“The Abhorred Name of Turk”: Muslims and the Politics of Identity in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads

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Introduction

On October 10, 2008, Republican Presidential nominee John McCain gave a speech at a town hall meeting in Minnesota. During the speech, McCain urged his crowd to tone down their angry denunciations of Democratic candidate Barack Obama, then Illinois representative in the U.S. Senate, and was met with anger from the crowd, including shouts of "liar" and "terrorist." During the following Q&A, an audience member was passed the microphone. "I can't trust Obama," she said. "I have read about him and he's not, he's not uh…he's an Arab." McCain was quick to take the microphone and respond. "No, ma'am. He's a decent family man [and] citizen that I just happen to have disagreements with on fundamental issues….He's not [an Arab]."[1]

McCain's response notably defends President Obama against the charge of being a Muslim (the audience member having had either no knowledge of or no interest in the various differences between "Arab" and "Muslim," not least of which being that the former is not a religious designation but a pan-ethnic one), leaving unchallenged the basic suggestion that Muslims are inherently bad or distrustful. "He's not a Muslim," McCain effectively answered, "because he's a good family man."

The audience member's allegation was not pulled out of thin air. There had been whispers about President Obama's "true" religion as early as 2004 when he won a seat in the U.S. Senate, and in 2007 Fox News spent a great deal of time on the unsubstantiated story first reported by *Insight* magazine that Obama had spent a number of years during

[1] Jonathan Martin and Amie Parnes, "McCain: Obama not an Arab, crowd boos," *Politico,* October 10, 2008. http://www.politico.com/story/2008/10/mccain-obama-not-an-arab-crowd-boos-014479.

his childhood attending a predominantly Muslim school.[2] CNN was quick to debunk the tale the very next day, reporting that the "allegations that Sen. Barack Obama was educated in a radical Muslim school known as a 'Madrassa' are not accurate."[3] Swift action had been taken to distance the then-Senator from Islam writ large.

And yet, the nagging accusation of Islam persisted. A 2012 Pew Research Center national survey conducted during that year's Presidential election cycle revealed that 17% of registered voters believed that Obama was Muslim – eight years after the accusation had initially been raised. It even specifies that while the percentage of voters identifying him as Christian had increased since 2010 (from 38% to 49%), the percentage saying he's Muslim showed little change (a difference of merely 2%). A significant number of conservative Republicans, 34%, believed Obama to be Muslim.[4] President Obama corrected the untruth a number of times, including at the January 2008 Democratic debate in Las Vegas. Moderator Brian Williams said "We received one e-mail….[t]his particular one alleges, among other things, that you are trying to hide the fact that you're a Muslim, that you took the oath of office on the Koran and not the Bible….How does your campaign go on about combating this kind of thing?" The candidate replied: "Well, look, first of all, let's make clear what the facts are: I am a Christian. I have been sworn in with a Bible….in the Internet age, there are going to be lies that are spread all over the place. I have been victimized by these lies." Victimized by

[2] "Hillary Clinton Drops Madrassa Bomb on Barack Obama," FoxNews.com. January 22, 2007. http://www.foxnews.com/story/2007/01/22/hillary-clinton-drops-madrassa-bomb-on-barack-obama.html.
[3] "CNN debunks false report about Obama," CNN.com. January 23, 2007. http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/01/22/obama.madrassa/.
[4] "Little Voter Discomfort with Romney's Mormon Religion." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (July 26, 2012). http://www.pewforum.org/2012/07/26/2012-romney-mormonism-obamas-religion/.

lies, to be sure. But victimized by the specific lie that he is a Muslim in particular. A lie that – most prominently among conservatives, the non-college educated, and those living in rural communities[5] – had a real chance of hurting both of his Presidential campaigns and against which Obama found himself repeatedly on the defensive.

Fast forward five years, and moments of these accusations of Islam were still bubbling to the surface, finding their way on air and into the homes of millions of Americans via the 24-hour news cycle. At a New Hampshire rally on September 18, 2015 in support of then Republican Presidential candidate, now President-elect Donald Trump, a supporter in the audience spoke up. "We have a problem in this country. It's called Muslims. You know our current president is one. You know he's not even an American." Trump interrupted him: "We need this question. This is the first question." He neither corrected nor even addressed the questioner's suggestion that President Obama is a Muslim.[6] Rhetoric for the eleven years prior mirrored what the Trump supporter succinctly stated: Obama is not just a Muslim, he's also not an American. In fact, he is not the latter *because* he is the former. National identity was tethered to religious identity, as many Americans sought to self-define "American" as synonymously "Christian." Beliefs were strictly divided along the lines of information consumption: what you believed depended enormously on how much knowledge you had on the subject, but far more importantly on where that knowledge came from. Sources with conflicting biases

[5] "Obama Weathers the Wright Storm, Clinton Faces Credibility Problem." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (March 27, 2008). http://www.people-press.org/2008/03/27/obama-weathers-the-wright-storm-clinton-faces-credibility-problem/.
[6] Theodore Schleifer, "Trump doesn't challenge anti-Muslim questioner at event," CNN.com. September 18, 2015. http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/17/politics/donald-trump-obama-muslim-new-hampshire/.

would point fingers at each other, a left-leaning publication like *The New York Times* blaming populist right-wing outlets like Fox News for prolonging the public life of misinformation for the sake of feeding a rumor-hungry populace. Indeed, Islam would loom strong even over the 2016 Presidential election, hyperbolic and vitriolic rhetoric from the far right against the "Muslim enemy" abroad (or, more troubling, biding his time quietly here in the States) once again stoking the fears of Americans who had been convinced that another major terrorist attack by Muslim extremists *would* happen if drastic border control measures were not taken. Not just the patriotism of President Obama, but that of the American people, became for some a simple question: How can you call yourself a patriotic American if you support Muslims coming into this country? The seriousness with which the American voting public considers this question is among the factors toward which we might look for evidence of why President-elect Donald Trump, despite his poorly veiled anti-Muslim rhetorical strategy, won the Presidential election.

The question of whether President Obama was a Muslim or not was rarely accompanied by the obvious and crucial next question: would it matter if he were? Alan Colmes asked, "It's a sad commentary that it even has to be stated what faith the president observes, as if it should matter whether he follows Christianity, or any religion at all. What if he were a Muslim? What if he were an atheist? Why should that matter?"[7] General Colin Powell was perhaps the only Republican to raise this same question. In an

[7] Alan Colmes, "White House Responds to Poll Showing 1 in 5 Think Obama is Muslim," August 19, 2010. http://www.alan.com/2010/08/19/white-house-responds-to-poll-showing-1-in-5-think-obama-is-muslim/

October 19, 2008 interview on *Meet the Press*, General Powell called out the fault in the basic premise of the question of Obama's faith:

> I'm also troubled by, not what Senator McCain says, but what members of the party say. And it is permitted to be said such things as, "Well, you know that Mr. Obama is a Muslim." Well, the correct answer is, he is not a Muslim, he's a Christian. He's always been a Christian. But the really right answer is, what if he is? Is there something wrong with being a Muslim in this country? The answer's no, that's not America. Is there something wrong with some seven-year-old Muslim-American kid believing that he or she could be president?[8]

Too often, the issue was misinterpreted as a question of whether or not one's religious affiliation should matter in public office. But the President was not accused of just being the "wrong" religion; he was accused of being a Muslim in particular. And in defending him against the fact that he was Muslim at all, or suggesting it shouldn't matter either way, the American public failed to acknowledge the assumption of antagonism present in the very term. Why did so many Americans view the term "Muslim" so negatively as to lob it like an insult at a man they believed to be un- or even anti-American?

Western fears of and hatred toward the Muslim date back as far as the two have had contact. Sophia Rose Arjana argues that the modern function of the Muslim as "monster" can be traced back for centuries. "These monsters *disturb the calm of white*

[8] Colin Powell, Chuck Todd, David Brooks, Jon Meacham, Andrea Mitchell, Joe Scarborough. *Meet the Press*, NBC News, aired Oct. 19, 2008, transcript, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/27266223/ns/meet_the_press/t/meet-press-transcript-oct/.

Christianity, providing a standard contrary to normative humanity."[9] Almost four centuries earlier, in 1668, Ottoman scholar Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* offered as informative, in-depth, and objective a look at the Muslim empire as English literature had yet seen. England had had a crucial, if not problematic, diplomatic and trade relationship with the Ottoman Empire for more than a century, and it inspired a wide array of imagery of the Muslim Turk across the spectrum of English literature. Rycaut himself offered a remarkably unbiased look into the heart of the Empire, and derided previous texts that represented the Turks (synonymous with Muslims throughout English thought) as barbarous. "[T]he *Turks* are, Men of the same composition, with us, [and] cannot be so savage and rude as they are generally described; for ignorance and grossness is the effect of Poverty, not incident to happy men, whose spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of so many Nations."[10] Rycaut spends little to no time diagnosing the ills of Islam, and focuses almost exclusively on Turkish politics and military. He is not employing a tone of fearmongering, because he knows his audience. "We ought to consider it is a blessing, that we have never felt any smart of the rod of this great Oppressor of Christianity, and yet have tasted of the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and amicable Correspondence and Friendship with this People."[11] The benefits of free trade over the relatively non-existent threat of oppression would have resounded with Rycaut's readers. *The Present State of*

[9] Sophia Rose Arjana, *Muslims in the Western Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) 4.
[10] Paul Rycaut, *The History Of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing The Maxims of the Turkish Polity, the most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline, With an Exact Computation of their Forces both by Sea and Land* (London: Printed by T. N. for Joanna Brome, 1682) Epistle Dedicatory.
[11] Rycaut, 404-05.

the Ottoman Empire was a scholastic tome, relatively inaccessible in both literacy and income levels by the vast majority of English subjects.

But what of those subjects, then? If most common people in England could not realistically consume such insightful works as Rycaut's, then what and how were they learning about Muslims? And how did this knowledge reflect their unique experiences with Muslims in the real world? The question "What did the English people think of the Turk?" has inspired spirited debate amongst seventeenth century scholars for the better part of a century. From historiographies to dramas, captivity narratives to mercantile ledgers, Anglo-Muslim studies has been in pursuit of an overall conceptualization the uniquely insular English population had of the Muslim Turks of the Ottoman Empire. But to approach an understanding of what the English thought of the Turk, one must necessarily consider the broad range of socio-political and economic conditions of the various echelons of English society. This dissertation will seek to explore what has thus far been a largely ignored facet of the question of Muslims in English literature: did the poor populations of England have a vision of the Muslim Turk different from that of their wealthier countrymen? If we discount the literatures accessible only to a slim minority of the English population, with what body of literature are we left, and how do these different genres speak across economic lines to each other? I will seek to answer these questions by exploring a popular literature that - although a significant number of these texts exist that deals with the crucial relationship between Christians and Muslims - has heretofore never been considered as a whole in the context of how they represent the Muslim Turk. Broadside ballads, consumed widely and across the social and economic

spectrum, were more accessible to and often indeed written expressly for the poor population of England who were largely illiterate and had little to no expendable time or income. The ballad's ephemeral nature meant that it often more successfully reflected current issues than texts that took more time and resources to mass print. Concurrently, it meant that the image of the Turk was often inexorably tied to whatever national political issue for or against which the ballad was propagandizing. As such, I argue that the function of the term "Turk" in seventeenth century broadside ballads depended so much on (and whose fluctuation was so closely attuned to) local politics that the term was largely stripped of any meaning, functioning simply as an "enemy" against which the English compared themselves and defined proper "Englishness." My dissertation will show that Muslims performed a crucial function in the construction of the English identity, and no body of literature illustrates how closely the term "Turk" was linked to "not English" as clearly as the popular broadside ballad.

For the sake of this work, there are actually fairly well defined demarcations of cultural consumption as relates to the Turk. Scholars have argued for the difficulty in narrowing either a definition of "popular" or "culture," let alone the precarious term "popular culture." Tim Harris suggests that the language of polarity inherent in defining popular (versus elite) culture too naturally allows for a distinction between the two that was actually more ambiguous than modern scholarship suggests.[12] But for the sake of my

[12] Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 15-16. See also Tim Harris, *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995), 1-27. Lori Humphrey Newcomb discusses the similarities between popular and elite reading practices in her introduction to *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002),

inquiry, I am cordoning off social groups based on the likelihood and nature of their interactions with the Turk. These groupings are largely financial, as income determined not just the possible interactions with the Turk that were far more severe for the poorest in England and included kidnapping, captivity, and conversion,[13] but also the likelihood of being able to experience texts that offered a more complicated look at the Turk, such as dramas and travel narratives.[14] If we take seventeenth century demographer Gregory King's social groupings of three broader "classes" in England - the poorest sort, the middle sort, and the better sort,[15] we can say that all three of these groups had a unique understanding of the Turk, and it was the poorest sort's more basic fears that were heavily adopted in political propaganda texts, even those intended for an elite audience. A recycled representation of the Muslim Turk that was most strongly associated with the lowest social group in England proved to be easy collateral damage through which propagandists could influence local politics. But invariably, the reinstating of such

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stating that "popular literature was both a richly various field of practices of production and consumption and an ideological category enabling the privileged to justify the social stratification of culture" (10).

[13] For explorations of the ways in which various levels of English society interacted with the Turk, see Nabil Matar's introduction to *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 1-52; Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination", *Studies in English Literature,* 33.3 (1993), 489-505; Matthew Dimmock, "'Captive to the Turk': Responses to the Anglo-Ottoman Capitulations of 1580" and Ken Parker, "Reading 'Barbary' in Early Modern England, 1550-1685" in *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453-1699,* ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), 43-63 and 77-105.

[14] For discussions of stage representations, particularly how they complicate the Orientalist notion that the Turk was unilaterally derided in English literature, see Matthew Birchwood's *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); Daniel Vitkus's *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Richmond Barbour's *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[15] Daniel Defoe adapted King's groupings, referring to the "poorest sort" as the "labouring" or "labouring poor" in *A Journal of the Plague Year.* For a discussion of the varied divisions of class (and England's self-awareness of those divisions) in seventeenth and eighteenth century Britain, see David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), chapters 1 and 2.

stereotypes in black-letter and roman ballads alike also served to recharge tired notions of the Turk up and down the social strata to which more complicated travel narratives, dramas, and histories could no longer justify adhering. The Turks of broadside ballads much more closely resembled the barbaric Saracen, who reappeared when rhetorically expedient.[16]

English scholarship has spilled much ink over the representation of Muslims in the Western World. While many studies trace the birth of the Muslim in western thought back before the crusades,[17] far more focus their attentions on the early modern period, usually between 1500 and 1700.[18] Samuel Chew's 1937 *The Crescent and the Rose* presaged Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), and Chew noted the "occidental preconceptions and prejudices" brought by English travelers into the Levant and that "a cosmopolitan point of view which embraces the idea that differences in manners and opinions are to a large degree conditioned by differences of environment" was a concept

[16] Harris makes the same argument with regard to propagandistic broadsides during the Exclusion Crisis and their exploitation of "deep-seated hostility towards popery amongst the English population." The idea that the very nature of propaganda made it hard to distinguish between genuine popular opinion and propagandist tactics is just as applicable to the utility of the Turk. Tim Harris, *Popular Culture in England,* 7-8.

[17] See, for example, publications such as Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Katharine Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh University Press, 1960); John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) and *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims Through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013).

[18] For example, Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); James G. Harper, ed. *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2011); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1999); Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969).

that "was not to be generally grasped for another century or more."[19] These "occidental preconceptions" would harden into Said's theory of Orientalism as a concerted tactic by which the West came to define the East, and when Said spoke of the Muslim on the English stage he argued that "what remained current about Islam was some necessarily diminished version of those great dangerous forces that it symbolized for Europe….European representation of the Muslim, Ottoman, or Arab was always a way of controlling the redoubtable Orient…"[20] For the better part of the next ten years, the overarching notion that the West largely painted over the East as foreign, exotic, mysterious, dangerous, and inferior (all in the service of empowering the hegemonic position of the West) maintained its sovereignty over Euro-Muslim studies. But eventually scholars of the imagery of the Turk in English literature began to complicate Said's Orientalism by arguing that it fails to take into account the sheer volume of literatures in which Turks were thoughtfully explored in ways that undermined those preconceived notions. Asli Çirakman takes umbrage with Said's theory of Orientalism, as it "chooses not to include any evaluation of 'counter-hegemonic' writing. As it seems the Orientalist discourse as portrayed by Said has a unilinear history over centuries, marching towards the predefined aim of possessing and invading the Orient."[21]

Matthew Birchwood similarly decries Said's suggestion of a unified Western strategy, in particular by noting an obvious lack of a singular mode of depicting Turks in

[19] Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 543.
[20] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 60.
[21] Asli Çirakman, *From the 'Terror of the World' to the 'Sick Man of Europe': European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2002) 15.

