SAA 2012: Citizenship: From the Outside In

Ronda Arab

The Cities Advocate, and *Eastward Ho:* The Gentle Apprentice in Early Modern London

I propose to explore the social ontology of citizenship in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century London by examining the porous boundaries between gentleman and citizen status, specifically by investigating when, how, and if those two categories could overlap in a single subject. My interest is in the figure of the gentleborn apprentice (generally a younger son of gentry, in training within one of the wealthier London Companies) and the discursive conflict surrounding the privileges, duties, and status of that figure. I intend to closely read Edmund Bolton's 1629 *The Cities Advocate,* written in defense against "that pestilent error" that levelled "the odious note of bondage and the barbarous penaltie of Losse of Gentry" against the "honest estate of Apprenticeship in London," in conjunction with some of the writers he aims to refute: Sir Thomas Smith in his *De Republica Anglorum* and John Ferne in his *Blazon of Gentrie*, as well as Edward Chamberlayne's 1669 *Anglia Notitia, or the Present State of England*. My major play-text will be Chapman, Jonson, and Marston's *Eastward Ho*, which, to borrow our seminar leader's phrasing, stages both the "identification and disavowal" (Archer) of citizenship through its two gentle-born apprentices.

Oliver Arnold

Occupy Rome: Citizenship and Freedom in *Coriolanus*, Early Modern Political Culture, and Recent Political Theory

I want to make two arguments about the anonymous citizens of *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus*; how these arguments intersect remains fuzzy, but I'm hoping that my hunch that they do is right. Philip Pettit and Quentin Skinner identify domination as the antonym of freedom: "Domination is subjection to an arbitrary power of interference on the part of another—a *dominus* or master—even another who chooses not actually to exercise that power." Pettit and Skinner thus reject one negative construction of freedom—the liberal definition of freedom as freedom *from* interference—for another: freedom is freedom *from* domination. On this account, I need never actively exercise a single right to be free. For Pettit and Skinner, citizenship and liberty are continuous and may be possessed passively: active and passive citizens alike are free or unfree only as a function of their relation to domination. In the Roman plays, by contrast, Shakespeare figures active participation in political life as the positive condition of freedom; Shakespeare, I will argue, elaborates a radical, rather than a proto-liberal, construction of citizenship. In the second part of my essay, I want to think about relations among autonomy, citizenship, and freedom. Shakespeare's Roman citizens are autonomous in relation to the private sphere: we never hear of their parents, wives, or children; nor do their occupations enmesh them in dependency. There is one exception to this rule: after Coriolanus is hooted out of Rome, "*three or four Citizens*" tell the tribunes, "Ourselves, our wives and children, on our knees / Are bound to pray for you both" (4.6.23-24). The tribunes had just been congratulating themselves on having pacified the citizens: the "[d]issentious numbers" no longer "pest[er]" the streets but instead remain at home or in their shops "going / About their functions friendly" (4.6.7-9). I'll try to suggest that when the plebeians resume their private, domestic lives—when they cease to be radically autonomous—they also cease to be free and lose their identity as citizens.

Mary Bly

Citizens in Feathers and the Fashionable Blackfriars

This paper addresses changes in the population occupying the liberty of the Blackfriars in the early 1600s. Although the liberty's reputation stemmed from its noble and gentry occupants, an influx of citizens at the turn of the century significantly changed the make-up of its population and, thereby, its "imagined" geography. Sartorial displays enacted on the Blackfriars stage by young men renting stools reflect an economic appropriation by citizens that is reflected as a cultural appropriation within plays written specifically for that stage.

Cheryl Dudgeon

"You must not see / The sun if in the policie of state / It is forbidden": Asylum-seeking and the Politics of Proof in Massinger's *Believe As You List*

