

intimate personal relationships between Africans and Indians in the Caribbean'

which we see recreated on the island of Polly and in Selvon's own experiences.

The dialogue between then and now opens up a conversation between another

astounding concept of the colonial hierarchy that is revealed in Polly and explicitly

articulated by Selvon when he writes: 'that Indians were "better" than Negroes. I

have the word "better" in quote mark [Selvon writes] because I use it as we did as a

limitless comparative adjective. White people came first, then Indians, and then the

Blacks' (Selvon, 1986: 8). The continuation of this structure from Gay's Caribbean

Island to Selvon's Trinidad is startling: Trapes, Ducat and colonial slave owners, the

Pohotohee, Cawwawkee and the Indians then the visible black man and Ducat's

'runaway slaves' (A3, S13).

Looking at twentieth century Caribbean and Caribbean diaspora literature creates a

dialogue with John Gay's *Polly* which allows us to see the continued geopolitical

relationship between England and the Caribbean, the development of female

migration, as well as the continuities and consequences of colonialism. Furthermore, the then and now counterpoint dialectic gives us an insight into how the customs of nation-building persist in island life and island narratives, whilst the duality of British colonial subjectivity is constricted and expanded.

Raymond Antrobus' poem 'Jamaican British', in his collection *The Perseverance*, inadvertently picks up on the duality of being both a British and colonial 'subject'. As I have established, John Gay's Trapes and Ducat are both 'of' and 'off' the West Indies and Britain. Antrobus' poem brings into question the way in which society questions his own mixed-race duality, which also resonates with my own positionality.

'Jamaican British' opens with:

> some people would deny that I'm Jamaican British.
> Anglo nose. Hair straight. No way I can be Jamaican British.
>
> They think I say I'm black when I say Jamaican British
> but the English boys at school made me choose: Jamaican, British?
> (Antrobus, 2018: 25)

The rhetorical question at the end of the second couplet demonstrates the way in which certain Jamaican-British people are excluded and restricted. Caryl Philip writes that 'the problem question for those of us who have grown up in societies which define themselves by excluding others. Usually us. A coded question. Are

you one of us? Are you one of ours? Where are you from? Where are you really from?' (Philips, 2000). In stark contrast to Gay's colonial slave owners who are privileged with dual identities in spite of and because of their migrations, Antrobus is forced to choose one or the other. Despite Antrobus's 'plantation lineage', the 'some people' who question his dual identity refers to 'English boys at school', his 'cousins in Kingston' and elsewhere in the collection his identity is quizzed through a series of sporadic questions at 'Miami Airport'.

Olive Senior's poetry collection *Gardening in the Tropics* explores the history, migrations and repercussions of colonial rule and slave revolts in the West Indies. In the second and third sector of my analysis of *Polly* and my exploration of Sycorax in Chapter Three, I acknowledge the silene of the maroons, runaways and the female black diaspora. In Senior's poem 'Gardening on the Run', she uses the autonomous first person 'I' to narrate the feelings and experiences of the silenced people. The first-person narrator in the collection 'absconded' and 'fell in with runaways' that 'the bakras [derogatory term for white people] called...wild Indians, me they called runaway, maroon, cimarron' (Senior, 2005: 107), terms which echo the language of Gay's Polly. It is interesting to note that the 'I' 'with runaways who didn't look like me' (Senior, 2005: 107). Instead, 'their bodies were stained black...in mourning, they

said, for the loss of their homeland' (Senior, 2005: 107), referring to the native Taino people who lost their Caribbean Island homes and were notoriously tortured by Spanish colonisers.

In the first stanza of 'Gardening on the Run' Senior refers to Ovando's fleet of 1502. Between 1502 and 1509, the Spanish soldier, Frey Nicolas de Ovando was the Governor of the island Hispaniola. Ovando took a fleet of thirty ships with over 2,000 colonists seeking to control the economic, religious and political power on the island. When they arrived, the whole country was in uproar, just as the islanders were in Gay's *Polly*.

The creative expression of torture suffered by those convicted of marronage and the cross-cultural complicity with maroon Negroes echoes the contemporary newspaper reports cited earlier in this chapter and recalls the fate of the visible black man Morano represents. The second section of Senior's poem outlines the autonomy of the runaways. Their defiance as they 'crawled back to the forest' resisting brutal colonisers who 'brutally' killed and tortured 'cut off my ears and branded me' (Senior, 2005: 108-109). The direct assertion to the reader that, 'Forever, I'll walk all over the pages of your history' (Senior, 2005: 109) is hauntingly defiant. Senior's writing is a form of resistance as she asserts that the enslaved people, runaways will

be, 'Interleaved with the stories of your gallant soldiers' (Senior, 2005: 109). The narrator's audacity is strengthened further in the final section of the poem with the accusatory 'you' turns to directly address 'Colonists' such as Ducat who had 'gold on your mind' to confront the possibility that 'it was *you* who feared *me*'. Speaking to 'the imposer of order, tamer of lands and savages, suppressor of feeling, possessor of bodies' the narrator asserts 'the extent to which I unsettled you' (Senior, 2005: 110). Although Senior's writing is interleaved with people of the island, such as 'the Arawaks and others who were here before us' and 'The Good Indians', and key historical events I have addressed elsewhere in this thesis that resonate with the earlier texts I have brought into dialogue, her work is also infused with the consequences of the 'imperialistic grand design' (Senior, 2005: 63) colonizing ambitions.