English dramas of the mid-seventeenth century. Birchwood argues that Said imposes a "teleological coherence upon events that has tended to homogenise the true situation as English contemporaries perceived it….English fascination with the Orient may be indexed not to perceived weaknesses there, but to religious and political anxieties at home."[22] Birchwood insists that an examination of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramas reveals a "more complex and fragmented model of cultural representation," as the development of commercial ties with the Levant and inter-rivalries between Christians in Europe meant that an "imaginative engagement with the East was reinvigorated."[23] Several other scholars have sought to complicate Said's notion of Orientalism as it pertains to the power relationship between Britain and the Empire and the complexity of representations of the latter, particularly Nabil Matar, who was among the first to challenge Said's applicability to early modern English literature. "The Muslim had a power of self-representation which English writers knew they had to either confront or to engage," he argues, and "knowledge of [the Ottoman Empire] was becoming essential to the general reading public."[24]

The application of Said's Orientalism to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was undoubtedly problematic, and the concerted effort put into challenging that application has served to open up academic discourse about the presence of the Turk in the English imagination. Without a doubt, the field of Anglo-Muslim studies is richer and more holistically accurate for it. But in our rush to redefine Orientalism for the Early

[22] Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2007), 8.
[23] Ibid., 12.
[24] Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 11-12.

Modern age, we have left behind (or rather, kept our eyes trained resolutely above) an entire substrata of representational literature that, upon examination, appears doggedly persistent in its imagining of Turks. Said's eighteenth century Orientalist notions of the West ideologically upholding its puissance over the East as a means of defining itself against a weaker "Other" actually emerges a century earlier, albeit not yet fully formed in its dominator/subaltern relationship. Rather, the presence of the Turk in seventeenth-century English literatures intended for an audience that was not intellectual or perhaps even literate and rarely if ever had the expendable time or income to attend a variety of English dramas reveals itself as a dominance not over the Turkish people, but over the very term "Turk" itself. Shorter popular literatures elided the playfulness and malleability with which higher literatures explored the Ottoman Empire and Islam in all its complexities, insisting instead upon a hardline and nearly immutable usage of the term "Turk," flexible only within the very particular confines of what it meant to be England's "enemy." Although England did not yet have any hope of military control in Turkish lands, it utilized the term "Turk" in such a way as to "Other" the Muslim a full century before colonization efforts would occur. Propagandistic ballads (as well as pamphlets and aggrandizing sermons) maintained an obsolete definition of the "Turk" as little more than "not English." This self-defining against that which is not "us" was never "tailored to suit the ideological exigencies of the moment" in the varied and contradictory ways that Birchwood elucidates.[25] Instead, for a common English audience, there was only ever a blurring or sharpening of the focal point of the Turk as allegorical Other. To look down

[25] Birchwood, 12.

through English literatures - from historiographies and travel narratives, through dramas and news pamphlets, down all the way to the oft-derided broadside ballad genre – is to trace a consistent broad stroke picture of the Turk, and the further down ones goes, the fewer and farther between are those scattered moments of depth and insight with which a text turns its eyes on the Turk. For broadside ballads at the bottom of the literary hierarchy, the Turk's trajectory only ever moved from generic enemy in the early part of the seventeenth century to a series of simultaneously particular enemies from the Civil Wars on. There was no admiration, no awe, no wonder at the powerful and exotic Turk. Indeed, we see the nascent moments of what many scholars have argued only began to appear in the next century. The identical images of contempt, hatred, and condescension of eighteenth century imperialist literature were present consistently and with little alteration for a large swath of the English population in the seventeenth century.

But rather than stemming from a condescending and arrogant hatred of the Other, the contempt and hatred of England's poorer sort in the seventeenth century was based on fear and derision because of the particular modes of interaction they had with Turks, which usually centered around captivity. From the early seventeenth well into the late eighteenth century, English subjects were forced into slavery in Barbary and the Levant; they felt the "rod of this great Oppressor of Christianity" that Rycaut had said with relief that his reading audience had not experienced. Sometimes they were captured off their own privateering and/or trading vessels, sometimes they were snatched off the coasts from fishing boats. Other times they were actively taken from their homes, most often on the southern coast of England. Matar notes that though thousands of names survive on

lists of captives, these names still only represent about one third of the total number of suspected British captives. In one single raid, North African privateers were successful in taking upwards of a few hundred captives.[26] Many captives were poorly paid soldiers who had been forced into military service or Englishmen sailing abroad in search of economic opportunity. The business of ransoming slaves was purely monetary, and while some captives had the ability to pay their ransom, far more had to languish until a ransom could be raised for them by their family or community at home. Most were unable to raise ransom at all, and as a consequence converted to Islam as a means to freedom or died in captivity. Poor artisan captives whose craft was prized by their captors and thus were worth more in ransom were unable to raise the funds necessary to return to England.

One list of captives, printed in 1646, lists the names, places of origin, and ransom amount for each captive ransomed by the author, Edmond Cason, who worked as an "Agent for the Parliament."[27] His register lists "650 and upwards, besides above an 100 in the ships of this place, now at Candia in the service of the great Turk."[28] Most of the saved captives (seventy) were from London, but the rest were listed from such places as Plymouth, Bristol, Dover, Liverpool, Dundee, Edinburgh, and Ipswich – representing a geographically diverse array of captives. What we can gather from knowledge about

[26] Nabil Matar, "Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704." Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England. Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus. (New York: Columbia UP, 2001) 12-13. Matar's introduction, and indeed Vitkus's entire book, treats only captivity narratives from Barbary. But the distinctions between Islamic peoples were grey and often shifting; Matar's source Edmond Cason, whose proceedings on the release of English captives refers only to those captives held in North Africa, regularly refers to the captors and the men with whom he dealt as "Turks."
[27] Edmond Cason, *A Relation of the Whole Proceedings Concerning the Redemption of the Captives in Argier and Tunis* (London: 1647).
[28] Cason, 11. Carson utilizes the term "Turk" though his text speaks about captives around North Africa. The conflation of Turks with other Muslim peoples makes finding a rigid definition in this time period difficult.

English slaves is that while some of the captives were Londoners with the funds necessary to return home, most slaves came from rural areas and were too poor for ransom. Since the poor and geographically alienated of England did not directly benefit from the relatively stable financial and intellectual relationship England had with the Empire,[29] their imaginations were instead influenced by the fear and hatred that stemmed from captivity. It was the nature of this fear-based relationship with the Ottoman Empire that made the Turk such tantalizing fodder for the short, popular ballad genre.

It is because of their remarkable consistency that this dissertation will focus heavily on the representation of Turks in broadside ballads. Although the origins of Anglo-Muslim relations can obviously be traced back much farther, the parameters of my dissertation will be consistent with the presence of Turks in English broadside ballads, from the first decade of the seventeenth century and ending in the 1690s. It will compare and contrast these representations with concurrent dramas, pamphlets, and sermons in the hopes of illuminating an imagery that remained persistent throughout the century, underlying and undermining all the complexities of those literatures whose audiences would both appreciate and comprehend a deeper exploration of the Turk. I will use the

[29] A variety of texts explored the Ottoman Empire with great depth, and while still often presenting a clear bias, they constitute a body of literature that represents early modern English scholarship on the empire and its people. See: Ottaviano Bon, *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio, or Turkish emperours court* (London, Printed for Jo Martin and Jo Ridley at the Castle in Fleet-street, 1650); Francis Osborne, *Politicall Reflections upon the Government of the Turks…by the Author of the late Advice to a Son* (London, printed by J. G. for Thomas Robinson, 1656); Paul Rycaut, *The History Of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing The Maxims of the Turkish Polity, the most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline, With an Exact Computation of their Forces both by Sea and Land* (London: Printed by T. N. for Joanna Brome, 1682); Henry Stubbe, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism with the life of Mahomet and a vindication of him and his Religion…Written by Dr. Stubb,"* reprinted and edited in Nabil Matar's *Henry Stubbe and the Beginnings of Islam* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2014).

term "Turk" synonymously with Muslim, as that was how the term was used in English literature at the time, conflating the ethnic and religious terminologies. Charles Taylor's notion of the "webs of interlocution" as it is employed by Laura Lunger Knoppers informs the way in which I think about how the English defined the Turk. "To know who you are is to be oriented in moral space, a space in which questions arise about what is good or bad….we think of this fundamental moral orientation as essential to being a human interlocutor, capable of answering for oneself."[30] These experiences of language interaction intersect and interact in what Taylor calls a "web of interlocution," and our dependence on these language interactions makes these webs of interlocution inescapable. Knoppers applies Taylor's concept to Early Modern English representations of the Turk by noting that "definitions of terms may change, but these changes do not alter the fundamental dependence on 'webs' of meaning. Thus the image of the Turk – an agreed-upon collection of 'un-English' attitudes and practices – was nonetheless a disputed object within the seventeenth century."[31] I would take this understanding even further by arguing that broadside ballads allowed common English readers to orient themselves in a moral space fenced all around by the Turk, and could only answer for themselves as "English" precisely because the Turk could not do the same, could not participate in the interlocution, from the physical ballad page. In fact, I would argue that broadside ballads did not even dispute the object of the Turk. Rather than picking and choosing from a variety of definitions from within the web, they merely employed the

[30] Charles Taylor, *Sources of Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989) *28*-29.
[31] Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Puritanism and Its Discontents* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 192n90.

web wholesale, flattening the various overlapping definitions into one tight concept: the Turk, who is neither Christian nor English. Details were unimportant, and in fact would only impede the applicability of the enemy Turk as allegory onto whatever other enemy the ballad wanted to depict.

The ease with which the English could define themselves against this enemy was heightened by the fact that ballads usually did not have authors. Anonymity offered the notion that it was written not just for, but *by* the English people. Each and every ballad, even if they sit on opposite sides of the political spectrum, can take advantage of that power; anonymity eliminates the need to justify one's allegiances. It is for this reason that I believe the importance of ballad literature and its representation of the Turk emerges in the question of selfhood. How did the English define themselves, and more precisely, *against whom* did they define themselves? How was the binary system comprised of Englishness and Muslimness/Turkishness morphing, the needs of one determining the parameters of the other and vice versa? And were ballads participating in a negotiation of these definitions, or were they stagnating it?

A brief exploration of the broadside ballad form and its influence will help elucidate was it was about the genre that made it an ideal incubator for propagating Turkish stereotypes. Much noteworthy scholarship has gone toward the discussion of the readership and distribution of ballad literature in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. I am particularly indebted to Margaret Spufford for her explorations of the

evidence for readership, literacy of the peasant reader, and volume of distribution.[32] Likewise, Tessa Watt and Natascha Würzbach's work focuses on the social and cultural conditions surrounding the form, and their holistic look at the presence of ballad culture serves as an enormous contribution to the study of broadside ballads as cultural and historical artifacts.[33] And not least of all the exhaustive work of Angela McShane, whose extensive mining of seventeenth-century political ballads has done more to pad this dissertation with footnotes than almost any other scholar.[34] If there was one thing the broadside ballad was capable of, it was permeation – not only were the gentry and wealthy members of English society exposed to broadside ballads, so too could the illiterate and destitute experience them. Würzbach explains the role of broadside ballads in the lives of poor English people, pointing out that the reading interests of the common members of English society were primarily in works that were practical—with limited leisure time and a lack of funds, they would have been passive with regard to purchasing printed materials. Broadside ballads provided straightforward, simple reading and listening material.[35] In his 1631 work *Whimzies: or, a New Cast of Characters*, Richard Braithwaite describes in prose the work of a balladmonger. This balladmonger, having

[32] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[33] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
[34] The culmination of Angela McShane's work on seventeenth century English broadside ballads can be seen in her bibliography, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London, Pickering & Chatto, 2011).
[35] Würzbach, 26. Würzbach's statement about the poor being passive with regard to purchasing printed materials applies just as easily to their passivity toward attending dramas.

exhausted his financial opportunities in the city, must now take his ballads elsewhere. Whimzies reads:

> You must therefore imagine, that by this time they are cashier'd the Ci[t]e and mu[st] now ride poast riding for the Countrey: where they are no lesse admir'd than a Gyant in a pageant: till at last they grow so common there too, as every poore Milk maid can chant and chirpe it under her Cow; which she useth as an harmelesse charme to make her let downe her milke.[36]

Braithwaite describes how the ballads sold by the traveling balladmonger became so common that even a poor country milk maid knew them well enough to sing them while doing her work. Broadsides and books have many of their production steps in common. Printed material was almost exclusively produced in London, Oxford, or Cambridge; but as the seventeenth century progressed, more booksellers and Stationer's Companies appear across England. As booksellers became more localized, more materials were produced to cater to local audiences. F. J. Levy cites a number of examples of localized material printed in either London or the University cities but intended to be sold in non-printing cities that had booksellers. Levy cites examples of books, almanacs, news pamphlets, and even a broadside ballad, published in Norwich in the late sixteenth century, which told the tale of a fire in the nearby town of Beccles, the audience of which was presumably local.[37] But it is at this point where broadsides and books take diverging roads: when publishers or booksellers wanted to sell a broadside

[36] Richard Braithwaite, *Whimzies: or, a New Cast of Characters*. (London, 1631) 12.
[37] F. J. Levy, "How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550-1640" *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982), 14

ballad, their most common method was to hire someone to perform them.[38] Putting himself down at street level with the audience members to whom he hoped to sell his wares, the balladmonger makes the broadside ballad less elitist than dramas, with their actors and narrators up above the audience on a stage; or books, the length and cost of which makes them less accessible than ballads. The listening audience is capable of relating closely with the balladeer and thus the ballad, seeing both as representative of common ordinary people—thus, when a balladeer sings a ballad in which the term "Turk" is thrown out, a sense of community is created around the term and the emotions incited by it.

The broadside ballad form did not remain consistent throughout the seventeenth century. In fact, it went through enormous changes as England entered into its tumultuous Civil War years and the utility of the ballad form as propaganda literature became clear. Ballads that began in the late sixteenth century as popular, entertaining, and moralizing texts in black-letter birthed a new subcategory of the genre, white-letter ballads that were political fodder for an altogether different audience, and all the while black-letter ballads were still in print. Angela McShane has elucidated the complex interplay between black-letter and white-letter ballads in the English political imagination, at times concurrent in their political agendas and other times widely divergent, depending on whether a particular message successfully contributed to the lower, traditional black-letter market.[39]

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[38] Würzbach, 13.

[39] Angela McShane explores the unique market niches of black-letter and white-letter ballads in her chapter "Typography Matters; Branding Ballads and Gelding Curates in Stuart England" in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (New Castle, DE: Oak knoll Press, 2008) 19-44, as well as her introduction to *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London, Pickering & Chatto, 2011) xv-xxxvii. She applies this difference specifically to

By the 1680s, the quantity of broadside printing increased and satirical white-letter ballads had established themselves as a deliberate marketing strategy to differentiate that content from the traditional black-letter form. Despite a conscious differentiation between black-letter and white-letter audiences, as McShane argues, "all political balladry drew upon both the 'low' popular tradition of 'ballading' individuals, in a deliberate attempt to shame through rhyme or 'rough music,'… projecting political figures as classical heroes or super-villains."[40] Balladry honed a political voice as the century drew on, but never shed its basic vulgar form. The broadside ballad by its very nature was wholly unique in its ability to shape public discourse, and even as early as the late sixteenth century it dealt in controversies and personal political matters. If broadside ballads in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries "transmitted an orientation toward texts that prepared all classes of readers and listeners for a discursive style that spread through other mediums of cheap print,"[41] as Eric Nebeker argues, they did so frantically and without the structures of political propaganda into which the genre would naturally fall during the Civil War years.

Although white-letter ballads of the mid-century were being sold by and to merchant and aristocratic members of society, the question of who was actually consuming ballads always has to be considered against the basic notion that they were seen as a fundamentally vulgar literature. That men of standing and learning sometimes

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Whig and Tory images of the Duke of Monmouth during the Exclusion Crisis in "'England's Darling' or 'Senseless Loon': Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth" in George, C., and Sutherland, J., eds. *Heroes and Villains: The Creation and Propagation of an Image* (Durham: Centre for Seventeenth Century Studies, 2004) 139-157.

[40] McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads*, xxv.