In the tragedy *Believe As You List* (1631), Massinger dramatizes King Antiochus's efforts to flee persecution by the Romans and to secure political asylum. This paper argues that Massinger, through the character of Antiochus, dramatizes the production of the figure of the stranger. Antiochus's desire to reclaim his identity as King of Lower Asia threatens Rome's imperial power. The play leaves no doubt that Antiochus's political friends and rivals recognize him to be the true King Antiochus; yet, they refuse to protect him from Roman incursions on his liberty because to do so would be to risk the precariously balanced security of their nations. The play's bleak treatment of the asylum-seeking process and its preoccupation with the idea that Antiochus is stateless—a body without citizenship and without legitimacy—comments critically on modern conceptions of state sovereignty, empire, citizenship, and humanitarian response. *Believe As You List* calls to mind the restrictionism inherent in modern asylum practices. Throughout the play, Antiochus tries to banish dejection by providing "stronger proofes" of his identity in the hope that some state will take him in; yet, his evidentiary submissions in trials and other face to face encounters make little difference to his circumstances. The troubling portrayal of justice in the play results from the fact that, for all his efforts, Antiochus cannot overcome Rome's threats to disrupt the peace of states that would help him.

Richard Halpern

Of Butchers and Whores: Civic Topology in York and London

Medieval butchers offer an interesting test case for the topology of citizenship: as guild members they were citizens, but their professional activity was felt to be polluting, so the shambles were sometimes located outside the city limits. At once without and within the city, butchery embodies the complex relation between civic life and its material preconditions. I will explore this in the butchers' contribution to the York cycle of Corpus Christi plays, where the death of Christ is figured as an act of butchery in a way that both invokes and undoes conceptions of this activity as polluting. I will also look at the chronologically distant but not unrelated figure of Ursla the Pig Woman in Bartholomew Fair. There the production of animal food is further linked to prostitution, another structurally necessary but proscribed activity.

Ken Jackson

Granted Grace, Seeking Love and Citizenship in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*

This essay seeks to refigure Helena's desire for Bertram in terms of the tension between citizen and saint so provocatively outlined by Julia Reinhard Lupton in *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (2005). Briefly, what makes Helena's breach of social barriers (her eventual engagement to Bertram, one "so above her") possible is the mysterious gift of healing left to her by her father (Gerard de Narbonne). But this gift, so seemingly miraculous in its power, hardly provides the sense of mystical or ecstatic union one would expect. The "discontented contentment" that actors and audiences have struggled to accept at the end of the play marks the tension between a religious sense of grace and unity and a political sense of belongingness that we often call "citizenship."

Nina Levine

Trading in Tongues: Language Lessons and *Englishmen for My Money*

Edward Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* is notable for being the earliest surviving comedy of contemporary London life; it's also notable for its exuberant xenophobia. As most recent work on the play contends, language is the primary "site" for distinguishing native from foreign, marked out by the play's repetitive jests at the broken English of foreign merchants. But language is also the medium by which those distinctions are restaged, I would argue, in ways that open up rather than resolve the city's so-called alien problem. I begin by turning to the popular French language handbooks that could be said to give literal purchase to the linguistic and commercial transactions at stake in Haughton's play. Designed for use by the city's middling ranks, these books not only supplied readers with lessons in foreign tongues; they also outlined a practice for confronting differences in eminently practical terms. As such, the language manuals supply material evidence of the ways in which Londoners were actively involved in acknowledging and accommodating exclusions in their daily pursuits of economic and cultural capital. My focus is on Claudius Holyband's textbooks, *The French Schoolmaster* and *The French Littelton*, which, I argue, advocated a pedagogical version of denization for their London readers—at once domesticating the foreign tongue while reasserting its strangeness. Within this context, Haughton's play seems more than just another staging of contemporary anxieties about foreigners within London.

Richelle Munkhoff

Subject to the Parish: Poor Women, Civic Identity and Public Health in Early Modern London

Scholars have long recognized the importance of nation, city, and household in understanding the subject in early modern culture. We have been less attentive, however, to the more intermediate governing structure of the parish. While the English parish remained the primary material location for spiritual life from the Middle Ages through the Reformation, by the late sixteenth century the parish had also taken on significant civic responsibilities. Churchwardens and parishioners managed plague epidemics, disbursed poor relief, and oversaw the physical care of less fortunate neighbors, including abandoned children, the disabled and the elderly infirm. In this paper I examine the parish as a locus for what Shakespeare might term the public weal. I begin by focusing on the economic significance of space. Parish boundaries are symbolically and physically reiterated through the annual ritual of 'perambulation' -- the walking of the bounds by residents, especially children, in order to memorize them. Because the early modern parish is financially liable for every body born within its borders, it is crucial that the residents know those limits precisely and police them diligently. That jurisdiction of responsibility extends to the various public health and welfare measures outlined above. Thus the parish marks not only certain limits of community and of fiscal obligation, it also proves site of regulation for individual subjects. This paper explores these large topics through the lens of Shakespeare's small deployments of the "public weal" and the "parish."