As a reader of both *Polly* and Senior's poetry we can identify the continuities in the cross-cultural collaboration of those revolting against colonial rule. Senior's poetry collection also signals meaningful connections between Gay's female character, Polly, who migrated from England to the West Indies, and women of the Windrush generation who migrated from Jamaica to England. In Senior's poem 'Hurricane Story 1951', which tells the story of the migration of a Jamaican woman, Margaret, who migrated from the West Indies to England, we can see the courage and impact a

Windrush migration can have upon female travellers. Similar push and pull factors which drew the Windrush generation to England, urged Margaret to migrate in the early stages of the Windrush movement. In the poem she convinces 'her man Delbert' (Senior, 2005: 35) that they must do 'something really ambitious/Plenty people going to England now/plenty women going in for nursing/Let me go' (Senior, 2005: 35). The creation and the development of the NHS coincided with the need for nurses like Margaret and fuelled much of the movement of people from the Caribbean.

Finally, to investigate the afterlife of Barnstaple born John Gay's work, I shall explore how his play migrated to the continent of Africa. The literary analysis of this thesis began with an African play and it shall end with an African play. John Gay's legacy is striking. Gay's eighteenth-century writing have significance for the three geographical locations I have examined throughout this study, with his personal connection to the site-specific location of north Devon and his opera, *Polly*, alludes to the transportation of African people to the Caribbean. In addition to this, not only do his texts speak back to earlier literary works examined in this study, through their representations of African people, the African diaspora with themes relating to

the personal, political, and complexities of cross-cultural interactions and relationships, Gay's writing also resonated with Africa and the African diaspora of the twentieth century.

The sociopolitical resonance for twentieth century, African writer Wole Soyinka, which, Clement Hawes argues is, particularly acute. For it is only

> after Soyinka's engagement with [Gay] it opens up a vital new context for situating [his] work. For it is only in the wake of Soyinka's particular contextualisation of [his] work that one can appreciate the true significance of the challenge posed by Swift and Gay to an emerging British identity (Hawes, 1998: 139-159).

Soyinka, born in 1934 in Abeokuta, of Ijegba parentage, wrote *Opera Wonyosi* in 1977. The play was performed in 1977 'at the University of Ife where Soyinka was a Professor of Comparative Literature' (Abdul Rasheed Yesufu, Review). The play is set amongst the 'decadence and rottenness of the Nigerian "ship of state" of the seventies' (Yesufu, 1982: 182). Opera Wonyosi is an adaptation of Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* and Brecht's *Three Penny Opera* is a 'bitter-sad adaptation of Gay's' (Yesufu, 1982: 182).

Diane Dugaw writes that:

> Like Gay's original, [Brecht's] *The Three Penny Opera* touch a political nerve.
> A 1931 film adaptation of the play directed by GW Pabst levelled its satire at
> Hitler and the imminent Nazi takeover even more explicitly than the earlier
> stage play. Once in power, the Nazis set out – at first, it was thought,
> successfully – to destroy all copies of the film. The 1930s suppression has its
> eighteenth century precedent' (Dugaw, 2001: 36) with Gay's *Polly* having
> been suppressed by Walpole.

Wole Soyinka took inspiration from both Gay and Brecht to transport the play's
setting to Nigeria as a commentary on the social, cultural, and political landscape of
the late 1970s in Africa. Soyinka wrote of the play's setting that the

> Nigerian society which is portrayed, without one redeeming feature, is that
> oil-boom society of the seventies…The crimes committed by a power-drunk
> soldiery against a cowed and defenceless people, resulting in a further mutual
> brutalization down the scale of power – these are the hard realities that hit
> every man, woman and child, irrespective of class as they stepped out into the
> street (Soyinka, 1980: 298).

Although the themes have migrated to Africa, Soyinka has perfectly captured the
satiric tone of Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* and the sequel, *Polly*. Opera Wonyosi opens

with songs which mock the corruption and crime of the government and police

regime. The orchestra play 'Mack the Knife' whilst the Beggars, Good-Squad and

Mackie's gang sings the song:

Now the shark has teeth like razors

And he shows them in a fight

All Mackie has is a flick knife

And he keeps it out of sight.

Where the night flows dark and silent

There you'll find men lying dead

Was it plague that really killed them

Or the fee to Mackie paid?

You'll recall that Lagos doctor

In Ikoyi slashed to death

The report lies in a Closed file

Just as John Gay did in the original play, here, in this 'Mack the Knife' song, Soyinka

reveals the danger and corruption of those in power and those who assume control.