[41] Eric Nebeker, "The Broadside Ballad and Textual Publics" *SEL* 51, 1 (Winter 2001) 4-5.

sparred verbally on broadsheets was often scorned as playing to a lowest common denominator. Pamphleteer Roger L'Estrange was accused of leading a "disorderly rout" of "rogues and ragamuffins" with his cheap, unbound pamphlets. He shot back in his own defense, although not without propagating the broadsheet form (be it ballad or pamphlet) as essentially intended to influence the masses. "I had rather be the Author of one Pamphlet…that may be but of use to one poor soul, than of the most celebrated fruitless Volume."[42] Sometimes the cultural cues inherent in ballad culture were taken advantage of by the higher orders with a particular agenda and a particular method by which it wanted to express that agenda. The physical paper of the political broadside itself functions as a layer of interpretation in conjunction with the content printed on it.

That the ballad form was a derided and pigeon-holed text by some who were at the same time both consuming and distributing them may seem contradictory, but it goes a long way toward explaining the complexities of the broadside ballads' tangible existence in English popular culture. The content of a politically-charged white-letter ballad likely consumed only by a small well-to-do audience took on some of the traditional attributes of the genre. This was not necessarily a disagreement between form and content. The political message itself did not succeed in spite of the ballad reputation, but rather fully indebted to it, not just for basic distribution, but also for offering a new style of discourse through which political debate was being communicated in the later seventeenth century. Credibility of argument was still very much linked to the status of

[42] Quoted in Peter Hinds, "'A Vast Ill Nature': Roger L'Estrange, Reputation, and the Credibility of Political Discourse in the Late Seventeenth Century" *Seventeenth Century,* 21 (2006) 342, 348.

the physical artifact in question, and despite their actual readership spanning the bottom to the top of English society, ballads and other broadsheet literatures were foundationally seen as a hierarchically inferior sort.[43] Whether a white-letter ballad was speaking to the lower sort or not, it was utilizing a genre originally intended for their consumption to communicate.

The early modern understanding of ballads as a popular literature meant that by the mid-seventeenth century, they had become vitally important as a potential propaganda tool. Certainly merchant and aristocratic members of English society were not unfamiliar with the broadside ballad. But cultural biases projected the ballad form onto the poor and uneducated, establishing the disparate literary audiences of the seventeenth century on a broad spectrum of public literature.[44] According to seventeenth-century authors like Andrew Fletcher, influencing the minds of the masses could yield an enormous amount of power, something for which the broadside ballad was particularly well suited. "Even the poorer sort of both sexes are daily tempted to all manner of lewdness by infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets," said Fletcher. "If a man were permitted to

[43] For explorations of the impact of popular printed literature of other genres at the time in England, see Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Joan Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

[44] For example, in the prefatory remarks to the 1690 printing of *Don Sebastian* (A play set in Morocco that's largely cited for the complexity of some of its Muslim characters as race begins to usurp religion as the dominant differentiating characteristic in English drama), John Dryden complains about his and his plays' poor treatment by the masses attending the theatre, stating that theatres could no longer support the charges of poets of the stage and noting that "the audience forsook them, that young men without Learning set up for Judges, and that they talk'd loudest, who understood the least." John Dryden, *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (London, 1690) Preface, a v.

make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation."[45] The rabble were listening, and by the 1630s and 40s, it was the oft-derided Muslim Turk that stood to suffer the second-hand abuses of an increasingly politicized ballad form.

Broadside ballads are new to the exclusive club of "real" literature.[46] Ballads were typically authored by uneducated commoners with a less than exemplary reputation. John Boys, Dean of Canterbury from 1619 to 1625, describes the difference between false and true prophets by comparing them to men whose goods have no worth at all and men whose goods do, quipping that "the Pedler and the Balladmonger hath more company then the graue rich Merchant."[47] Since they were short and easy to memorize, ballads relayed immediately relevant information quickly and widely. Broadside ballads instigated a particular kind of knowledge— specific enough to be threatening, vague enough to be easily applicable to other occasions— through their utilization of the term "Turk" as a shorthand scare tactic intended to capitalize on the fears that already existed among the poor of England. Those fears were intensified by the overarching use of the word "Turk" by broadside ballads. It came to represent more than just a person, but all the intense fright the English learned to feel toward Islamic enemies abroad— anyone reading the ballads would have known immediately what he was expected to feel at the mention of a Turk. Working in much the same way as modern day advertisements,

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[45] Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, "An Account of a Conversation, &c.", *The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher, Esq.* (London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1732) 372.
[46] For an examination of the utility of broadside ballads as cultural artifacts in early modern Britain, see *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* edited by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with the assistance of Kris McAbee (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010).
[47] 4 John Boys, An exposition of the dominical epistles and gospels used in our English liturgie throughout the whole yeare together with a reason why the church did chusethe same. (London: Printed by Felix Kyngston, 1610) 42.

ballads need only make memorable a negative connotation of "Turk" for their message to succeed – making even complete memorization of the ballad technically unnecessary.

The level to which mentions of the Turk permeated broadside ballad literature is of course nearly impossible to calculate. Given that extant ballads represent only a fraction of those that would have been printed in the seventeenth century, it seems the eternal problem that plagues ballad studies – how well can we understand the impact of ballad literature if so few of them still exist? – exponentially complicates the question of how ballads treated a particular subject. An analysis of the holdings of the most comprehensive digital ballad collection to date, the English Broadside Ballad Archive, a project of the Early Modern Center in the English Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara, reveals that although the percentage of ballads in their archive that mention “Turk” or even “Mahomet” or “Mahometan” is about 5% (half the number that mention “Jew” and dwarfed by ballads pertaining to Catholics, Catholicism, and Popery), the approximately two hundred ballads that mention “Turk” are present in each decade throughout the seventeenth century, revealing a steady interest in the mysterious Turk. There was a sharp rise in the number of ballads in which the Turk is present from the late 1630s on as political conflict threatened English identity, and the Turk was by far the most persistent foreign body utilized to represent the enemy Other. The Turk was persistently and consistently employed to feed and inspire fear of not just the Turk himself, but other potential invaders of Englishness (be they Catholics or Jews, Whigs or Tories) that the Turk could also metaphorically represent, as he was seen as the *most* different, the *most* not English. Broadside ballads were a powerful mechanism for the

transportation of Turkish representations all over England, and the following chapters will trace the evolution of the Turk in this influential and far-reaching literature even as the genre itself was undergoing enormous changes.

The first chapter opens at the start of the seventeenth century and explores the presence of John Ward in English popular literature. Ward, born in Faversham in the privateering era of Queen Elizabeth, found notoriety in the first decade of the century as one of England's most successful and infamous pirates after James I outlawed privateering and began a concerted campaign to prosecute pirates. Ward eventually began working aboard Ottoman ships that sacked European merchant ships, including English, and his reputation only further titillated the English population after his conversion to Islam in 1610. The chapter compares representations of Ward and his fellow pirate, the Dutchman Simon Dansiker in Robert Daborne's play *A Christian Turn'd Turk,* printed in 1612, and those in popularly printed ephemera such as broadside ballads and news pamphlets as a means of understanding how pirates were defined on a spectrum of "Turkishness." The comparison reveals what could be considered the birth of the English tradition of using the Turk as a means of self-identification. In the months prior to his conversion, Ward was alluded to in a number of literatures as an "apostate," the suggestion being that he had already "turn'd Turk" when he became a pirate. James I's vitriolic rhetoric against piracy further strengthened the comparison, as he positioned pirates as not just outlaws, but renegades who had turned against their nation. Indeed, the renegade pirate would infect the English imagination as it inspired fears of traitorous citizens who might bring Islam with them back into England. Evidence that Ward's

piracy constituted ample evidence to accuse him of having apostatized can be found in the fact that in a number of ballads and pamphlets printed prior to his conversion Ward is positioned as an "apostate countryman," although the popular black-letter ballads perform an unexpected move: catering to a larger potential audience who were themselves tradesmen who would likely have sympathized with men like Ward whose livelihood as privateers had been abruptly swept out from under them by the King, the ballads present a more relatable, heroic picture of Ward. From here, the chapter expands to explore other sympathetic depictions of pirates and piracy in pamphlet literature of the 1610s and 1620s, as well as sermons that wrestled with the ever-present problem of English conversion to Islam while in captivity. These texts reveal that piracy was more than just a financial burden on merchants and their shareholders; it was a matter of national security and patriotic identity. Popular literatures were only just beginning to explore the ways in which the Muslim Turk could function as a figurehead for what it looked like when one abandons one's proper Christian English identity.

In chapter two, my exploration of the triangular relationship between English, Turkish/Muslim, and pirate moves into the 1630s and 1640s and the beginnings of the Civil Wars. The nature of the relationship between England and the Ottoman Empire, already problematic because of continued and rampant piracy, was further complicated by a troubling consequence of piracy: captivity. Englishmen (and women) were being captured and held in thrall in droves after merchant ships were sacked by Turkish pirates, and England did not have a reliable or consistent program in place to help ransom and release them. Further, how could it be trusted that those English people lucky enough to

earn their freedom weren't returning home having secretly turned Turk? More than ever, the understanding of what it meant to be English was contingent upon what it meant to be a Turk, as the draw of conversion to Islam so persistently dogged the Christian English identity. Coupling the crisis of captivity with the dawning of the chaotic lead-up to the First Civil War meant anxiety surrounding dark enemy influences from within England was churning. "The image of the renegade had always carried connotations of the enemy within," Matthew Birchwood notes, "and, as religious anxiety concerning the influence of unseen Popish influences mounted, the intensity with which political enemies might be condemned as Turk-like traitors could only increase…. Meanwhile, in the crisis of allegiance provoked by Civil War, this trope was accorded a newly powerful and complex significance, a set of meanings that had been unimaginable before Parliament waged war against its sovereign."[48] The chapter furthers a reading of popular literatures such as sermons, news pamphlets, and broadside ballads, as well as captivity narratives, revealing a surprising absence of captivity in the body of ballads printed in these two decades.

The ballad genre was in the midst of a dramatic cleaving at this time, as the propagandistic potential of cheap print became immensely useful to factions both in support of either the King or Parliament. As such, newly-emerging white-letter ballad literature leaned on a generic Turkish enemy toward which the texts could point as the quintessence of "not English." White-letter ballads had a different intended audience than

[48] Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England,* 97-98.

black-letter ballads, turning away from the original traditional moralizing genre while at the same time employing both its virtues as an easily dispersible literature and its tried and true Muslim tropes. And at the beginning of England's darkest and most contentious decades yet, "not English" also meant "Catholic," "Parliamentarian," "Presbyter," or whatever enemy toward which a ballad chose to aim its ire. No group was immune, and each found himself poised in league with the Turk against the good of England: "Those who had sought to use the 'turkish mirror' found themselves gazing into its unforgiving frame, cast in popular stereotype as arbitrary, violent, hypocritical, and – most damning – as perverse followers of a false, legalistic religion."[49] Ballads, small and ephemeral as they were, were swept up in an ever-churning tide that turned the image of the Turk either toward or away from Royalists, Puritans, Parliamentarians, Non-conformists - at the level of the ballad, all accusations existed simultaneously. With the broadside ballad form, propagandists had the functional freedom to persuade less by reasoned (if highly emotional) argument (dictated by whatever images and comparisons were in vogue in pamphlet literature) and more by throwing discontent at the masses and seeing what stuck. The Turk became metaphorical shrapnel in the print wars between Cavaliers and Roundheads. White-letter ballads wholly adopted the broad caricature of the evil Turk that had been (and was still) present in black-letter ballads, but dialed in the specificity of precisely *which* enemy he might at a particular moment be representing.

[49] Glenn Sanders, "'A plain Turkish Tyranny': Images of the Turk in Anti-Puritan Polemic" in *Puritanism and Its Discontents,* ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003) 185.

The years of the Interregnum explored in chapter three mark a turning point in representations of the Turk in English literature. Regime change meant a change not just in how England was dealing with the issue of captivity, but also how it approached diplomatic relationships with Muslim lands that threatened it. William Davenant's drama *The Siege of Rhodes* thematically mirrors Oliver Cromwell's attempts at amicability with Islamic powers such as Algiers, and as such offers a complex and interesting representation of Muslim characters that, through their own virtues, come to embody Christian notions of good governance and moral behavior. This close reading is set alongside readings of pamphlet literatures that likewise make the suggestion that the English might be able to learn lessons from, even come to emulate in some way, the powerful Ottoman government and military. But, ever-so predictably, broadside ballads had firmly hoisted their stick in the mud of a two-dimensional Turkish enemy. Whereas the aforementioned texts posit the question "how can we use the Turk to learn about ourselves?" ballads continued to offer the less-nuanced question on the other side of the coin: "how can we use the Turk to learn about our enemies?" Therefore the second half of the chapter explores the ever-more specific usages of Turk as enemy in ballads, particularly after 1659 when Richard Cromwell dissolved the Third Protectorate Parliament and reinstated the Rump. Rump ballads were a wholly new form of broadside ballad, standing out as non-illustrated, non-musical, and functioning as prime examples of the ways in which political propaganda ballads were tightening their hold on the tradition of the broadside ballad form. The Turk's role was as stand-in enemy for what the resurrected Rump parliament either already was or was quickly becoming. And as

Protestant-Catholic conflict continued to boil both at home and in Europe, the Turk remained in literatures as a scourge upon Catholic Europe, against whom the English could only be protected through a strong coalition with fellow Protestants. The chapter closes with Titus Oates and his fabricated crusade against purported Catholic agents in England, a troubling moment in English history, one that would firmly tie Catholics to Turks as the fervor of Anti-Catholicism reached a fever pitch in the late 1670s/early 1680s.

The allegorical utility of Turks in English broadside ballads would never be more concentrated, more laser-like in its precision against a particular enemy, than it would after the attempted invasion of Vienna by Ottoman forces in September 1683. There was no single event about which more ballads were printed in such a short amount of time than the Battle of Vienna. The English did not have organized forces officially fighting in Vienna, but their intense interest in the events of the siege can be explained by the concurrent Exclusion Crisis happening at home. The right to succession of James II, fought virulently by English Whigs who feared his Catholic sympathies but supported by pro-Royalist Tories, the revelation of the deceptions of the Popish Plot, and the Rye House Plot created a perfect storm of bigotry against anti-Catholics in England, and it was through this lens that broadside ballad writers and sellers were reading the Ottoman invasion. Consequently, the Turk remained firmly tethered to Catholics in their depictions, but this time roles were reversed, and the danger of Catholic Europe became the "Christian Coalition" who had successfully fought off invading Muslim forces. It was a fortuitous outcome for propagandistic ballads looking to push an anti-Whig sentiment.

Among the unique collection of broadside ballads printed in England about the Battle of Vienna, not a single one fails to draw the conclusion that English Whigs, those "Turks at home," are so anti-Catholic that they would have supported a successful Ottoman invasion of Vienna if it meant the downfall of Holy Roman Empire. The Battle of Vienna ballads turned an invasion fueled by imperialism into a metaphor for turmoil at home, and despite the fact that they were not fighting in said battle, the ballads effectively appropriated it as their own, in as much as it represented the clash between proper, pro-Royalist Englishmen against Whig zealots who sought Catholic defeat at any cost. Pro-Tory balladeers could look to Europe and see a mimetic representation of the very battle fought on English soil, and employ it as a means of accusing Exclusionist Whigs of being not merely anti-James or anti-Royalist, but anti-English and anti-Christian. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the Turk would once again serve as the most suitable means by which Englishness would be defined in popular literature.

Turning Turk: John Ward and the Apostasy of Piracy

The death of Queen Elizabeth marked the end of the privateering age in England, and her successor James took a markedly different stance toward the Ottoman Empire than she had. Turks were once again an ideological enemy, rather than as a potential ally against Catholic Spain. With the death of a monarch and the succession of another, England had pivoted away from both Muslim Turks and local privateers (now illegal pirates), positioning both firmly and incontestably as enemies of Christian England. Nobody embodied the anxiety around this shift better than John Ward. Born in the poor fishing village of Faversham while Elizabeth still ruled, Ward turned to piracy, was one of the most wanted men in England after King James's crackdown on pirates, captained Turkish pirate ships, and eventually converted to Islam and died wealthy in Tunisia, never to return home again. Ward was a national sensation: he was featured in dramas, news pamphlets, ballads, and the subject of a number of sermons and distraught letters back and forth between diplomats across Europe, and presented for the English public both hero and anti-hero. He was a self-made everyman who improved his lot in life by any means necessary, but was also an apostate of both his faith and his nation at a time when the idea of Islamic conversion shook the English church to its very core. This chapter will compare the wildly disparate visions of John Ward available in literatures of the first two decades of the century, from Robert Daborne's timely drama to broadside ballads that positioned him as the common man's hero. These two decades put the pirate, the apostate, and the Turk in league with one another, marking the first exploration into

how the Turk (and his allies) would be set against what it meant to be a proper Christian Englishman.