Tripthi Pillai

Pseudopod Dance: Citizenships and Locations in *Twelfth Night*

In *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare explores the possibilities of multiple and stretchable citizenships that emerge when characters navigate the play's various locations of "inside," "outside," and "in-between." The question my paper addresses is not so much who is or is not a citizen in (or of) Illyria. Rather, I consider the ways that the characters mediate and articulate their sociopolitical configurations, that is, their citizenships, in the context of their arrivals, departures, and the duration of their stays in various physical locations. These locations, such as the "insides" that comprise Olivia's estate and Orsino's palace or the Illyrian spaces that fall "in between" the two households, are marked not by separation or what Gaston Bachelard refers to in *The Poetics of Space* as a "dialectic of division" (210), but by the rhythms and flows of seepage and expansion, by what I refer to as a pseudopod dance of citizenship. While the characters' movements render impossible any permanent category of single, State-structured, and exclusive identity, their motility necessitates the production of multiple, transformative and temporary citizenships in Illyria, models on the basis of which we viably may map the political cartography of the play.

Marie Rutkoski

The Citizen in *Macbeth*

As much as Macbeth concerns the spectrum of a citizen's relationship to power-- dominion, rebellion, conspiracy, solidarity-- the play also considers the special state of a powerless individual who is not a citizen, yet whose eventual inheritance of that role carries an intense charge: the child. No educational thinker of the Renaissance deemed children citizens, yet most urged the importance of preparing them to become such. A related interest in the potency of potentiality stalks Macbeth. I argue that the play's preoccupation with children is one with nascent citizenship, and that the quality of the child who is not a citizen, yet will become one, is intimately linked with Macbeth's language of ambivalence, and its shifting terrain of uncertain meaning.

Anne-Marie E. Schuler

"Know Thyself": Representing Citizenship, Conscience and Counsel, in *The Booke of Sir Thomas More*

This paper examines the representation of the relationship between counsel and citizenship as it is portrayed in *The Booke of Sir Thomas More*. Throughout the Sixteenth Century, citizenship was conceived in terms of civic activism and political participation and was idealized when it was directed towards high public goals. Renaissance political treatises often advocated that the greatest service a man could provide to his country was to use his educational training to counsel a monarch with success. The play reflects these ideals of citizenship by representing the rise of a member of Henry VIII's Privy Council from humble beginnings to his inevitable fall from his position of power and influence. The dramatization of Sir Thomas More's rise and fall uncovers instabilities in the politics of intimacy that determined access to the monarch and often defined political structures of counsel. Although this play celebrates the upward mobility of the educated citizen, its depiction of the downfall of one of Henry's most prominent counsellors represents an implicit and unfinished struggle within conciliar institutions to make sense of the equivocation between the humanist ideal of the intelligent, plain-speaking counselor able to use his virtue to serve the state, and the political reality that citizenship needed to suit a monarchical context. *The Booke of Sir Thomas More* thereby expresses important ideas about the role of humanist education in service to the state, the virtue of contemporary statesmen, and the duties of active citizenship -- all significant themes in Elizabethan councilor rhetoric.