Gay's character Polly and her heartbreaking disappointment is transported to Nigeria in Soyinka's version in which she marries Mack the Knife whose men steal every item from someone else's banquet for their wedding celebration making Nigerian Polly cry.

Wole Soyinka admits that:

> Art can and should reflect the "dominant" temper of the age, those vital, positive points which, even in the darkest times, are never totally absent. Equally is it necessary that art should expose, reflect, indeed magnify the decadent, rotted underbelly of a society that has lost its direction, jettisoned all sense of values and is careering down a precipice as fast as the latest artificial boom can take it (Soyinka, 1980: 298).

Both John Gay and Wole Soyinka achieve the aim of reflecting the 'rotted underbelly' of their respective societies. Gay and Soyinka achieve this by ridiculing and attacking those in power, whilst implicating and unsettling the audience forcing both leaders and audience to reflect on their own complicity in their corrupt societies.

<u>Conclusion</u>

<u>Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Findings</u>

'The novel is described as a diversity of social speech types, sometimes even a diversity

of languages and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organised.'

Mikhal Bakhtin

The title of this thesis, *Autonomy, Migration and Transculturality: From Peele,*

Shakespeare and Gay to the Windrush, initially alluded to a huge four-hundred-year

chasm from the starting point of migrations in Peele's writing to the end point of the

Windrush migration that would require loud shouts to each era to be heard. Yet, the

dual process of Tracing Legacies and identifying Counterpoint peaks through the

temporal methodologies I have applied to this study has closed the gap and facilitated

a conversation that whispers to the continuities in each epoch that now sit side by

side. Just as Bakhtin describes the novel as the bringing together of 'a diversity of

individual voices', that was the mission of this PhD. I set out to bring together and

to reconcile the chasm, the fissure between time, place and literature, of what we have

always been told are profound differences.

Not only has my application of the Tracing/Counterpoint temporal methodologies

presented here reduced and somewhat eliminated the distance between the two

seemingly disparate time periods of the early modern era and the Windrush generation, the answers to my Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions have demonstrated the benefits and importance of a multidisciplinary approach to the study of English Literature. An isolationist approach to early modern studies limits its potential, its impact, and overall effectiveness. The wide range of disciplines and sources that I have drawn upon – from literary texts to archives and archaeology – has driven the project and formed the connective tissue from then to now. The multidisciplinarity research within this thesis has consolidated the fragmented understanding of autonomy, migration and transculturality. Given the example I have set here, yet more collaborative, interdisciplinary studies can be undertaken through my post-doctoral research to discover further connections within and between literary texts of the early modern period, their site-specific geographical significance, and socio-historical connections.

The thesis opened with an analysis of George Peele's 'African play', *The Battle of Alcazar*. This play immediately alerted us to the connections between literature, geography and history which confirmed the need for an interdisciplinary approach that I have successfully implemented here. This was not just a literary study of the words and actions of a sixteenth century play. Through Peele's text, he recalled an

important event in African history. For Peele's play is based upon a real-world battle

which took place in 'summer 1578 in a north African town of El-Ksar el-Kabir'

during which 'two Moors and their accumulated factions fought for rule over the

domains surrounding Marrakech and Fez (Morocco and Barbary)' (Bartels, 2009:

21). These were significant contemporary events which impacted African political

rule, African trade, African countries and towns, transculturality within Africa,

African monarchies and the fate of African people are recounted and memorialised

in Peele's work. Furthermore, the 'accumulated factions' Bartels writes about

consisted of a collision of multiracial, European, Ottoman, and African armies and

supporters. The text selection, therefore, has demonstrated to future researchers

how to instigate a conversation between literature, African, European, and

Caribbean history, and a variety of geographical locations, also revealing the social

and cross-cultural interconnectedness. I would also recommend that future studies

may wish to transport this methodology to other geographical locations or time

periods following similar methodologies to the techniques I have initiated here.

Peele's text also instigated the conversation about autonomy and revealed several

striking examples of the characters' agency, desire, and ability to create their own

laws, seek revenge and vie for power. Not only did this play mark a significant

chronological and theatrical starting point in early modern drama, by opening this thesis with an 'African play', if you will, I successfully re-membered and re-prioritised the autonomy and humanity of African people. Though there has been much debate about the shades of Moorishness resulting in the identification and persistent re-presentation of a single story which demonises and victimises African people, it is clear through my reprioritisation of the autonomy of African people that there are multiple stories of Africanism about and based upon the people of Africa and the diaspora.

One of the achievements of this body of work is designing a methodology that facilitated an expansive approach to autonomy. Not only did I offer a new perspective on the literary text by emphasising the agency of African men and women, through a process of researching real-world histories and familial connections of the grandparents of the Kings who died at the (real and imaginative) battle of Alcazar, I traced and revealed autonomy of the African people and the African diaspora across multiple times and locations. By demonstrating recreations and instances of agency it has been my aim to empower and unite Africa and the African diaspora. This unification feels especially significant and field changing

when there have clearly been, over time and in many forms, calculated and strategic attempts to divide and demonise us.