"Ward turn'd Turke? It is not possible." Famed Dutch pirate Simon Dansiker[1] is incredulous at the news of John Ward's conversion at the start of scene nine of Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk.* "I saw him Turke to the circumcision," his Lieutenant Sares answers, offering eyewitness proof that Ward had performed that most extreme of conversion practices.[2] Indeed, Ward had turned renegade in order to win the love of Voada, the Muslim sister of Crosman, captain of the Janissaries.[3]

The dumb show in which we experience Ward's conversion would have captivated English audiences. It is a detailed scene, drawn not from any actual conversion ceremonies, but rather a highly stylized event of pomp and circumstance that plays up the notion of pagan ritual as Ward swears his allegiance directly to a likeness of Mahomet:

> *Enter two bearing half-moons, one with a Mahomet's head following. After them, the Mufti, or chief priest, two meaner priests bearing his train. The Mufti seated, a confused noise of music, with a show. Enter two Turks, one bearing a turban with a half-moon in it, the other a robe, a sword: a third with a globe in one hand,*

[1] Known alternatively by the names Zymen or Siemen, and Danseker, Dantziger, Dansker, or Danser.
[2] Robert Daborne, *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (London: Printed for William Barrenger, to be sold at the great North-Doore of Pauls, 1612), F3r. This quarto lacks a designation for the ninth scene, such markers having largely disappeared after the fourth scene. From here on I will cite from the edited edition and use the modernized spelling and scene designations assigned by Daniel Vitkus as published in *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). This scene can be found on page 201 of Vitkus's edition.
[3] "Crosman" refers to Cara Osman, incorrectly referred to in one of Daborne's sources as the Pasha's "Lord Admiral," who was in fact governor of the Janissaries in Tunis and chief magistrate of the Ottoman Sultan. In actuality, Osman was friendly to Ward's piratical pursuits, offering him protection and safe passage in Tunis.

> *and arrow in the other. Two knights follow. After them, Ward on an ass, in his Christian habit, bare-headed*….[Ward is] *laid on his belly, the tables…offered him, he lifts his hand up, subscribes, is brought to his seat by the Mufti, who puts on his turban and robe, girds his sword, then swears him on the Mahomet's head, ungirts his sword, offers him a cup of wine by the hands of a Christian. He spurns at him and throws away the cup, is mounted on the ass…and with a shout, they exit.*[4]

Ward's conversion, among many other events depicted in the play, did in fact happen.[5] This does not mean, however, that Daborne necessarily knew of it, or that it had actually taken place by the time Daborne penned the play. In fact, the timeline of events surrounding Ward's conversion suggests that scholars have only assigned such knowledge to Daborne *ex post facto,* on the assumption that the inclusion of a conversion scene must necessarily mean Ward had already converted. Daniel Vitkus argues that Daborne based the plot on events recounted in two 1609 pamphlets, Andrew Barker's *True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrows, and new present Estate of Captain Ward and Dansiker, the two late famous Pirates*, and the anonymous *News from Sea, of Two Notorious Pirates, Ward and Danseker, a Dutchman.* While it is

[4] Daborne, Scene 8, dumb show, p. 198.
[5] Daborne's depiction is likely at least stylistically drawn from Arthur Edwards' 1568 account of conversion, reprinted in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations.* It speaks of the convert riding a horse and "bearing a sword in his hand…cursing his father and mother: and if ever after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him." Obviously, Ward's conversion was much more ceremonial and much more humiliating. Both Daborne and Thomas Kyd in his 1592 play *Solyman and Perseda* change the horse to an ass. Edwards, "Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the moneth of July 1568," printed in Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation made by sea or ouer-land* (London: Printed by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599) 394.

true that much of Daborne's knowledge draws from these two texts, the former was entered into the Stationers' Register in October 1609, and the latter only covers events up to April 1609. Although Vitkus dates the writing of the play between 1609 and 1612 (the play was entered into the Stationers' Register on 1 February, 1612), we can confidently assert that the play had to have been written at least after May 1610, as it makes explicit reference to the assassination of King Henri IV of France.[6]

Vitkus suggests that "the most notable difference between the 'true reports' and Daborne's playscript is in the staging of the pirate's demise."[7] But given how central his conversion was to the plot, I would argue that the most glaring difference between Daborne's play and the Ward pamphlets is that the pamphlets do not mention a conversion at all.[8] They are, in fact, written prior to Ward having converted. We can most accurately pinpoint Ward's conversion sometime between February and December 1610,[9] based on letters from Simon Contarini and Marc Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassadors

[6] "The agéd oak that Atlas-like sustained / The weight of France, that with his blood regained / Her wasted body (like the pelican), / By one that from his life took breath is slain. / This fatal blow astonisheth the hopes / Of Dansiker and his, to make return / Impossible" (Scene 14, ln. 13-19). Daborne plays with the timeline a bit here, as Dansiker had been officially pardoned by the King in mid-1609. See *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice* (referred to as CSPV), 1607-1610, vol. 11 (London: 1904) no. 575, p. 311.

[7] Vitkus, 27.

[8] A. E. H. Swaen appears to be one of the only scholars who explicitly notes that neither pamphlet references either his conversion or his death, and that it is unknown whether Daborne utilized any sources in procuring information about the conversion. However he incorrectly suggests that "we have no evidence that Ward really 'turned Turk.'" A. E. H. Swaen, "Robert Daborne's Plays," *Anglia* 20 (1898) 187.

[9] In a letter dated 25 February 1610, Contarini notes that King James expressed frustration toward pirates. "He dwelt at length on his hatred for such folk, many of whom he had put to death. He said he would never pardon them, and declared that one pirate had offered him forty-thousand pounds sterling, equal to one hundred and sixty thousand crowns, to recover his favour, but he would not even consider the proposal though the fellow was far off and out of his power…" In the preface to the CSPV vol. 11 (p. xliii), Horatio F. Brown says the pirate mentioned was John Ward, likely hoping to gain royal clemency after the hanging of nineteen convicted pirates, many of whom were associates of Ward's, at Wapping the December prior. CSPV, 11: no. 801, p. 430.

to England to the Doge and Senate in Venice. Contarini relayed English attempts to procure a pardon for Ward between 1607 and 1609, and official news of his conversion doesn't reach England until December 1610. "There is confirmation of the news that the pirate Ward and Sir Francis Verney, also an Englishman of the noblest blood, have become Turks, to the great indignation of the whole nation," Correr wrote to the Doge and Senate on December 23rd, 1610.[10] That the crown knew of Ward's conversion in December 1610 does not mean Daborne, or any of the general public in England, were privy to this knowledge. In fact, Daborne acknowledges that he is continuing the storytelling work started by others: "What heretofore set others' pens awork, / Was Ward turned pirate; ours is Ward turned Turk."[11]

It is probable that Daborne wrote the playscript after Dansiker's death, the earliest confirmation of which lies in a letter from Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador to France, to the Doge and Senate dated 6 January 1611.[12] His death in the play vaguely matches that of the letter, in that Dansiker had returned to North Africa and was killed. In every other respect, however, the accounts differ. Dansiker died in Algiers, not Tunis, and had been taken prisoner by the "Bey of the pirates" and killed, never making it to shore. Daborne, however, has Dansiker committing suicide in Tunis in front of the

[10] CSPV, 12 1610-1613 (London: 1905) no. 151, p. 100.
[11] Daborne, Preface, ln. 7-8, p. 155.
[12] CSPV, 12: no. 156, p. 105. This was not the first time Dansiker had returned to North Africa, however, as evidenced by prior Venetian letters He had also withdrawn into Algiers in September 1609, and the following month he revolted against the Algerines "and slain one hundred Turks," then returning to Marseilles. CSPV, 11: no. 628, p. 346, CSPV 11: no. 687, p. 375. Stephan Schmuck dates the play as 1610, citing the Vitkus edition, although he does not state explicitly why he specifies 1610. Schmuck, "From Sermon to Play: Literary Representations of 'Turks' in Renaissance England 1550–1625," *Literature Compass* 2 (2005).

Governor and Mufti, after returning to bring Benwash the Jew back to Marseilles as ransom. Dansiker is stopped by the Governor and confesses that his intent was to "have conveyed / This Jew from hence, have made a massacre / Of the whole town, dashed out the miscreant brains / Of your young infidels."[13] The Mufti asks if he will "turn turk, and save thy soul yet," which Dansiker accepts: "Yes, pagan; villain, I will. Forgiveness, heaven!" just before stabbing himself.[14] Foscarini's account of Dansiker's death is different from that of Scottish traveler William Lithgow, who was in Tunis at the time visiting the apostate John Ward, as Lithgow dates his death at February 1615. The two accounts are quite similar:[15]

> I have letters from Marseilles announcing that Dauncer (Danzer) sailed with the ships appointed for the punishment of the Barbary pirates. He was to cruise off Algiers and prevent the pirates putting out….The lieutenant brought back hopes of putting an end to the injuries inflicted on the Marseilles shipping, and Dauncer was to land in person, but he was deceived by the Bey of the pirates, made prisoner and has paid by his death for his excessive credulity and the thousands of murders he committed in former times. This is news, although not absolutely confirmed…is thought to be true and will seriously affect the trade of Marseilles. (Foscarini)
>
> [T]he *Bashaw* went franckly a boord of *Danser*, seconded with twelve followers: *Danser*…mainely feasted him with good cheare, great quaffing, sounding Trumpets, and Roarshing shots, and none more familiar then the dissembling *Bashaw*….After deepe cups, the *Bassaw* invites him to come ashoare, the day following and to dine with him in the Fortresse: To which unhappy *Danser*

[13] Daborne, Scene 16, ln. 221-24, p. 227.
[14] Ibid., Scene 16, ln. 231-32, p. 228.
[15] Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean* (New York: Riverhead books, 2010) 311n28.

> graunted…where forthwith *Danser* being brought beore the *Bassaw,* was strictly accused of many ships, spoyles, and great riches he had taken from the *Moores,* and the mercilesse murther of their lives, for he never spared any: Whereupon he was straight beheaded, and his body throwne over the walles in a ditch.[16] (Lithgow)

Adrian Tinniswood notes that although Lithgow dates Dansiker's arrival in the Gulf of Tunis as February 1615, the burial of Sir Francis Verney, who died in September 1615, happens later, so Lithgow must have had his dates wrong. Clifford Edmund Bosworth also points out the dating problem, citing Dansiker's entry in the *nieuw Nederlansch biografisch woordenboek* as stating he was captured in Tunis in 1610 and likely died in captivity.[17] In short, Dansiker's year of death is contested, and Lithgow's account is largely ignored in scholarly publications in favor of Foscarini's letters. Daborne probably based Dansiker's death scene on Foscarini's unconfirmed and potentially incorrect letter. It is possible, however, that Daborne fabricated not one, but two deaths, writing the play sometime after May 1610, before word of either Ward's conversion or Dansiker's death had become public knowledge in England. Evidence regarding Daborne's playwriting career suggests the play could have been written as early as 1610, as Daborne was granted a warrant on 4 January 1610 by "the Queene's Servants, to bring up and practise Children in the Plaies by the name of the Children of the Queen's Revells, for the

[16] William Lithgow, *The total discourse, of the rare adventures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares travayles, from Scotland, to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* (London: 1632) 181-82.
[17] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609-21* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2006) 119n48.

pleasure of her Majestie."[18] The play also had a decent run, as evidenced by his comments in the preface calling it "this oppressed and much martyred Tragedy."[19]

It is true that we cannot accurately date the original writing of Daborne's play. And the presence of Dansiker's death seems too similar a coincidence to disregard.[20] But Daborne did not need confirmation of Ward's apostasy to justify including the event in his play. Indeed, for such rhetoric he needed look no further than the very literature on which he based his tale. Andrew Barker's account refers to Ward as one of "our apostate countrymen" a year before he actually converted.[21] *News from Sea, of Two Notorious Pirates* accuses Ward of living a life that is "nothing but a continuall battaile and defiance with Christians," a man who "would rather venture himselfe among the Turks, then into the hands of Christians."[22] A ballad based on the events of the anonymous pamphlet, *The Seamans Song of Captain ward, the Famous Pyrate of the World and an Englishman Born,* entered in 1609, refers to Ward's "drunkennesse and letchery" and "Filthy sins of Sodomy." "Of truth it is reported," the ballad informs us, "That he is strongly guarded, / by Turks that are not of a good belief." Accusations of drunkenness, lechery, and sodomy (typically leveled against Muslims) were here applied to Ward,

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[18] J. Payne Collier, *New Facts Regarding the Life of Shakespeare. In a Letter to Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S. Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries* (London: Thomas Rodd, Great Newport Street, Long Acre, 1835) 40.
[19] Daborne, "To the Knowing Reader," 151.
[20] Lois Potter argues precisely this, stating that "the play…cannot be much earlier than the year of its publication" because of its reference to Dansiker's death. Potter, "Pirates and 'turning Turk' in Renaissance Drama," in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time,* ed. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michele Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 130.
[21] Andrew Barker, *A True and certaine Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, OVerthrowes, and now present Estate of Captaine WARD and DANSEKER, the two late famous Pirates :From their first setting foorth to this present time* (London: Printed by William Hall, 1609) A2r.
[22] *Two notorious Pyrates, Ward an Englishman, and Danseker a Dutchman* (London: Printed for N. Butter, 1609) A2v, B1v.

based not on any reported sexual behaviors, but rather on his piracy and "evil gotten Goods."[23] For Daborne as well as the pamphlet and ballad authors, Ward's conversion was not an isolated incident, but the inevitable outcome of the life of a poor-born fisherman from Faversham who turned away from his countrymen and toward piracy. Piratical behavior was collapsed onto stereotypical "Turkish" behavior, the amalgamation of both having been employed to discourage piracy, an act that infects the soul itself and renders one a Turk.

In the months prior to his conversion, Ward was alluded to in a variety of printed literatures as an apostate. Vitkus argues that "English sailors who turned Turk were condemned for their crimes against Christianity, but piracy itself was not necessarily considered an evil pursuit."[24] He makes this statement in the context of *A Christian Turn'd Turk,* making the point that Ward's conversion far outstripped his piracy in terms of evil behavior. I argue that, after James made peace with Spain in 1604 and effectively ended crown-sponsored privateering, piracy, especially piracy by the English against the English, became *a form of* apostasy. English pirates were considered not just a threat to English maritime commerce, but enemies of Christianity, aiding the pursuits of Muslims whether or not they had converted or were even actively working with Muslim pirates.

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[23] *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born* (London: printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and William Gilbertson). This copy, the earliest extant version of the ballad, was likely printed as early a 1655, although the earliest date in the Stationers' Register is 3 July 1609.
[24] Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) 149.

John Ward paid little attention to the myriad warnings against apostasizing. Hardly any convincing was necessary, and his decision to do so was far removed from the typical conversion tactics cited by contemporary accounts. Giles Fletcher's *The Policie of the Turkish Empire* notes that conversion by "anie Christian or other Stranger" actually "happeneth quite often, by reason of the excessive tributes and exactions laid upon them."[25] The "tributes and exactions" applied to Christians living in Ottoman territory, conversion often proving smarter than paying for the privilege to live as a Christian in Muslim lands. But coerced conversion was also common, captives enticed with money and jobs, a fact that was undoubtedly intentionally left out of the play; an audience in part populated by poor English sailors in London would have found common ground with a man who converted to Islam for money and land. Dansiker gives voice to this condition, in the moment at which he makes the decision to no longer be a pirate, but the justification is severed from conversion and instead only speaks to his reasons for having pirated. "Want of employment, not of virtue, forced / Our former act of spoil and rapine."[26] Daborne is careful to acknowledge only the practical reasons one might turn to piracy, ignoring the fact that they are much the same practical reasons why one might turn Turk. But he deliberately feeds them through the mouth of the Dutchman, not the English Ward, and still ultimately serves Dansiker his due karma with his swift conversion and death toward the end of the play. That it is by his own hand, and not a murder, is the only recompense paid to a man who, although he actively chose to quit the

[25] Giles Fletcher, *The Policie of the Turkish Empire* (London: Printed by John Windet for WS and are to be soulde at Powles Warfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, 1597) 24.
[26] Scene 5, ln. 17-18, p. 172.

business, had been a pirate nonetheless. Nor, indeed, would it have befitted Daborne's clear connection between piracy and conversion to have Ward's be a forced one, as was commonly feared[27]; his apostasy must necessarily be by choice as much as his vocation was.