Tracey Sedinger

"Exclusion and the Citizen": Tudor separatism and the late Elizabethan polity

In this paper, I propose to examine the implications that Brownism – or separatism, to use the name that the separatists themselves preferred – had for late sixteenth-century understandings of citizenship and the polity in the decade preceding the writing and performance of *Twelfth Night*. In his Introduction to Catholics and the "Protestant Nation', Ethan Shagan writes, "The logic of the royal supremacy, with its odd displacement of theological doctrine into parliamentary debates and privy council meetings, meant that people of virtually all religious stripes had the shared experience of being at one time or another beleaguered minorities subject to state-sponsored persecution" (17). What I propose to examine is how the Henrician and Elizabeth Acts of Supremacy created a visible church that was presumed to be co-extensive with the nation per se. As a result, religious minorities – Catholics, most visibly – occupied an odd no-man's land, in which they were both included and excluded, abjected and ignored, depending on the political context. By the 1590's (after the Martin Marprelate controversy erupted), bishops such as John Whitgift, John Aylmer, and Richard Bancroft viewed the radical protestant elements that rejected the legitimacy of the visible church established by the Elizabethan settlement, that tarried not for further Reformation, with more suspicion. This intensified persecution culminated in the 1593 executions of three noted separatists, Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, under a statute originally intended to target Catholic recusant sedition. That Barrow et al. were hung as common felons testifies to Whitgift's desire to deny to them the martyred status to which they were eager to lay claim. But I am interested in tracing the implications of their trials and executions for a late Elizabethan conception of citizenship that politicized in new ways the relationship of the church – visible and invisible – to the polity. Patrick Collinson has famously written of the Tudor "citizen-subject," a hybrid ideal by which humanists such as Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Philip Sidney, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and many others managed to incorporate ideals of citizenship elaborated in relation to the Italian city-states of Florence and Venice into an English political discourse that prized subjection and obedience. From one perspective, even the more active conception of citizenship was restricted to those who exercised rule, to those who, in Sir Thomas Smith's phrase, "have no voice nor authoritie in our common wealth …" Private men – as the separatists became by definition – were subjects, without the authority to impact the commonwealth. But Barrow et al. activated what Mark Goldie has called the "unacknowledged republic," also delineated by Smith in his De Republica Anglorum , by utilizing the very language of the martyr in order to lay claim to being a citizen, and to contest the concept of the polity that was being used to exclude them. In short, whereas Bancroft, Whitgift et al. chose to label Brownists politicians (those who sought to undermine the polity via policy), the Brownist stood fast by laying claim to an ideal of citizenship that rendered his persecutors the creatures of late Elizabethan policy.

Katherine Schaap Williams

"Enter Ralph, being lame": Citizenship and Disability in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*

This paper examines the figure of the disabled soldier in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, a play relentlessly concerned, as critics have noted, with citizenship in relation to labor, communal identity, and status. Ralph, a journeyman in Eyre's shop, is one of many "Londoners" who are "pressed, paid, and set forth / By the Lord Mayor" (1.148) to the war against France. As Ralph departs, Eyre urges him to "Fight for the honor of the Gentle Craft, for the Gentleman Shoemakers, the courageous cordwainers, the flower of Saint Martin's, the mad knaves of Bedlam, Fleet Street, Tower Street, and Whitechapel" (1.219-22). Eyre's litany of dedications moves from artisanal craft to specific locations in London, fixing Ralph within the scope of urban practice and guild affiliation. Yet as Ralph's sojourn in the war marks him with a limp, it also renders him oddly unrecognizable upon his return to London. When other characters repeatedly fail to know him, Ralph explains, "My lame leg and my travel beyond sea made me unknown" (18.12). Although critics have considered the war with France as merely "background" to the central plot, I want to think about how the play's insistence upon Ralph's unknowability as a result of that war uses disability to reconfigure his relation to London. Considering how *The Shoemaker's Holiday* sets Ralph in explicit contrast to both Lacy, the aristocrat in disguise, and Hammond, the upwardly mobile citizen, my essay argues that the figure of the now-lame soldier/artisan puts pressure on the notion(s) of the citizen the play itself produces.

John Ziegler

Antic Scots, Wild Irish, and Pretending English in *Perkin Warbeck*

John Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* (1632?; registered 1634) was performed by the Queen's Company at the Phoenix. It represents a complex mixture of "British" identities in and around the masque that takes place within the play. The masque becomes a point of intersection for Irish, Scottish, and English identities, and their representations also ultimately call into question while simultaneously commodifying national identities in the same way that other plays with embedded masques consistently do with socioeconomic identities. *Perkin* centers on a royal imposter, concerns about both theatricality and authenticity permeate the play. Perkin's claims result in his execution, but whether they punish imposters onstage or not, plays with masques complicate notions of authenticity in regard to rank, even as they commodify elite space, apparel, and practices. When a play like *Perkin Warbeck* incorporates foreign characters and settings, especially of Celtic origin, it does the same with national identity. As such dramas played out over more than three decades in the theaters of early modern London, they destabilized socioeconomic as well as cultural borders, defamiliarized mechanisms for naturalizing difference, and sold the whole experience to a nation in transition.