The conversation I created in the first chapter opened up the agency of African women in English literature. Although this was mediated by a white, male writer, Peele did not dismiss or displace their power. Instead, I was able to explore the ways in which Peele aligned them with gold and recalled their participation in the cross-cultural, political and legal interactions with the Ottoman Empire in order to secure support in their battle for the legal and rightful succession. For me, this was one of the most exciting and empowering examples of African women in early modern literature. It was such a refreshing shock to discover Peele and his representations after years of suffering from the haunting of Shakespeare's presentation of Sycorax and Othello.

Several cogent examples and my argument for the necessity of temporal tracing have confirmed in this study that the autonomy and agency of the African diaspora has continued across the centuries. Even in the most challenging circumstances at the height of the transatlantic slave trade and European colonialism, I have identified and brought into conversation with each other, the African women of Peele's play with the African born woman, Nanny of the Maroons, who escaped slavery, fought

guerrilla warfare against imposing European forces to gain and maintain freedom, legally and peacefully through negotiations and treaties.

At the outset of this thesis, I asked how the collision of three types of migration, which were the catalyst for this Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry project, are interconnected. Firstly, there were the migrations and cross-cultural encounters in early modern literature, which I discovered in the writing of Peele, Shakespeare and Gay. Secondly, an eighteenth-century vessel, the *London*, believed to be carrying enslaved African people across the Transatlantic triangular slave trade route before being shipwrecked on the coast of Ilfracombe in north Devon, England. Finally, the migration of the Windrush generation from Jamaica to England from 1948.

Through the character of Thomas Stukeley in Peele's play and a real-world captain born near Ilfracombe in Devon, I have demonstrated the translocal and transnational connections of this small seaside town, my hometown, with multiple migrations, its interrelationships with the real battle of Alcazar, connections to early modern voyages to Africa, and continued connections to Africa and the Caribbean across the temporal scope of this thesis. What particularly profiles this study as a significant contribution to the study of English literature, is the way in which my interaction with the text became enlivened by the conversation evoked through the questions it

was asking (how are the stage migrations explored on the page relevant to the real-world migrations?) and the questions I have been asking of the text (how are real-world migrations linked to the characters, history and location). The archaeological discoveries of bones and coins on this stretch of the English coast not only reinforced and emphasised the tangible, international and migratory connections, it has also served to outline a new model of multidisciplinary research by demonstrating the value of interdisciplinarity.

In spite of the success of the temporal tracing that I undertook throughout Part One of the thesis, throughout my research what kept speaking to me and glimmering beneath the surface of the conversations between the Literary-Geohistorical Enquiry Questions that traced through the legacies of the past, was the presence and urgency of *now*. Hugh Grady and Terrence Hawkes in their edited collection *Presentist Shakespeares* confirms that 'the past speaks, it speaks always and only to – and about – ourselves' (Grady & Hawkes, 2007: 5). There was a distinct conversation, here, between the past and the present. I began the thesis by outlining my amazement and curiosity at my present and personal connections to the texts and the topics I have researched; the past is speaking to and about me. Therefore, analysing writers who were born where I was born (John Gay), touring the very location in which I live and

from where I write this thesis (Shakespeare) creates an immediacy and a tangible connection between then and now.

To converse with, structure, and compare the relationship between the past and the present, I applied Renaissance music as a metaphor for my methodological approach to temporal research. 'Counterpoint' elaborated and evolved in the music of the Renaissance era. In the discipline of music, 'counterpoint' is the relationship between two or more musical lines which are harmonically interdependent yet independent. The vertical dimension of music is the harmony, whilst melody is described as the horizontal dimension as it develops over time.

Similarly, the opening section of each chapter in Part Two was a study of early modern plays. The second section of each chapter is a study of the Windrush period and explores how the same themes have continued, converse with one another or have developed over time. The distinct studies within each chapter confirmed their independent time periods, yet their relationship is clearly interdependent. Early modern plays rely on the present moment to give them life, continued relevance and resonance, simultaneously we are in *this* present moment because of the social, geohistorical, and literary legacies of the past. The separate analysis of *then* followed by *now* allows us to see each time period as an independent case study which

recognises the temporal differences and developments. However, as I have shown in each chapter, their interdependent dialectic relationship demonstrates the echoes, and resonances that recur across the channel of time.

Part Two moved along the literary continuum to Shakespeare's texts. Here, my analysis of Shakespeare's presentation of African characters, the African diaspora and 'strangers' took a distinct turn away from Peele's empowering play. I am troubled by the hysteria surrounding Shakespeare and (unless you are searching or in the field) the dismissal of George Peele. It seems that the hierarchical position of Shakespeare (the man and his works) is aligned with the English identity and nation building of both then and now. Shakespeare's texts are in direct dialogue with the socio-political turbulence of the hostile environment faced by Sycorax, Caliban, the Windrush generation and their descendants. Once again, I effectively drew upon a range of materials to activate a discussion between the two time periods.