Instead, it was for love, and with little regard for the nation and faith into which he was born, that Ward turned Turk. "So, the day leaves the world, chaste Voada. / Nothing can make him miserable enjoys thee. / What is't I lose by this my change? My country? / Already 'tis to me impossible."[28] The "impossibility" to which Ward refers extends beyond the confines of the action of the play; the play, functioning as both a dramatization and continuation of the extant pamphlet literatures, makes clear that Ward's conversion was an inevitability almost from birth. We see that his in-born tendency toward piracy contains the same traits that suggest a tendency toward conversion. Having encountered a French merchant ship, Ward and his men battle to overtake it. A number of his men have been killed, and Ward, as he does throughout the play, lays their fate at the feet of destiny. "Fortune! True, the fate of man is fixed, / Unmoveable as the pole: how idle then were he / Should strive to cross unvoided destiny / And think to stay his course….We have no will to act-- / Or not to act—more than those

[27] Many travel accounts told tales of forced conversion under threat of violence by Turks. For example, Thomas Sanders' account of a 1583 expedition to Tripoli tells of Englishman John Nelson, whom "the kings sonne had inforced to turne *Turke*" and then used him to convince Richard Burges and James Smith to also convert. They refused, and later were "violently used, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne *Turke?*" According to Sanders, they were subsequently forcibly circumcised. Thomas Sanders, *The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called theIesus, wherein the aduentures and distresses of some Englishmen are truely reported, and other necessary circumstances obserued*, printed in Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations,* 189.
[28] Scene 7, ln. 177-80, p. 194.

orbs we see / And planetary bodies, which in their offices / Observe the will of fate."[29] For Ward, "fate" and God are somewhat at odds, even at times entirely antonymous. God's will guides humanity at large, leaving men like Ward, who have fallen through the social and economic cracks, to rely (either by choice or impulsion) on their individual fate. Debating the theological merits of his conversion with Benwash the Jew, who himself converted in order to keep his wife from prostituting to other men, Ward gives credence to the will of heaven while also admitting it has no pull over him. "If this religion were so damnable," Benwash argues, "…that God which owes the right, / Profaned by this, would soon destroy it quite." "That's easily answered:" says Ward in reply, "heaven is merciful. / By their destruction it should take all means / From giving possibility to their change, / And so unjustly damn 'em. But for my part, / It is not divinity but nature that moves me, / Which doth in beasts force them to keep their kind."[30]

What little reluctance Ward expressed came not from his Christianity any more than his ultimate conversion came from a sincere desire to be Muslim.[31] At the suggestion to turn Turk, Ward offers three kinds of rebuttals. His irreligious ethical argument suggests that converting may simply be an insincere means to a desired end. "Men sooner open foes then feigned friends try, / And where men's acts from their own ends proceed, / More look unto those ends than like the deed."[32] He also fears he is

[29] Scene 3, ln. 32-35, 40-43, p. 165.
[30] Scene 7, ln. 38-46, p. 190.
[31] Potter makes the same argument, noting that Benwash and Ward apostatize for non-religious reasons, both men having been doled out inglorious justice and Ward, all too late, realizing where the focus of his debate should have been. Potter, "Pirates and 'Turning Turk' in Renaissance Drama," 132.
[32] Ibid., ln. 59-61, p. 191.

perhaps being deceived for others' benefit. "The cunning fowler to beguile the birds / Brings up some tame, and lets them fly abroad / To draw in others, that their liberty / Maybe be the bait to others' misery." (His instinct, of course, was correct: Crosman and Voada's greed were hidden behind her feigned love, another aspect of the play wherein the worldly consequences of religion outweigh its spiritual benefits.) His tone lacks in patriotism or trust for a nation that, as he argued early in the play, fails to provide adequate opportunities and encourages men to "live as cankers, eating up the soil / That gave you being."[33] Ward continues his conversion argument by pointing an indirect accusatory finger at England. "Such is state policies, sometimes to advance an ill, / When others for less crimes it oft doth kill."[34] Ward also defends his name, defined not by his own religious beliefs but by the "beliefs my ancestors / Left to my being!" Conversion, under this argument, would offer victory to the very earth that so carelessly left Ward to his own fate. "I do not love so well / The earth that bore me, to lessen my contempt / And hatred to her, by so much advantage, / So oblique act as this should give to her."[35]

There is only one force powerful enough to convince Ward to apostatize, and it is here that Ward's conversion rings of Dr. Faustus's pact with the devil. Outside the influence of a Christian God, Ward tethers his fate to his real, almost tangible love for Voada. "I am thine own, / If there be any divinity it hath / His seat in beauty: th'art a god to me."[36] Voada proves to be as much a specter as the conjured Helen. "Here will

[33] Scene 1, ln. 35-36, p. 158.
[34] Scene 7, ln. 71-72, p. 191.
[35] Ibid., ln. 76-79.
[36] Ibid., ln. 154-56, p. 194.

[Faustus] dwell, for heaven is in these lips, / And all is dross that is not Helena."[37] Both characters met an untimely death, spewed regret with their last moment's breath, and were torn asunder by the very powers that aided in their downfall. Where Faustus went wrong, however, cannot so easily be pinpointed at the moment of his accepting a contractual obligation to Satan. "O Faustus, lay that damnèd book aside / And gaze not on it, lest it tempt thy soul / And heap God's heavy wrath upon thy head! / Read, read the Scriptures. That is blasphemy," the Good Angel implores Faustus, but the Bad Angel reminds him of "all nature's treasure" available to him, power that would make him "on earth as Jove is in the sky, / Lord and commander of these elements"[38] outside the moral confines imposed by God, a world Ward also proudly occupies. Even his fellow scholars fear for his everlasting soul before Faustus decides to strike a deal with the devil. "Were he a stranger, not allied to me, / The danger of his soul would make me mourn."[39] The attraction of Faustus's dramatic fall from grace, and thus the benefit of emulating it, cannot be understated: the play saw nearly a dozen reprintings from 1604-1663, and was performed twenty-five times between October 1594 and October 1597.[40]

Comparisons can be made between Othello's turning Turk and Ward's.[41] And certainly, both Shakespeare and Daborne are exploring the various dramatic opportunities

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[37] Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (A-Text). *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*. Oxford World Classics. Ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (London: Oxford University Press, 2008) V.i.98-99.
[38] Ibid., I.i.69-72, 74-76.
[39] Ibid., I.iii.32-33.
[40] Chambers, 423.
[41] Gerald MacLean argues that Othello "dramatizes the European re-birthing of its own cultural identity" and "represents that great threat to European ideas of selfhood and nationhood – the danger of inconstancy, of internal contradiction, of disrupted identity." He suggests that Ward likewise explores English cultural identity "not the English fisherman who turned pirate but the Christian who, in the end, finds that he cannot turn Turk." While the legitimacy of Ward's conversion is certainly somewhat suspect, it seems unlikely that English audiences would have found the same commonalities with Othello that it could with Ward.

that the notion of "turning" offers. But Ward's turn has far more in common with Faustus's than Othello's. [42] Othello gave in to "the Turk within" and in grief killed himself, but Faustus gave himself willingly to a life whose only possible outcome was the reneging of his soul; his inherent desire for knowledge and power drove him to an inevitable extreme. Likewise, Ward's conversion and death soon after served as the final moments of a life destined for marginalization, the lynchpin of which was his career as a pirate. And though Daborne saw fit to punish with death a man who was still alive and well "to represent Ward's inevitable death in a morally uplifting, punitive climax," what Daborne uniquely offers is a conversion both as literal as Faustus's but as personal as Othello's.[43] Ward's conversion was one that Englishmen not only could perform, but were actively performing in droves as captives or pirates. Ward's pact was with the devil of piracy, because by 1612 "the devil was no longer a wily creature dressed like a friar, as he had appeared in *Dr. Faustus,* but the Satanic Turk."[44] Certainly the most horrifying

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Gerald MacLean, "On Turning Turk, or Trying To: National Identity in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turke," Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 2 (2003) 228-29.

[42] Ibid., 234.

[43] MacLean rightly notes that Othello's conversion is not as simple as becoming something that he is not. We know that early in his life Othello was captured and converted to Christianity, and his dramatic final words suggest not a conversion so much as a slipping back into Islam due to a "Turkish inconstancy." "…that in Aleppo once, / Where a malignant and turban'd Turk / Beat a Venetian, and traduc'd the state, / I took by the throat the circumcised dog, / And smote him thus" (5.2.353-37). This is further evidence that Ward's conversion holds more commonalities with Faustus's than with Othello's; one could argue Othello never did, and likely never could have, converted fully to Christianity in the first place. (MacLean, 229). See also Nabil Matar's argument regarding conversion from Islam to Christianity and the possibility of hypocrisy and fraud. Matar, 1998, 129.

[44] Matar, 1998, 55. Matar points out that Faustus's pact with the devil was directly connected to the Turk in the 1594 non-dramatic sequel, *The Second Report of Doctor Iohn Faustus,* in which the doctor joins the Muslin "Souldan." As Matar states, "Through Faustus, the link between the evil necromancer and the Turk was made" (54).

aspect of the play was not the conversion itself, but the flippancy with which Ward, already traveling the road of the damned, accepted it as an easy answer.

Ward was born into a poor fishing family, about which fellow pirate Captain Francisco taunts him. "You are not in Kent, / Crying, 'Herrings, seven a penny!' Nay, we have heard of you….Poor fisher's brat, that never didst aspire / Above a mussel boat; that were not born / Unto a fortune 'bove two cades of sprats…That by a beggar in mere charity / (Being made drunk) 'stead of a mariner / Wert stole aboard, and being awake didst smell / Worse then thy shell commodity at midsummer."[45] Ward was injured. "By all my hopes, thou hadst been better digged / Thy grandsire's urn up and have swallowed it."[46] Piracy was, by Ward's day, an occupation that favored the poor. The fishing industry, particularly in Kent, was highly susceptible to government regulations of the fishing trade, and "Cecil's Fast," an act introduced by William Cecil to reinvigorate the fishing industry by proclaiming that Wednesdays, in addition to Saturdays, were fish days, in order to aid "thincrease of Fishermen and Mariners and repairing of Porte Townes and Navigacion, and not for any Supersticion," was only enacted when John Ward was about ten years old.[47] His family had suffered the wave of Protestant Reformation that centered on Canterbury and crippled the Catholic-supported fishing tradition. Andrew Barker's pamphlet account begins Ward's tale by describing him as "a fellow, poore, base, and of no esteeme, one as tattered in clothes, as he was ragged in

[45] Scene 4, ln. 97-101, 103-110, p. 169.
[46] Ibid., ln. 114-15.
[47] "An Acte Towching Certayne Politique Constitutions Made for the Maintenance of the Navye" (1563) in *Tudor Economic Documents,* ed. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924) vol. 2, 116.

conditions."[48] However honest his day's work might have been been, it was the Ward family that, as fishermen, "lived outside of the systems of communal charity and personal obligation that served for a social safety net in Tudor England….the fishermen of Faversham were quick to seize other opportunities as they arose."[49] "[T]he good past, that he could boast of himselfe, might bee, that hee was borne in a Towne called Feversham in Kent, and there lived as a poore fisherman, and the virtue present, that he durst talke of was, he had abiding in Plimouth, wherfore a while keeping house, although I have never heard that he paid his rent, all the day you should hardly faile but finde him in an alehouse…"[50] The anonymous pamphlet *Two notorious Pyrates* suggests that despite his profession as a fisherman, "his pride at last would be confined to no limits, nor anything would serve him but the wide Ocean to walke in."[51] Whatever pride Ward had in his family's fishing history was tempered early in his life by the harsh lesson of independence in the face of financial instability.

Although Ward and Dansiker's conversions vary in severity and scale, Dansiker's occurring only verbally and with spiteful malice just before he kills himself, both men shuffle off this mortal coil far more regretful of their piracy than their apostasy. "Let my example move all pirates, robbers, / To think how heavy thy revenging hand / Will sit upon them. / I feel thy justice now. / Receive my soul; accept my intended vow," Dansiker speaks to his fellow pirate at the end of his life.[52] His body is thrown alongside

[48] Barker, A3v.
[49] Greg Bak, *Barbary Pirate: The Life and Crimes of John Ward, The Most Infamous Privateer of his Time* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2006) 7-8.
[50] Barker, A3v.
[51] *Two notorious Pyrates*, A2r.
[52] Scene 16, ln. 232-36, p. 228.

the convert Benwash, unburied. Ward follows soon after, slinging vitriol at Mahomet and Islam at large:

> May all your seed be damned! / The name of Ottoman be the only scorn / And by-word to all nations; may his own slaves / Tear out the bowels of the last remains / Unto his blood-propped throne…. / O may, the force of Christendom / Be reunited and all at once requite / The lives of all that you have murdered, / Beating a path out to Jerusalem / Over the bleeding breasts of you and yours.[53]

His is not, however, the tone of true religious repentance in the face of the terror of death, like the humbled Dr. Faustus begging for mercy. Ward's wrath comes from the "ungrateful curs, that have repaid me thus / For all the service that I have done for you."[54] Ward's true regret lies in the act that served as the first instance of his conversion from Englishness: piracy.

> Lastly, O may I be the last of my country / That trust unto your treacheries, seducing treacheries. / All you that live by theft and piracies, / That sell your lives and souls to purchase graves, / That die to hell, and live far worse then slaves, / Let dying Ward tell you that heaven is just, / And that despair attends on blood and lust.[55]

Ward had hubristically assumed himself outside the injunctions of heaven, and he as well as those who "live by theft and piracies" are among the Christian damned. When Ward

[53] Ibid., ln. 304-313, p. 230.
[54] Ibid., ln. 298-99.
[55] Ibid., ln. 315-21, p. 230-31.

expresses regret to Francisco, it is regret for his life as a pirate as well as his "fearful blasphemy." "Were I this city's viceroy," he says, "I would give / My crown, despoil myself of all, only to live / One month with that content this soul did know / When a poor fisherman possessed it."[56] Conversion aside, Ward's soul had not been at peace since before his days as a pirate. It is the Muslim governor who succinctly expresses the three defining moments of Ward's life, the latter each a product of the former. "His monument in brass we'll thus engrave: / 'Ward sold his country, turned Turk, and died a slave.'"[57]

Scholars have debated the validity and legitimacy of Ward's conversion (although not Dansiker's; his quick venomous conversion is typically ignored entirely). Jonathan Burton suggests Daborne never intended it to be read as an actual conversion scene at all, as evidenced by how heavily imbued with theatricality it was, as well as the obvious hiccup in the conversion process whereby Ward avoided circumcision altogether when he "played the Jew with 'em, / Made 'em come to the cutting of an ape's tail."[58] Burton states that "as Ward changes from his 'Christian habit' into 'the habit of a free borne Turke' (8.18), performing an act the chorus declares unthinkable to show, audience members are reminded that they are watching a mere act….Only the fool who fails to distinguish performance, or playing, from reality mistakes acting for apostasy."[59] Ward's ostensible conversion was staged to "safeguard the Englishman's endangered soul."[60] Alternatively, Nabil Matar affirms that Ward had "freely and willfully chosen to

[56] Ibid., Scene 13, ln. 150-53, p. 212.
[57] Ibid., ln. 325-26, p. 231.
[58] Scene 9, ln. 3-4, p. 199.
[59] Jonathan Burton, "English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion: Five Perspectives on 'Turning Turk' in Early Modern Texts," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* 2.1 (Spring/Summer 2002) 48.
[60] Ibid., 49.

renounce his faith,"[61] placing him in the category of renegade most celebrated by Muslims, but most detested by Christians. And certainly, "Daborne draped Ward in evil because he wanted to show the consequences of apostasy,"[62] but Ward's conversion, and the very concept of changing one's religion in general, is treated with such frivolity and histrionics in the play that Ward's source of "evil" necessarily exists outside of, and prior to, that effectively benign event. The only characters who spend any time discussing religion in-depth do so in remarkably practical, un-theological ways; religion is not an idea to be followed, but a force to be manipulated. Voada uses it as the flimsy excuse for her initial refusal to marry Ward. When Agar, Rabshake, and Voada debate the ways in which "religion doth move anything in the shapes of men," Rabshake notes the "gouty legs and firey nose" of the Turk and Jew, and the qualities he assigns to Christians are petty. "Firstly, they suffer their wives to be their masters….they are mad four times a year, those they call term-times…some of 'em are never their own men after it….They will devour one another as familiarly as pikes do gudgeons and with as much facility as Dutchmen do flapdragons."[63] And Ward's conversion debate ("What is't I lose by this my change? My country?") targeted his fate and his nationality as the foci of the fateful decision. Nor, notably, did Ward receive either Voada or any of the "many gifts, and sometime also a living" that contemporary traveler Arthur Edwards cited as the reward for one who willingly forsakes his religion.[64] Muslim Voada and Crosman are as fickle in their faith as the Jews and the Christians. Neither Ward nor Dansiker were actually

[61] Nabil Matar, 1998, 55.
[62] Ibid., 57.
[63] Scene 6, ln. 9, 11, 20-27, p. 174.
[64] Edwards, 394.

circumcised - the step in the conversion process that most horrified English Christians – but Ward had already abandoned his righteous Englishness and was duly punished, playacting his reformation or no.