In Chapter Four, the final writer that I drew upon to connect north Devon, Africa and the Caribbean, as well as the literary and historical themes that have been prevalent throughout this thesis, is the work of Barnstaple born John Gay. The satirical works, *The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*, attacked the contemporary politics, economics, and social issues of the eighteenth century at the height of the slave trade.

The Counterpoint section then identified connections between Caribbean literature which illuminated the continuity of the key themes that persisted in the later period. Finally, the thesis came full circle, by closing with an African play. This time, *Opera Wonyosi,* which is the work of African writer, Wole Soyinka. Although Soyinka's opera speaks of the corruption of African leaders and those seeking to take power, for me, an African playwright, writing back to confront those powers is the embodiment of Peele's vision of autonomy.

At the outset of this thesis, I addressed my potential vulnerability of having vested interests in this study. Admittedly, my fascination of how people like me are represented in literature and history has driven my curiosity throughout the course of this research project. Furthermore, wanting to understand more about the connections my Devonshire hometown had to my mother's Jamaican birthplace and our African ancestry, which speaks to the literature and histories covered in this expansive research, has influenced my project choice and methodology.

Imtiaz Habib's work, *Black Lives in the English Archives 1500 – 1677*, exclaimed that: 'This is the "blacking" of the white archives that in effect is the diffusion of the phenotype of early modern English cultural history' (Habib, 2008). I propose, therefore, that where I have asserted my voice and my positionality (an intentional

choice throughout), I have done so in the form of "blacking" the white

[Shakespearean, methodological, literary, historical and geographical] archives'.

However, the depth and breadth of this study means that it isn't just about me. My

contribution to the fields of literary theory, literature, race studies, geography,

archaeology and history has a much broader impact and potential for future

exploration. Here, I have created the template of a methodology that can facilitate

the future growth of multidisciplinary research.

Bibliography & References

Ackroyd, P., (1999) *The Life of Thomas More* London: Vintage Books, p. 395.

Akhimie, P. and Andrea, B., (2019) 'Early Modern Women, English Drama and the Wider World' in *Travel and Travail* Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press.

Akhimie, P. (2021) 'Racist Humor & Shakespearean Comedy' in *Shakespeare & Race*, ed. Ayanna Thompson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Armitage, David, (2001) 'The Red Atlantic', *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 29 (4), pp. 479 – 486.

Ashcroft, Bill; Griffiths, Gareth; Tiffin, Helen, (1989) *The Empire Writes Back*. London & New York: Routledge.

Banfield, J., (1840) *A guide to Ilfracombe*. Ilfracombe, pp. 11-12.

Barker, F. & Hulme, P., (1985) 'The Discursive Con-texts of The Tempest' in John Drakkis (ed.) *Alternative Shakespeares.* London: Methuen, pp. 191 – 205.

Barros, Eric L De., (2020) 'Teacher Trouble: Performing Race in the Majority White Shakespeare Classroom', *Journal of American Studies*. Cambridge University Press and British Association for American Studies, pp.74 - 81.

Bartels, E., (1990) 'Making of the More: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.4, pp. 433 -54.

Bartels. E., (2007) '*The Battle of Alcazar*, the Mediterranean and the Moor' in *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, ed. G. Stanivukovic. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bate, Jonathan, (2001) 'Othello and the Other-Turning Turk: the Subtleties of Shakespeare's Treatment of Islam', *TLS*, 19 October 2001.

Bender, John, (1987) Imagining the Penitentiary Fiction and Architecture of Mind in the Eighteenth Century England. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, p. 88.

Blackstone, William, (1771) *An analysis of the laws of England*. London: ESTC T56692), p. 24.

Boyce Davies, Carol, (1994) *Migratory Subjectivities* (1994) in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Rivkin and Ryan. Oxford & USA: Blackwell.

Braunmuller, A. R., (1983) *George Peele*. Boston: Twayne.

Brewer, Holly, (2021) 'Creating a Common Law of Slavery for England and its New World Empire' in *Law and history review*, Vol.39 (4), p.765-834.

Brodie, Waddell, (2021) 'The Evil May Day riot of 1517 and the popular politics of anti-immigrant hostility in early modern London Historical Research in The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. Vol.94 (266) pp.716-735.

Brooke, Stephen, (1995) *Reform and Reconstruction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 125-6.

Brotton, J., (1998) 'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage' in *Postcolonial Shakespeares*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 33-34.

Burbules, N., (1993) *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice* New York: Teachers College Press.

Busia, A. P.A., (1989) 'Silencing Sycorax: On African Colonial Discourse and the Unvoiced Female Author(s)' in *Cultural Critique* (14), p.81-104.

Coard, B., (2021) How the West Indian Child is made sub-normal in the British School System, 5th ed. Kingston, Jamaica: Mcdermot Publishing.

Callaghan, D., (1996) '"Othello was a white man": Properties of Race on Shakespearean Stag' in *Alternative Shakespeares*, v.2 ed. Terrence Hawkes, London.

Dadabhoy, A., (2021) *Skin in the Game: Teaching Race in Early Modern Literature.*

Dadabhoy. A., (2021) 'Barbarian Moors: Documenting Racial Formation in Early Modern England' in *Shakespeare and Race.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Das, Nandini, João Vicente Melo, Haig Z. Smith and Lauren Working, (2021) *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

DeCoster, Jonathan, (2019) '"Have you Not Heard of Florida?" Jean Ribault, Thomas Stukeley and the Dream of England's First Colony' in *Itinerario*, Vol. 43 (3), pp. 392 – 422.

DiPietro, C., (2013) 'Performing Place in *The Tempest*' in *Shakespeare and the Urgency of Now.* Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.83 - 102.

Donnon, Elizabeth, (1965) *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*. New York, Vol.2.

Dover, Cedric, (1937) *Half-Caste*. London, p. 13.

Dugaw, Diane, (2001) *"Deep Play" – John Gay and the Invention of Modernity* Newark: University of Delaware Press and London: Associated University Presses.

Dympna. C., (1996), '"Othello was a White Man": Properties of Race on Shakespeare's Stage' in *Alternative Shakespeare's*, v.2, ed. Terrence Hawkes. London.

Edelman. C (2005) *The Stukeley Plays*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Eddo-Lodge, Reni, (2017) *Why I'm No Longer Talking To White People About Race*. London: Bloomsbury.

Espinosa, Ruben and Ruiter, David, (2016) *Introduction to Shakespeare and Immigration*. New York & London: Routledge.
Fehskens, Erin M. (2017) "Nanny of the Maroons." *Oxford African American Studies Center*. 31 May. 2017; Accessed 12 Apr. 2024. https://oxfordaasc.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195301731.001.0001/acref-9780195301731-e-74644.

Fernie, E., (2007) 'Action! Henry V' in *Presentist Shakespeares* London & New York: Routledge.

Fields, K.E. and Fields, B. J., (2014) *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*. London & New York: Verso.

Falconer, A.F., (1964) *Shakespeare and the Sea*. London: Constable, p.39.

Fayol, Michel, (2012) *Translation of Thought to Written Text While Composing: Advancing Theory, Knowledge, Research Methods, Tools, and Applications*, Taylor & Francis Group, 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=Created from bham on 2023-02-04 16:28:24.

Floyd-Wilson, Mary, (2003) *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Freire, Paulo. (2017) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* London: Penguin.
Fryer, P. (2018) *Staying Power* London: Pluto Press

Fuchs, B., (1997) *Conquering Islands: Contextualizing The Tempest in* Shakespeare quarterly, 1997, Vol.48 (1), p.45-6

Gadamer, Hans-Georg, (1960/2004) *Truth and Method*, translated by Joel Weinheimer & Donal G Marshall. New York: Continuum.

Gay, John, (2013) *The Beggar's Opera*. Oxford: Oxford World's Classics.

Gentleman, A., (2019) The Windrush Betrayal: Exposing the Hostile Environment, London: Faber & Faber.

Gillies, John, (1994) *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference.* New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gilroy, Paul, (1999) The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness. Verso: London & New York, p.4.

Gladfelder, Hal, (2013) Introduction to *The Beggar's Opera*. Oxford: Oxford World's Classics.

Grady, H. & Hawkes, T., (2007) *Presentist Shakespeares* London & New York: Routledge.

Graham, S., & Harris, K., (2005) *Writing better: Effective strategies for teaching students with learning disabilities*. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brooks.

Grant, Alison, (1991) *Grenville*, North Devon: North Devon Museum Trust.

Gray, Todd, (2020) *Devon and the Slave Trade*. Exeter: Mint Press.

Gray, Todd, (2021) *Devon's Last Slave-Owners*. Exeter: Mint Press.

Gray, Todd, (1998) *The Lost Chronicle of Barnstaple 1586 – 1611*. Exeter: Devon Association.

Greg. W. W., (1922) Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso. London, pp. 2 and 22.

Grünke, M. and Hatton, H., (2017) Effects of STOP & LIST in *Insights into Learning Disabilities* 14(2), pp.155-165

Habib, I., (2008) *Black Lives in the English Archives 1500 – 1677*. London & New York: Routledge.

Hakluyt, R., (1600) *The Principal Navigations Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Vol. 8 ed. Ernest Rhys London & New York: Everyman's Library. Hall, Edward, Henry VIII, (1904) p. 160 E. Hall, The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII (London, 1550), pp. 153–4. I have used the 1904 edition, edited by Charles Whibley, which precisely reprints the text of the folio edition of 1550.

Hanchard, Michael, (1994) 'Identity, Meaning, and the African-American, cited in Carol Boyce Davies, Migratory Subjectivities' in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Rivkin and Ryan, Oxford & USA: Blackwell.

Hartman, S., (2008) 'Venus in Two Acts' in *Small Axe*, Number 26 (Volume 12, Number 2), Duke University Press, pp. 1-14.