Ward's only other dramatic appearance is a brief mention in Thomas Dekker's *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It.* Likely written in 1611,[65] *If This Be Not a Good Play* was certainly written after Ward's conversion. Act V scene iv depicts judgment in hell, with Shacklesoule, Pluto, Ruffman, and three Furies discussing the eternal fate of the two pirates. "Is *Ward* and *Dantziker* then come?" Pluto asks of the Furies. "Yes: Dantziker is come." "Where's *Ward*?" Pluto continues. Shacklesoule says that "The Merchants are not pilld nor pulld enough, / They are yet but shauen, when they are fleade, hee'le come. / And bring to hell fat booties of rich theeues, / A crew of swearers and drinkers the best that liues." Once Ward has outlived his life as a pirate, he'll finally go to hell and and bring with him his whole crew of miscreants. "*Ward* is not ripe for damming yet,"[66] say the Furies. Not ripe for damning yet, but if Dansiker's soul has already fled to hell (based, again, on the tenuous information gleaned from the Venetian Ambassador's letters), then invariably pirate Ward's exploits earned him a spot upon his death. Like Daborne, it is unknown whether Dekker knew about Ward's

[65] Mary Leland Hunt argues for a publication date of 1611. She notes that the play had to have been written after May 1610 because it, like *A Christian Turn'd Turk,* references the murder of Henri IV. She further points out that it was a "new play" in 1612, and that the dedication to the 1612 printing had to have been written just prior to the first performance of John Webster's *White Devil,* to which Dekker wished "a Faire and Fortunate Day, to your Next New-Play." Dekker's play was subsequently praised in Webster's dedication to *White Devil,* so the two were performed at the Red Bull quite close together. *Thomas Dekker: A Study.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911) 148.

[66] Thomas Dekker, *If This Be Not a Good Play, The Devil Is In It* (London: Printed for J.T., to be sold by Edward Marchant, 1612) V.iv.83-94.

conversion before or after he converted to Islam in early 1610; we simply cannot know when that information reached the general public. Therefore Ward's fleeting moment in Dekker's play can be read in either one of two ways, both of which suggest that piracy was the far more shameful crime. If Dekker wrote *If This Be Not a Good Play* after having learned of Ward's conversion, then clearly this act didn't even register on Dekker's radar as among the reasons Ward should damned to hell; only his thievery is mentioned. If Dekker wrote the play prior to having known about Ward's conversion, which I would argue seems likely given the glaring omission of this fact in the hell scene, then *A Christian Turn'd Turk,* performed shortly prior, likely only coincidentally fictionalized Ward's conversion ceremony as a means of sensationalizing the severity of his piracy.

The 1609 ballad and pamphlet publications, having predated not just Daborne's play but also Ward's actual real-life conversion, perform a similar move, something that we should not so much look at as a negation of the importance of a specific religious moment, but rather an expansion of what constitutes ceremonial conversion. Ward had become an "apostate countryman" from the moment he turned to crime, which could have been as early as 1601.[67] The information provided by these ephemeral and timely

[67] Our John Ward could be the John Ward cited in the Lord Admiral's letter to George Carew, dated 15 August 1601, making complaint of "one John Ward, captain of a certain French ship, and his accomplices" who stole the goods of French merchants John and Oliver Weseawe. *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth,* ed. J. S. Brewer & W. Bullen (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1870) vol. 4, doc 139, p. 128-29. C. L'Estrange Ewen argues that "he may well be the Captain John Ward of Plymouth, who is alleged to have committed piracy on Reynold Symonson, a Dane, in the Spanish Seas, about August or September 1601." One account of Ward's biography has him beginning his piracy career by stealing a French ship at the Isle of Wight. C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Captain John Ward, 'Arch Pirate'"* (1939) 2.

literatures would have been far more accessible to the broader population of England than Daborne's play, written for an upper-class Blackfriars' audience that most commonly frequented private children's theatres like the Queen's Revels. Claire Jowitt argues that "a 'grammar' of piracy emerges in the Renaissance: different pirate typologies express and explore vital issues facing the nation, which are refashioned for changing circumstances, using the ideological co-ordinates and meanings associated with earlier pirate figures to position afresh new pirate characters."[68]

While Jowitt's point is generally true, and as the official stance on piracy took an abrupt shift upon the coronation of James I the cultural production of piracy in England necessarily adjusted to fit new political and cultural problems, her exploration of Daborne's play and its pamphlet predecessors fails to consider just how different these "grammars" could be for economically diverse populations of England. I have argued against Greg Bak's assertion, also cited by Jowitt in her discussion of the play, that Ward's representation was holistically sympathetic (having justified his piracy and conversion via mitigating circumstances), and that the King was offended by this depiction, having rejected Ward's request for pardon.[69] The pamphlets and ballads, catering to a larger potential audience, present a more complicated, at times even heroic, picture of Ward. An audience for whom the allure of piracy was as pertinent as the allure of conversion were themselves lowborn tradesman John Wards, or at least had the potential to be. Jowitt calls attention to the "cross-currents at work in 'piracy'" that are

[68] Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630* (Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Co., 2010) 16.
[69] Bak, 182-5; Jowitt, 146.

depicted in Ballads about Ward,[70] but her discussion of ballads consistently suggests that they are of the same ilk as Daborne's privately-performed drama, when actually their respective social and economic environments cater to wildly disparate populations. The "competing ways 'piracy' signifies" are not as simultaneous as Jowitt would suggest, and rather are often divided among texts that variously accommodate James's authority and those that would have an interest in subverting it.

Although an original printing no longer exists, we do know that the ballad *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world and an Englishman born* was entered in the Stationers Register by John Busby on 3 July 1609.[71] It reads much like the longer accounts of Ward's life, and likely uses Barker's as a source. It too begins in Ward's home town of Faversham, but despite having borrowed from Barker it diverges widely in its moral scaffolding. Rather than suggest that Ward's lowborn status somehow outfitted him for a life of piracy from the start, the ballad states that "a simple fisherman…grows famous in the world now every day." It says his first adventure took Ward "adventurously, into the straits of Barbary" where he made "the Turkish Gallies fore to shake...[he] Spared not the Turks one jot, but of their lives great slaughter he did make." This tale is missing from Barker's account, which tells of Ward's exploits having begun legally employed on a naval ship, but shortly after amassing a crew of "scattergoods and swaggering rascals" and taking as his first booty a French ship that was bound for Ireland.[72] By claiming that Ward's first adventure on the high seas was a

[70] Jowitt, 2.
[71] Edward Arber, ed. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 AD* (London: Birmingham, privately printed, 1894) vol. 3, 414.
[72] Barker, B1v, B2r.

campaign against infidel enemies, *The Seamans Song* bypasses the well-worn trajectory posited by the accounts that has a poor John Ward growing inevitably into an irresponsible drunk and in turn inevitably into a pirate and apostate (a term that, if you recall, was applied to him in the accounts prior to his conversion). Instead he is a national hero, one so brave that "Christian Princes have but few / Such Seamen, if that be we were true, / and would but for his King & Country fight."

In fact, the ballad offers seven stanzas detailing his brave and profitable ventures before suddenly turning on Ward and coloring him a greedy evil man. "This wicket gotten treasure, / Doth him but little pleasure, / the land consumes what they have got by sea / In drunkennesse and lechery, / Filthy sins of Sodomy, / these evil gotten Goods do wast away." Ward, it seems, becomes victim not of his natural birth but of an unsustainable lifestyle. It is only after that point that Ward turns toward the Turks he had been so vigorously fighting early in the ballad. "Of truth it is reported / That he is strongly guarded, / by Turks that are not of a good belief.…These Countrey men accounteth / him equal to the Nobles of that Land."

The famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow depicts an event that is entirely fictional, and paints a Pirate Ward who is brave, heroic, and greatly favors financial success and personal sovereignty over national allegiance. My research has not uncovered any copies of this ballad prior to the mid-seventeenth century, although scholars generally agree it was probably circulating as early as the 1620s.[73] The Ward of

[73] Jowitt, 2. L'Estrange Ewen and Greg Bak also cite this fact in their Ward texts, although it is unclear where they got this information.

this ballad is haughty, revered, and most importantly, in the events depicted, more powerful than King James. He claims to have "never wronged an English ship, / but Turk and King of Spain" (which is inaccurate, of course, as Ward had wronged many an English ship[74]). "Go tell the King of England, / go tell him thus from me, / If he reign King of all the Land, / I will reign King at Sea,"[75] Ward threatened to the crew of the fictional *Rainbow* (a ship name meant to inspire memories of Sir Francis Drake's expedition in Cadiz in 1587). Although they were "brass on the outside, / yet Ward was steel within": Ward outran the Rainbow's shots, "for Wards Ship is so strong, / she never will be tane." There is no clear protagonist in this ballad; Ward is "proud" as the Rainbow's men are "gallant." Ward offered the King "full thirty Tun of Gold" for a pardon, which the king denied. "Oh nay, this may not be, / To yield to such a Rower, / my self will not agree."

Our sympathies, however, lie firmly with Ward: James's decision not to offer a pardon feels petty, and Ward's success on the high seas only confirms that clemency would have been the wiser choice. A distraught James invokes Lord (George) Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; Lord Mountjoy (Charles Blount), and Essex (Robert Devereux): "Oh everlasting says our King, / I have lost jewels three, / Which would a gone unto the Seas / and brought proud Ward to me." Like the *Rainbow,* Cumberland, Mountjoy, and

[74] For example, the High Court of Admiralty indicted Ward for his assault of the *John Baptist,* a ship owned by London merchants in the "maritime jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England" in November 1606. H.C.A. 1, 5, no. 28.

[75] *The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the RAINBOW* (London: Printed for F. Coles, in Vine-Street, neer Hatton-Garden). This version of the ballad was likely printed between 1670 and 1678, based on when Coles was printing at Vine Street. It is not the earliest version of the ballad, not least of which because it is sent to its own tune (To the Tune of, *Captain Ward*). An earlier printing has the tune set to *'Tis When the Seas were roaring.*

Essex won acclaim during the Anglo-Spanish wars under Queen Elizabeth. However productive James's peace with Spain had been diplomatically, it, coupled with his proclamations against piracy in the early decade of the seventeenth century,[76] left an entire generation of coastal mariners with fewer naval opportunities and without hope of receiving special license for privateering. His language was far from forgiving. He accused pirates of behavior nigh on treason and being apathetic about the "imputation they cast upon the honour of their Soveraigne so precious to him" and threatening the "preservation & continuance of amitie and good correspondencie with all other Princes and States."[77] For a ballad audience unable to partake in a private viewing of Daborne's moralizing drama, Ward is the common hero who found his own authoritative agency outside a newly imposed institutional framework that, not a decade prior, would have lauded his lucrative exploits. That Ward is "simultaneously appropriating monarchical authority" and also living "separate from orthodox national allegiance"[78] in *The Famous Sea-fight* is not as paradoxical as Jowitt argues; Ward is not challenging England's basic mode of governance. His claim to being "King at sea" is not an appropriation of monarchical authority, but an ironic trivializing of it. Ward's authority as the king of the *mare liberum* is as hollow as James's authority over Ward.

[76] James issued "A Proclamation for the search and apprehension of certaine Pirates" in 1604 and a general "Proclamation against Pirats" in 1609, in which John Ward was specifically mentioned by name, as having "to the great prejudice of his Majesties good friends the Venetians," robbed and spoiled their cargo. *Stuart Royal Proclamations,* Ed. James F. Larkin and Paul. L. Hughes, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 98-99, 203-206.
[77] "Proclamation against Pirats," *Stuart Royal Proclamations,* Vol. 1, 203.
[78] Jowitt, 2.

The Famous Sea-fight saw numerous reprintings, and although we cannot be sure how many times it was recirculated in England over the next century, we do know it was printed as late as the mid-nineteenth century, the text largely unchanged. One of the latest likely printings offers no date or publication information, but is the only one of the extant copies that sets the tune of the ballad to '*Tis when the Seas were roaring*, referring to John Gay's ballad *Twas When the Seas Were Roaring*, written for the tragicomedy *What-d'-ye-call-it?,* written in 1715. The other printings, excepting one that offers no tune at all, are all set to "the tune of *Captain Ward,*" which suggests that Ward's ballad had been so popular that it was reissued and the tune changed to Gay's naval song to help give the play a popularity boost. Other earlier printings are simply set to the tune of "Captain Ward," likely pointing to a lost ballad that had provided the tune. Each ballad offers the same date, the sixth of January, as the date King James launched the manhunt - indicative of a timely news ballad – placing Ward at various points directly into the ballad's long timeline. He is resurrected, as real and immediate as he ever had been, thus immortalizing John Ward as a timeless folk hero well beyond his death. "His name is Captain Ward, / right well it doth appear, / There has not been such a Rover, / found out this thousand year." There is a mischievous pride in touting Ward as an enduring anti-hero. His unique position in history at the beginning of the end of sanctioned English piracy positions him as representative of a golden age of maritime endeavors. "Ward stands for the alienation of the new generation of mariners, men whom King James had left without prospects upon making peace with Spain," Bak argues. "The King's hand-wringing over the loss of

'jewels three' merely confirmed that his ineffectual blundering had impoverished the nation."[79]

News print about Ward's compatriots in piracy were just as unsure about how the details of their piratical deeds should be conveyed to the reader.

The liues, apprehensions, arraignments, and executions, of the 19. late pyrates offers glimpses into the lives and final moments of some of the nineteen pirates who were tried, convicted, and hung at Wapping on December 22, 1609. This mass execution came on the tails of James's January 1609 proclamation against piracy. It called out the Admiralty in particular for failing to keep their sailors in check, so no doubt Lord Admiral Nottingham wanted to prove the Admiralty's ability to curb piracy by rounding up as many as he could and executing them before the year was out. As recently as 1604, the Lord Admiral had expressed clear ambiguousness toward piracy in a letter to the Privy Council in August of that year. Having noted with disappointment that he heard word that the men serving on the *Tremontane* had not seen "a penny of pay nor anything to wear," he noncommittally admits: "I do not look to live to see England or France free of pirates; they are relieved in some ports or creeks, and what my officers can do they shall."[80] Clearly, he took James's 1609 proclamation far more seriously than his 1604 proclamation of a similar nature. *Late Pyrates* consistently balances credible courtroom proceedings with a marked, if subtle, effort to demonize the accused as little as possible. Humanizing the executed pirates, however little the text could justify their actions, serves

[79] Bak, 194.
[80] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury,* ed. M. S. Guiseppi (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933) Vol. 16: *1604,* 202 no. 370

as a stark reminder of the reality of what putting James's proclamation into effect would mean for the English common man.