Harvey, Thomas, & Brewin, William, (1867) *Jamaica in 1866: a narrative of a tour through the island: with remarks on its social, educational and industrial condition*, pp.101-2.

Hawes, Clement, (1998) 'Singing the Imperial Blues: Wole Soyinka and the Scriblerians' in Bucknell Review, 4I,139-59 (p. I51).

Hayes, J. R., & Flower, L., (1980) 'Identifying the organization of the writing process'. in *Cognitive Processes in Writing*, ed. L. W. Gregg & E. R. Sternberg, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 3–30.

Hess, Andrew C., (1978) *The Forgotten Frontier: a History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier*. E-book, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00893. Downloaded on behalf of University of Birmingham, p. 194.

Hill, D., (1995), *Prosthesis.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hill Collins. P., (2009) *Black Feminist Thought*. New York & London: Routledge.

Hoskins, W. G., (1954) *Devon*, Newton Abbott, p. 414.

Hyland, P., (1999). *Moors, Villainy and The Battle of Alcazar. Parergon 16*(2), 85-99. https://doi.org/10.1353/pgn.1999.0045.

Izon, John, (1956) *Sir Thomas Stukeley (c.1525 - 1578) Traitor Extraordinary*. London: Andrew Melrose.

Jackson, Lady, (1873) *The Bath Archives*, I, 134.

Jones, Eldred, (1965) *Othello's Countrymen* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, G., (2015) *Shakespeare's Storms*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.129.

Jonson. B, (2001) *Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques* ed. Richard Harp. New York & London: W.W Norton, l.132, p318.

Kaufmann, M., (2017) *Black Tudors* London: One World.

Keating, Ann Louise, (1995) 'Interrogating Whiteness, (De)constructing Race' in *College English* 57.8 (1995) 901 – 918.

Kerslake, (2018) Windrush: Lord Kerslake Says Policy "Reminiscent of Nazi Germany", BBC News, 19 April 2018 quoted in Maya Goodfellow, *Hostile Environment*, p.7.

Kincaid, J., (1988) *A Small Place* New York: Penguin.

Kingsley Kent, Susan, (2009) Aftershocks: Politics and Trauma in Britain, 1918-1931, p. 51.

Lamming, G., (1992) *Pleasures of Exile.* USA: University of Michigan, p.13.

Lien Bich Luu's, (2016) *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500 – 1700*, London & New York: Routledge, p.142.

Lion, C.W., (2022) Reading Shakespeare in Jewish Theological Frameworks: Shylock Beyond the Holocaust, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxford. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central. [17 May 2024].

Loomba, Ania, (1989) *Gender, Race & Renaissance Drama*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press.

Matar, N.I., (2005) *Britain and Barbary 1589 – 1689*. Gainsville: University Press of Florida.

McGovern, Jonathan, (2022) *The Tudor Sheriff: A study of early modern Administration*. Oxford Scholarship Online.

Meagher, John C., (1966) *Method and meaning in Jonson's masques.* USA: University of Notre Dame Press.

Mentz, S., (2009) *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean.* London: Bloomsbury.

Mocentelli, Carmen, (2019) 'Teresa Sampsonia Sherley: Amazon, Traveler and Consort' in *Travel & Travails: Early Modern Women, English Drama and the Wider World* eds. Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea, Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press.

Morrison, T., (1990) *Playing in the Dark*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press.

Munday, A., (1990) *Sir Thomas More*. ed. Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchior Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 98.

Myhill, D., Jones, S., Hopper, R., (2006) *Talking Listening, Learning* Berkshire: Open University Press, p.69.

Neill, Michael, (1998) "'Mulattos', 'Blacks' and 'Indian Moors': Othello and Early Modern Constructions of Human Difference," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 49/4 (1998): 361-74).

Nokes, David, (1995) John Gay: A Profession of Friendship, A Critical Biography, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

M. NourbeSe Philip, *Zong!* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, forthcoming) quoted in Saidiyah Hartman, *Venus in Two Acts*, p.3.

Nussbaum, Martha, (2003) *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Obaid, Hammood Khalid, (2013) Topicality and Representation: Islam and Muslims in two Renaissance Plays, Cambridge Scholars Publishing. ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=1595340 Created from bham on 2023-03-23 14:07:35.

Olusoga, D., (2016) *Black and British* London: Macmillan.

Petzold, Jochen, (2012) 'Polly Peachum, a 'Model of Virtue'? Questions of Morality in John Gay's *Polly*' in *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 35 No. 3.

Philips, R., (2000) *The Atlantic Sound* London: Faber and Faber.

Rabin, D., (2022) 'Slavery, Law, and Race in England and its New World Empire' in *Law and History Review*, 40(3), 581-590. doi:10.1017/S0738248022000347).

Randall H., (2000) *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* p.180.