Tellingly, although he was not the first executed on that fateful day, James Harris's tale is offered first in the account.[81] His is the most conspicuously emotive, hitting the reader first with the story of a man whose decision to become a pirate was defensible, even laudable, under his circumstances. Harris had originally been a successful privateer under Queen Elizabeth, making his "felicity out of others mens miseries," noting with a hint of wistfulness that prosperity at sea was as much within his grip "as the power to speak was free to my tongue."[82] But Harris's fortunes turned, and he soon found himself captured and enslaved on Turkish galley ships. He refers to himself as a "Christian transformed to a slave," suggesting that the capture itself into the hands of the Turk somehow rendered him less of a Christian. He was eventually found and ransomed by Captain Richard Bishop, the most well-known of Ward's confederates. Bishop had some bad news: Elizabeth is dead, and her successor is not keen on piracy. The text is careful to dance gingerly around the explanation Bishop offers Harris, offering that the decision was made by "our most royall Soueraigne, and his prudent and grave counsell," based on "considerations best knowne to his grace and the state, and not requisite for vs that are subjects to enquire." But Bishop's distaste for the tide shift that

[81] The extant copy of this account is missing one page after the title page. It is possible an author was named, and the beginning of Harris's account is also absent.
[82] *The liues, apprehensions, arraignments, and executions, of the 19. late pyrates Namely: Capt. Harris Iennings. Longcastle. Downes. Haulsey. and their companies. As they were seuerally indited on St. Margrets Hill in Southwarke, on the 22. of December last, and executed the Fryday following* (London: Printed for John Busby the elder, 1609) A4r.

disadvantages poor sailors is clear; James "hath lessend by this generall peace the flourishing imployment that we seafaring men do bleede for at sea."[83]

Bishop offers to see Harris all the way back to England if he wishes, but he also offers him a spot in his fleet. Having made his decision to again pursue a career on the high seas, this time as a pirate, Harris makes clear that it was his alone. "neither of them [Bishop or Captain Gilbert Roup] were so ready to aske of my consent as I of free will was foreward to graunt: whose company both of them seeming with gladnesse to be welcomed."[84] Harris's reasoning was nothing if not practical, and highlights the avenue of sympathy most often pursued by news pamphlets for their pirate subjects. "In those dies of bickering," In a speech that reads not unlike Dansiker's explanation that a pirate's deeds come from "want of employment, not of virtue," Bishop convinces Harris by arguing that "we have spent our houres in a high floud, and it will be unsavory for vs now, to pick up our crums in a lowe ebbe: to live in basenes, and want meanes even to sustain nature." He points out that authorities that condoned privateering before would turn on them now, having to "walke under the checke of some such as have pearkt up their heads to authoritie in this time of quiet."[85] Were he to return to England, Harris would be another poor jobless sailor. The sentiment closely matches a much more emphatic and emotional speech attributed to Ward in Andrew Barker's account printed the same year:

[83] *Late Pyrates,* B1v.
[84] Ibid., B2r.
[85] *Late Pyrates,* B1v.

> Here's a scurvy world, and scurvily we live in it….Here's brine, meat good for ravening stomachs, but where is your brim up, and your full carouse that can make a merry heart? Where are the days that we cried 'Cargo in'?....Where are the days that have been, and the seasons that we have seen, when we might sing, swear, drink, drab, and kill men as your cake-maker doth flies? When we might do what we list, and the law would bear us out? Nay, when we might lawfully do that we shall be hanged for [if] we do now? When the whole sea was our empire…and the world but our garden where we walked for sport?[86]

Unlike conditions would have been at home for Harris, Captain Bishop's "purse was open to me as to himselfe," and he did not deduct "any part out of my share for the ship at his owne charge he had furnished forth for me."[87]

Harris's circumstances having been justified, the text now takes a highly affected approach to his eventual capture, trial, and execution. His riveting last moments are somber and heart-wrenching. Harris at one point asks if a pardon had by chance been sent down by the King; none had. Harris shared his final moments with his brother, who had stayed with him for the duration of the proceedings. "He sung (to a sillable) the one and twenty Psalms, dyed a repentant sinner and a Christian, and by the diligence of his naturall brother, was brought to the keeper of Newgates house in Newgate market, and from thence as a Christian was buried in Christe-Church."[88] A Christian burial for a

[86] Barker, A4r-v.
[87] *Late Pyrates*, B1v-B2r.
[88] *Late Pyrates*, E1r.

pirate-by-necessity whose identity as a Christian had already once been threatened by his captivity.

Harris's tale was by far the most sympathetic; the author of these accounts found difficulty in justifying the actions of his fellow hanged captains, but still interjects at times to offer counterpoints to the simplistic notion that piracy was altogether, across the board, evil. Captain Jennings is much more the Ward character, a skillful and brave mariner whose ambitions lay beyond crewing another man's ship. "I grew ambitious straight, to hauve a whole commaund, and held it basenes to live under checke."[89] Although his sister had twice helped procure pardons on his behalf from Queen Elizabeth, Jennings returned to piracy, "the pride of my heart not stooping, but contemning to attend their reproofe, who had saved my life, taking fit advantage by the forehead…I leave their service, intend now to serve for my selfe."[90] But the author strives to keep Jennings' seemingly boundless ambitions in check. Jennings (the author explains at the beginning that he is quoting the Captain), having just unceremoniously taken the *John Evangelist* "without much paines," docks at Baltimore in Ireland – a decision, apparently, as much to Ireland's advantage as to his. "For it is to be understood, that this part of *Ireland* and the kernes the inhabitants, have their best strength & support by the putting in and nourishing of Pyrates." The author himself appears to interject at this point, adding fuel to Jennings' defense:

[89] Ibid., C1v.
[90] Ibid., C2r.

> It is also to be noted, that as soone as any Captaine hath taken any ship, a cals to the Maister for a bill of his lading, and demaunds what belongs to the Marchant, what to the Master, and what to the Marriners? So that if he leave them their ship, he takes away none but the Marchants goods, and by this meanes he knowes hereafter what he is driven to be accomptable for.[91]

Jennings makes the compelling argument that those areas of Ireland that aid and harbor pirates actually benefit from it; one nation's traitor is another nation's benefactor, suggesting that James's unilateral outlawing of piracy of all kinds is hasty and myopic. This is followed immediately by an important, although likely exaggerated, caveat that pirates only keep the pilfered booty that belonged to the merchants and masters, allowing the mariners to keep what was rightly theirs. If the author cannot find the wherewithal to fully support Jennings' decision to become a pirate the way he had with Harris, he at least ensures the reading audience in England that pirates take care of those men whose governments and masters were doing a poor job of it.

Jennings, like Ward, is aware that his occupation and his lack of faith are closely tied. Whether the former begat the latter or the latter the former, is unclear. Regardless, Jennings echoes Ward's indifference toward Christianity: "I reioyced more to heare the Cannons voyce that bid me to fight, then the Church-bell that cald me to prayer."[92] Although Jennings never converted to Islam, he knows that hell awaits him for his conduct at sea as much as it awaited Ward. While in prison in Southwark after his

[91] *Late Pyrates*, C3r.
[92] Ibid., D3v.

capture, Jennings was found staring into the sun on a very hot day. When warned against it for fear he should get a headache, he replied: "what do you tell me of the head-ake, that shall hang in the sun shortly when my necke shall ake, and I do but practise now how I shal fry then."[93]

We get more details about the precise mechanisms by which pirates return the mariners' share of a ship's cargo in Captain William Loncastle's account. Aboard his ship *Ulisses,* Loncastle encounters Captain Anthony Wye's ship *Susan* off the North African coast and seizes control of it. Unfortunately for Loncastle, his crew's attempt to live secretly near Plymouth until they could "fully compound with this *Anthony Wye,* for his iniury past" was construed as paying off a witness by the courts. And indeed, Longcastle had no doubt assumed that once the mariner's share of Wye's goods were paid back, he and his crew were in the clear, for they were "certaine no other Englishman could witnes against them."[94] Wye never answered his summons to testify against Loncastle, but he was convicted and hanged nonetheless.

Although sympathies vary widely in the *Late Pyrates* text, no man is depicted so cruelly as to be unrelatable. William Minas was a comely man, who "by unjust courses thought to strengthen his fortune."[95] Captain Downes led a wretch's life, spent too much money, and lost his credit amongst men of worth.[96] And Captain Halfe was a Gentleman of good descent, but proved that "the divell sometimes hath his working in the most

[93] Ibid., D3v.
[94] Ibid., E2r.
[95] Ibid., F1r.
[96] Ibid., F2v.

gratious subiects."[97] Their stories are "woeful," "doleful," and "tragic." For this author, the men whose stories he relates, and the common Englishman, James's proclamation and the subsequent executions were unfairly reactionary, failing to take into account the everyday realities of a life lived on England's coast and incorrectly pointing to the pirates themselves as the cause of piracy, when in reality the mechanisms that fostered piracy were much bigger. Ward had bruised James's ego, and he retaliated by executing nineteen of his known accomplices.

Late Pyrates is not the only account that suggests that a stable income lies at the heart of piracy. News pamphlets detailing English conflicts with Muslim pirates reveal the loyalty with which the common population of England supported the nation's seamen who often encountered enemies on the seas. Complaints about a general lack of commendation and, more importantly, poor or delayed pay for service suggest that the news pamphlet authors and their audiences felt sympathy for those who might find alternative, unsavory means of compensating. Henry Robarte's *A True Relation of a most worthy and notable Fight,* printed in 1616, prefers to laud the heroes of the *vineyard* and the *Unicorne* rather than spend time derisively attacking the Turkish galley ships that attacked them. In fact, the news pamphlet paints the event not as a horrific act on the open seas, but a very straightforward event that happens with regularity. The two ships had at first parleyed with the Turks under friendly terms. The Turks inquired about the Algerian Men of War that the English ships had encountered previously, presumably to learn if they were friend or foe. "The sodaine and friendly parting with this Galley gave

[97] Ibid., G3v.

us hope we should have no further trouble with them," author Henry Robarte states, but reasonably points out that they still "durst not trust them, but made ready to defend our selves, as sodainely as we could."[98] Their concern was prescient, and the author notes that the Turks gave considerable deliberation to their deciding to turn around and attempt to sack the ships. "This time the Gallyes helded counsayle together what they should doe: At length, having concluded our final overthrow as it seemed, they all came upon us with all the violent force they could."[99] It was a retelling absent the religious rhetoric that so often colored accounts like these. It was "by the mercie and power of our God" that the English ships were saved, not from Muslim infidels, but from pirates.

That Robarte avoided the theological in favor of the practical fits with the theme of the pamphlet: piracy is, at its core, about money. Robarte is intent on garnering support for the seamen he feels have been sorely neglected. In particular it is the ship owners and merchants, Robarte suggests, that are not giving these men their due. This tale, he states in his dedicatory epistle to Mr. Gylbert Robertes, is "a pattern worth recording for others to follow, a comfort to Owners, and Marchantes, that commit their Shippes and goods to such mens government."[100] His language outside the epistle, however, gets decidedly more accusatory as the tale progresses. After contextualizing the heroism of the English sailors by briefly outlining tales about King David and brave Romans and Grecians at

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[98] Henry Robarte, *A True Relation of a most worthy and notable Fight, performed the nineteenth day of June now last past, by two small Shippes of the Citie of London: the Vineyard of a hundred and twentie Tunnes; and the Unicorne of a hundred and fourtie Tunnes, against Sixe great Gallies of Tunes, having in them a thousand and eight hundred men, of the Ile of Way-yorke in the Straights: Our Shippes having in all, Mariners, Merchants, and Passengers, fifty sixe men* (London: Imrinted for J. White, and to be sold by T. Langley, 1616) B1v.
[99] Ibid., B2r.
[100] Ibid., A2v.

war, he chides England for being a nation whose "charity is too too cold." "But such is the hardnesse of heart in most, now a dayes, that Let a man adventure their lives and libertie, in never so hardie an actions for safeguard both of Shippe and good, when they looke for chearfull countenance at their returne and some reward for their paines, they hardly get either good word or good deed, (nay scarcely) their wages which God knoweth was never so hardly gotten." In fact, failure to encourage the brave and loyal behavior of their employees "is often the cause of much losse to owners and Marchants, where if they nourished the true Labouring byerling with some small reward, (yea) but sometimes with a good word, it would give encouragement to men, rather to lose their lives then part with that is committed to their charge, in any sleight manner."[101]

Then Robarte winks deliberately at his reading audience, who undoubtedly know exactly what he's hinting at:

> And you that read and know what you read, how many Ships and men of our Nation, hath been taken by these Pyrats, those homecides that lurke about the South Cape, Barbery, & the Straights, to surprise such as trade in honest Merchants affaires, the Owners and Merchants to their cost, can best tell…whereby the Companies falling into their hands, are imprisoned, and often times made slaves to those Heathen nations that triumph over them, to the utter ruine of them & their for ever.[102]

[101] Ibid., A3v-A4r.
[102] Ibid., A4r.

Robarte is no longer being subtle: by not adequately paying those in their employ, owners and merchants actively encourage them to turn to piracy and feeding the problem of captivity. "*These* pyrats" are undoubtedly the very men about whom Robarte had been speaking so honorably; brave and true English seamen who are so poorly rewarded for their valor that they lose all loyalty to their ship and to their nation. Robarte caps the tale in much the same fashion. He once again begs that owners and merchants "which have such faythfull people to deale for them, would not shut their Purses from rewarde…that others may be encouraged to doe them the like service." The positive outcome of this fair treatment is evident: "If such men would use this charitie, no doubt but their bounty and good countenances to men adventuring for them would make their service to us better performed, And this Kingdome be more better replenished with able and sufficient men to fight in their defence, if occasion should bee."[103] Upping the emotional ante, Robarte draws a direct connection between fair pay for seamen and national security. For men scraping together a livelihood under the employ of maritime commerce, there was always a very real threat that one's faith and patriotism might suddenly be tested, and how well you'd been rewarded for your loyalty would likely determine the importance of adhering to either.

One dramatic event sparked publicized outrage from the captain of the *Dolphin*, Captain Edward Nichols. It's unclear what the exact relationship is between the two documents printed the same year that tell the story of the *Dolphin* fighting against five Turkish Men of War in January 1616. *A Fight at Sea, Famously fought by the Dolphin of*

[103] Ibid., F2r-F2v.

London against five of the Turkes Men of Warre was printed just prior to *The Dolphins danger: and Deliverance* in 1617. The likeliest scenario seems to be that the text, written by Nichols himself, was erroneously printed before he was finished. The texts are virtually identical, excepting two notable differences: first, the earlier of the two is vaguer in its explanation of how the ship caught fire, and says that the surgeon on board the ship caught a ball of wildfire and threw it into the sea.[104] The latter mentions the wildfire balls much earlier as the cause of the ship's fire, and takes time to explain "one thing more worthy of rememberance of our Chirurgion whose name was *Robert Grove.*" A wildfire ball fell into Grove's basin, and when he tried to throw it overboard it fell on the deck. So Grove "resolutely fell upon it and rouling in it smothered it out with his body."[105] That the second document calls particular attention to the surgeon's name at one of the only points of divergence between the two accounts falls in line with what Nichols complained was fundamentally wrong with the first printing. In his dedicatory epistle to Charles, then Prince of Wales, he says that "it was falsly printed without my knowledge; which for the regard I have to the truth and mine owne Credit, I could doe no lesse then contradict with a Refutation of falshood."[106] But the nearly identical original account cannot have been so terribly false as Nichols claims. In fact, the "toothlesse satire" written by John Taylor that follows the epistle highlights what Nichols' real complaint with the original text was: it did not bother to honor the men aboard the *Dolphin* by name. "O! tis a hell of hells, and shame of shames, / Where men shall justly dare to fight and dye: / And writers will not

[104] *A Fight at Sea, Famously fought by the Dolphin of London against five of the Turkes Men of Warre, and a Satty the 12. of January last 1616* (London: Printed for Henry Gosson, 1617) B2r-v.
[105] *The Dolphins danger: and Deliverance* (London: Printed for Henry Gosson, 1617) C2v-C3r.
[106] *The Dolphins danger,* A2r.

regester their names….But when a man shall for a certaine know, / That with his life, his memory must fall: / And no Records his worthinesse shall show, / These meanes will make starke Cowards of us all." Indeed, the only other difference between the two accounts is the addition of a list of names, men who died in the *Dolphin*'s skirmish, and the manner of their grisly deaths. Thomas Worger had his shoulder blade shot off. Robert May Maisters was shot in the thigh. Unfortunate David Fause, the master's mate, was shot in the groin.[107] It seems that although the first account's real purpose was, according to Tinniswood, "to celebrate the courage of ordinary seamen, who were often criticized at home…for yielding too quickly and giving up their cargo to save their own skins,"[108] this simply was not commendation enough in the eyes of the captain, for his men who chose "rather to die, than to yield, as it is still the nature and condition of all Englishmen."[109]

Whether you favor the maligned earlier version or the one with Captain Nichols's seal of approval, both documents conspicuously, perhaps even deliberately, fail to pass judgment on the three Englishmen they encounter who are captaining the Turkish ships. We learn absolutely nothing about Walsingham, who "seemed by his name to be an English-man,"[110] Kelleyes, or Sampson, the "Captaines of three of their Shippes…who

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[107] The authorial relationship between these two accounts is fraught with uncertainty. The 1630 *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* lists *The Dolphins danger* as his work, but only includes the final page of names. It then attributes the entirety of *A Fight at Sea* to him, even though that document said it was penned by "one of the same Voyage" (likely Captain Nichols). How exactly Henry Gosson managed to get ahold of an early copy, or who that copy was printed by, or indeed why Gosson also got rights to the second corrected printing, is unclear. The 1777 edition of *Biographia Nautica* references both texts and notes that the one attributed to Taylor appears to have been copied verbatim from the first. After that, it appears *The Dolphis danger* falls out of memory, and *A Fight at Sea* is favored academically, a fact that would surely frustrate the angry Captain Nichols.