Reed, Peter P., (2007) 'Conquer or Die: Staging Circum-Atlantic Revolt in *Polly* and *Three-Finger'd Jack*' in *Theatre Journal*, May, 2007, Vol. 59, No. 2 (May, 2007), pp. 241-258, The Johns Hopkins University Press Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/25070008

Retamar, Roberto Fernandez, (1989), *Caliban and Other Essays,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 13.

Richardson, John A., (2004) *Slavery and Augustan literature: Swift, Pope & Gay*. London & New York: Routledge.

Richardson, John, (2002) 'John Gay and Slavery' in *The Modern Language Review*, Jan., 2002, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 15-25, Modern Humanities Research Association Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3735615

Ritivoi, A., (2016) 'Reading Stories, Reading (others') Lives: Empathy, Intersubjectivity, and Narrative Understanding' in *Storyworlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies*, Volume 8, Number 1, Summer 2016, pp. 51-75.

Robinson, M., (2013) 'Trivium 21c: preparing young people for the future with lessons from the past', Crown House Publishing.

Robinson. S. B., (2009) Harry and Amurath in Shakespeare Quarterly , Winter, 2009, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Winter, 2009), pp. 399-424 Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roby, Joanne, W., (2011) 'Turning Catholic: Peele's The Battle of Alcazar & Captain Thomas Stukeley' in Parergon, Vol. 28, pp.25 – 42.

Rodo, J.E., (1989) *Ariel* Austin: University of Texas Press, p. 32.

Rose, (1997) 'Girls & GIs: Race, Sex, and Diplomacy in Second World War Britain' in *International History Review*, 19.1, pp.146-60.

Rundell, K., (2022) *Super Infinite* London: Faber.

Sedgwick, E. K., (2003), *Touching Feeling: Affect, Performativity, Pedagogy*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Sewell, W. G., (1861) *The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies*. New York.

Shapiro, J., (1996) *Shakespeare and the Jews* London & New York: Columbia University Press.

Shapiro, James, (2016) *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* London: Faber and Faber.

Sherlock, P & Bennett, H., (1998) *The Story of the Jamaican People* Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers Ltd.

Simpson, Richard, (1878) *Biography of Sir Thomas Stucley the Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley. Nobody and Somebody* New York: The School of Shakespeare.

Singh, Jyotsna G., (2019) *Shakespeare and Postcolonial Theory*. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: The Arden Shakespeare.

Smith, E., (2019) *This is Shakespeare* London: Pelican

Smith, E., (2021) *Merchants* Padstow: Yale University Press

Smith, I., (2000) *When We Were Capital, or Lessons in Language: Finding Caliban's Roots* in Shakespeare Studies; Jan 1, 2000; 28, ProQuest pg. 252.

Smith, I., (2009) *Race & Rhetoric in the Renaissance: Barbarian Errors* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, I., (2022) *Black Shakespeare* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wole Soyinka, (1980 & 1994) *Six Plays* London, Auckland, Melbourne, Singapore and Toronto: Methuen Drama.

Stow, John, A survay of London (1603), John Strype A Survey of the cities of London and Westminster, 2 vols (1720)

Tazon, Juan E, (2003) *The Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley (c.1525 - 78),* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Thompson, A. and Turchi, (2016) L. *Teaching Shakespeare with Purpose.* London: Bloomsbury.

Thompson, S., (2022) *An Ethic of Excellence in Action* Woodbridge: John Catt.

Toummavah, D.T.Aleifasakure, secretary of the Liverpool Ethiopian Association told the lord mayor on 13 May 1919.

Turner, Henry S., (2018) 'Recent Studies in Tudor and Stuart Drama in *Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900* 58.3, pp. 473 – 537.

Vaughan & Vaughan, (2021) 'The Tempest and Early Modern Conceptions of Race' in *Shakespeare and Race* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 139.

Vitkus. D, (2007) 'Poisoned Figs, or "The Traveler's Religion": Travel, Trade, and Conversion in Early Modern English Culture' in *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, edited by G. Stanivukovic, Palgrave Macmillan.

Viktus. D, (2003) *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waldron, F.G., (1797) *The Virgin Queen, a Drama In Five Acts; Attempted As a Sequel To Shakespeare's Tempest* (Francis Godolphin) London : Printed For The Author, 1797 Literature Online - English Drama.

Ward, Lock, (no date) *Ilfracombe, Barnstaple, Clovelly, North-West Devon.*

Warnke, Georgia, (2014) "Experiencing Tradition versus Belonging to It: Gadamer's Dilemma." in *Review of Metaphysics* 68.2: 347– 69.

Wertheim, Albert, (1990) '*Polly*: John Gay's Image of the West' ed. Dunbar H Ogden with Douglas McDermott and Robert K Sarlos, *Theatre West: Image and Impact*. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, p. 195-206.

Wiggins. M., (2004) 'Things that go bump in the text' in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 98, No., pp. 5-20.

The St James Evening Post, 879, 5-7 January 1721

London Journal 329, 13 November 1725

The St James Evening Post, 879, 5-7 January 1721

London Journal 329, 13 November 1725