[108] *Pirates of Barbary,* 95.

[109] *A Fight at Sea,* B1v.

[110] *Ibid.,,* A4r. *The Dolphins danger* reads "which should be an Englishman by that name."

tooke part with the Turks thus to rob and spoyle us uppon the Ocean."[111] We aren't told if they had converted to Islam or were merely pirating for the Turks, we don't know where they're from or why they were so willing to lay siege to their fellow countrymen's ships. It is notable that these pamphlets forego affected emotional language for the English pirate, treating them not as "infidels," "enemies of Christianity," or "traitors," but as men of commerce. Captain Nichols at once ardently defends his shipmates who fought a valiant fight, while simultaneously accepting that some Englishmen have simply opted for the other side.

News pamphlets, often bought and consumed by these very same working seamen and their families, would have benefitted from an idealistically positive, or at least neutral, stance toward the proliferation of piracy amongst the working class of England. But that is not to say that piracy, and its collusion with Islam, was not still a heavy moral weight on England's collective conscience, as pirates brought home with them the threat of an incursion of Islam. The trope has been present in almost all the literatures explored in this chapter. Young Alizia, sister to the French gentleman Lemot, is terrified upon hearing that Ward plans to convert and take on "the abhorred name of Turk."[112] Although he himself had converted, Benwash calls his compatriots "Mahometan dogs."[113] The anonymous pamphlet telling of Ward and Dansiker's exploits included a letter from ships' masters to their owners in London, telling of an encounter with Turkish pirate ships manned by Englishmen. Conflating occupation with religion, the text reads:

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[111] *Ibid.*, B2v.
[112] Daborne, Scene 7, ln. 209, p. 195.
[113] Ibid., Scene 6, ln. 76, p. 176.

"Thieving is their living, blood is their exercise, tyranie is their practice: Christians are turned Turkes, and Turks are the sons of devils, then what good can be expected of them?" Indeed, to battle these English and Turkish pirates alike, "all Christendome should be made up into one hand for the revenge thereof."[114]

Sermons and other religious texts took the sharp derision and equating of Turks with the devil and applied them wholly to piracy as well. Francis Rollenson's *Twelve prophetical legacies. Or Twelve sermons upon Jacobs last will and testament recorded by Moses* refers to Satan himself as a "Pyrate, or a Thiefe, & a Tempter, by his subtle temptations [he] seeketh continually to robbe us of eternall life."[115] Thomas Adams' *The Devills banket described in foure sermons* describes the sins as "bidders" welcoming souls to hell. "Ingrossing," (specifically the buying up of large quantities of goods with the goal of obtaining a monopoly) was given by the Devil "a letter of Mart of his Pyracie."[116] The following year Adams again called on piracy in *The blacke devil or the apostate Together with the wolfe worrying the lambes,* a collection of three sermons. Using Turks as metaphors for pirates, one sermon states, "There be Pyrates in the Sea….Fury fights against us, like a mad Turke." Adams then turns the metaphor from the Turk to the Devil, comparing those pirates on the seas with Satan himself. "But the Arch. Pyrate of all is the Devill; that huge Leviathan, that takes his pleasure in this sea. And his

[114] *Two notorious Pyrates,* D1r.
[115] Francis Rollenson, *Twelve prophetical legacies. Or Twelve sermons upon Jacobs last will and testament recorded by Moses, in the 49. Chapt. of Genesis* (London: Imprinted by T. C. for Arthur Johnson, 1612) 172.
[116] Thomas Adams, *The deuills banket described in foure sermons* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for Ralph Mab, 1614) 11.

pastime is, to sinke the fraught of those Merchants, that are laded with holy traffique for heaven."[117] The hierarchy is clear: the Devil begets Turks begets pirates.

In 1616, Sam Page's *Nine sermons upon sundrie texts of scripture first* railed against piracy, presenting it as a horrendous bastardization of the honorable life of a seaman. "Let me deliver my own opinion and thoughts concerning these men, as I hold no life on earth that hath liberty, so full of gall, as is the Sea mans, nor any goods more dearly bought then what he fetcheth from far: so I hold no theft so mischievous, as to rob him….no robber can deserve more severitie of justice, then the pirate doth."[118] Sir Thomas Overbury's unique portraiture collection describing a variety of characters devotes a section to Pirates. "A Pyrate, truely defined, is a bold Traitour…like a witch in a sieve, you would think he were going to make merry with the Divell….He is one plague the Divell hath added, to make the sea more terrible then a storme." Once again suggesting that piracy threatens one's eternal soul, the portrait continues (clearly referring geographically to English pirates in particular in his mention of Wapping): "Yet for all this give him but his pardon, and forgive him restitution, hee may live to know the inside of a Church, and die on this side Wapping."[119] Whatever sympathies news pamphlets promoted toward English pirates was absent those religious texts that equated it with apostasy, the way Daborne and the pamphlet and ballad writers had for John Ward.

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[117] Adams, *The blacke devil or the apostate Together with the wolfe worrying the lambes. And the spiritual navigator, bound for the Holy Land. In three sermons* (London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1615) 24.
[118] Samuel Page, *Nine sermons upon sundrie texts of scripture* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for Simon Waterson, 1616) 71.
[119] Thomas Overbury, *Sir Thomas Overburie his wife with new elegies upon his (now knowne) untimely death: whereunto are annexed, new newes and characters written by himselfe and other learned gentlemen* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Laurence L'istle, 1616) 70-71.

Ward, who had been Yusuf Reis for twelve years since his conversion in 1610, died in Tunis in 1622. Ward continued to work for the Ottoman fleet after 1610, albeit rarely, and he does not appear in any official English documents after the February 1610 Venetian letter in which James smugly suggested his pardon was not for sale. Lithgow's visit to Tunis in 1615 is the last time we get a glimpse of Ward, when Lithgow visits him and describes his life in North Africa:

> Here in *Tunneis* I met with our English Captaine, generall *Ward,* once a great Pyrat, and Commander at Seas; who in despight of his denied acceptance in *England* had turned *Turke,* and built there a faire Palace, beautifyed with rich Marble and Alabaster stones: With whom I found Domestick some fifteene circumcised English Runnagats, whose lives and Countenances were both alike even as desperate as disdainfull. Yet old *Ward* their Master was placable, and joyned me safely with a passing Land conduct to *Algiere;* yea and diverse times in my ten dayes staying there, I dyned and supped with him, but lay aboord in the French ship.[120]

Ward lived out his life quietly but sumptuously, his household supported by a team of converted English servants; a far preferable life to what would have invariably been a much shorter one, had he attempted to return home prior to James's general proclamation pardoning pirates in 1612. And regardless, the proclamation was a failure because, as Bak argues, "it did not address the underlying social and economic conditions that gave rise to

[120] Lithgow, *The totall discourse,* 358.

piracy. Many of those who took up the general pardon found themselves unable to eke out a living on shore and soon returned to their former ways."[121] By choosing to convert and stay in Tunis, Ward avoided the two fates that most often met his pirate compatriots at home: poverty or hanging. It also meant he was allowed to die a much more dignified death than Dansiker: a great plague hit Tunis in 1622, and word was sent to the Venetian Doge that "the great mortality caused by the plague in Algiers and Tunis" had caused the death of Ward, "God grant it be true!"[122] The plague was so sweeping that it halted pirate ships in their ports. "The mortality of the Barbary people said to amount to 350,000, mostly at Algiers and Tunis, and they had not enough men to arm even a single vessel." The body count was so high they could not bury their dead but rather had to throw them into the sea.[123]

Even after his death, Ward's presence in the English imagination would remain strong throughout the century: there are at least two dozen extant copies of the aforementioned ballad *A Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow,* reprinted throughout the century and well into the next, and undoubtedly more are lost to us.[124] The mentions of Clifford, Cumberland, Mountjoy, and Essex serve to glorify and mythologize days gone by as opposed to tethering the ballad to any particular moment in history. His heroism heralded in reprint after reprint belied an increasing anxiety in England about piracy and captivity that would only escalate as the century drew on. Two

[121] Bak, 186.
[122] CSPV 17 1621-1623 (London: 1911), no. 617.
[123] CSPV 17, no. 618.
[124] The Short Title Catalogue dates one printing as late as 1791-1803, based on when the printer, J. Evans, was working at his shop in Long-Lane, West Smithfield.

news pamphlets that each tell the story of the miraculous rescue of two Bristol ships, the *Jacob* and the *Exchange*, both from Algerian pirates, take reveal that anxiety. While still giving credence to the brave exploits of Englishmen who aren't finding their due compensation at home, their tone also suggests a shift in the role the Turk would play in printed texts. They play up the horrifying reality of what could happen if those brave men fail and fall under the control of "the insulting Barbarians,"[125] and in doing so marked what I would argue is the beginning of a dedicated attempt to simplify and demonize the Turk in popular literature with an end toward positioning him as a convenient metaphor for something else. More so than in the previous decades' news pamphlets, the authors of these 1622 accounts emphasize looking at Turks and piracy as emblematic of God's role in the Englishman's (and English seaman's) life.

And indeed, the two terms were developing ever more overlapping definitions. *A Relation Strange and true, of a Ship of Bristol named the Jacob, of 120. Tunnes, which was about the end of Octob. last on 1621 taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier* actually conflates them entirely, stating that the *Jacob* "was met withal and set upon by Turkes or Pirates of *Argier*" and taken over.[126] Those Turks or pirates (the distinction clearly doesn't matter) took all but four Englishmen out of the ship, manned it with thirteen Turks, and planned to bring the ship to Algiers to sell. An entire page of the text is dedicated to the hypothetical thought processes of the four youths who were "thus fallen

[125] *A Relation Strange and true, of a Ship of Bristol named the Jacob, of 120. Tunnes, which was about the end of Octob. last 1621, taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier* (London: printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1622), A3v.
[126] Ibid., A3v.

into the hands of mercilesse Infidels,"[127] as the author paints for the reader all the possible outcomes the unfortunate men were contemplating. This is not as a means of telling any particular truths, but rather imparting on the mind of the reader what trials God might reasonably set upon them at the hands of the Turks:

> First they considered the lamentable and miserable estates that they were like to be in, as to be debard for ever from seeing their friends and Countrey, to be chained, beaten, made slaves, and to eat the bread of affliction in the Galleyes all the remainder of their unfortunate lives, to have their heads shaven, to feed on course diet, to have hard boords for beds…"[128]

Captivity itself paled in comparison, however, to what the author argues is the cruelest of fates: "…and which was worst of all, never to be partakers of the heavenly word and Sacraments."[129] The statement has heavy implications. It suggests that distance from the Christian faith might in some way threaten passive conversion, a fear emphasized later in the description when the author justifies their potentially dangerous escape plans, "for they did consider wisely that death was better then bondage, and that noble resolutions were the begetters or fore-runners of worthy actions, which made them resolve rather then they would suffer a slavish life, to trie the hazard of a memorable death."[130] The conspicuous absence of the third common possibility, conversion, coupled with the fear that too much time and distance between an Englishman and his English church might

[127] Ibid., A3v.
[128] Ibid., A4r.
[129] Ibid., A4r.
[130] Ibid., A4r.

jeopardize his faith, actually avows an understanding that conversion was frighteningly common. Mere mention of the option could plant in an Englishman's mind the logical conclusion that conversion sounds better than either death or slavery.

The pamphlet spins an action-packed and violent story about the four young Englishmen's successful attempt to take their ship back under control. They pushed the captain overboard and, after he miraculously managed to catch hold of a rope and cling to the ship, hit him so hard with a pump handle that "his braines forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the sea."[131] The author is a bit too zealous in his aim to prove the story is true, offering the possible objection that there's no way the captain's fellow men wouldn't have heard his screams. But, the author argues, "at Sea a Gust, Flaw, or Storme, hath many times a louder voice then a man…which would overcome and drowne the voice or crie of any man whatsoever."[132] Perhaps the validity of this story had been called into question before. The Englishmen managed to kill two other Turks and injure two more, who "to escape the further fury of their swords, leap't suddenly overboard to goe seeke his Captaine."[133] Soon the Englishmen had control of the ship, despite their only numbering four and there still remaining nine Turks on board. They took the ship to Saint Lucas in Spain and sold the Turks as galley slaves "for a good summe of money, and as I think a great deale more then they were worth." The tale is over by this point but the pamphlet carries on for another four and a half pages as the author reads the events in a religious context, noting that his point had been that "the

[131] Ibid., A4v.
[132] Ibid., A4v.
[133] Ibid., B1r.

Reader may see the instability of humane accidents, and that the supernall power and providence hath a ruling hand to dispose of all the purposes of men to his owne glory….In the reason of man, the poore mens case was desperate and past recovery; but see, Gods arme is not shortened…"[134] The author goes on to briefly remind the reader of John Fox's daring escape and the Dolphin's success at the hand of Captain Nichols, two men who "attribute all the meanes of their deliverance to the mighty hand of God."[135] Unlike earlier pamphlets, *A Relation strange and true* uses the actual events at sea for a bigger purpose: to emphasize God's role in our lives. The end reads:

> Here is a matter sufficient related, to perswade men that as they should not presumptuously ascribe Gods honour to themselves, so on the other side here are maine motives and examples to keepe men from despaire in their greatest distresses: for as you see here when all mans helpe failed, then Gods helpe prevailed, to whom alone, as it is due, be ascribed all the honour.[136]

Any interesting tale could have sufficed to make this point. But it is the Pirate Turk that, by the second decade of the seventeenth century, best encapsulated a variety of English anxieties about faith and identity. The scourge of the Turk is an allegory that, as the decades progress and England grows increasingly more politically tumultuous, would come to be even more specifically weaponized for particular metaphorical purposes.

[134] Ibid., B1v.
[135] Ibid., B3v.
[136] Ibid., B4r.

And of course, it wouldn't be a popular pamphlet if it didn't offer an overt critique of a system that under rewards its poor laborers who "thought it more courage to dye free, then to live as slaves."

> Had *John Cooke* been some Collonell, Captaine, or Commander, or *William Ling*, some navigating Lord, or *David Jones* some gentleman of land and riches, or had *Robert Tuckey* beene one of fortunes minions, to have more mony than wit, or more wealth then valour, oh what rare Muses would have toyled like Mules, to have gallopt with their flattering encomiums, beyond the 32 points of the compasse; whilst these 4 rich caskets of home-spun valour and courage, have no pen to publish their deserved commendations, no invention to emblazon their saltwater honour, but the poor lines and labours of a freshwater Poet. [137]

Valor, it seems, comes in different forms, and it is the "home-spun" variety that lacks sufficient funds to pay the Muses so their tales might be told. Pirates and Turks are effectively synonymous, so if our English seamen become pirates, they risk becoming Turks. And without adequate commendation and compensation to encourage them to fight and die rather than live and convert, that very thing could in fact happen.

The story of the other unfortunate ship of Bristol, *The Famous and Wonderfull Recoverie of a Ship of Bristoll, called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier* takes a similarly didactic approach to its treatment of the Turks present in the tale. The relation, prefaced and likely penned by the ship's Vice Admiral John Rawlins himself, is

[137] Ibid., B2r.

meant to "instruct one another in the absolute duties of Christianity."[138] *The Famous and Wonderfull Recovery* is a comparatively long publication, embellishing the story with long and invented speeches by Rawlins and frequently interrupting itself to offer moralistic readings of the events. Right from the beginning it positions Christianity in opposition with both Turks and pirates. It describes the brave Englishmen who might deliver themselves "though by death it selfe, from slavish captivitie, or the thraldome of barbarous Infidels, who glory in nothing more then the perdition of our soules, and derision of our Christ."[139] This is the strongest religious language in any pamphlet we've seen yet, describing the Turk as not just an enemy of Christianity, but a terrorist, hell bent on the destruction of Christ's dominion and his people well outside of the terrestrial issue of piracy. And yet later the text appears to equate the two, as it describes an as-yet unidentified ship approaching the *Nicholas* of Plymouth. "At last perceiving us *Christians*, they fell from devices to apparent discovery of hostility…we againe suspecting them *Pirats*, took our course to escape from them."[140] That the English ship should be perceived as *Christians* and the unidentified ship as *Pirates* suggests that, whether the opposing ship is manned by Turks or no (the ships were in the heavily trafficked Strait of Gibraltar, and thus could have been under the flag of any number of nations), merely being a pirate means *not* being a Christian.

Whether or not this account had wanted to sidestep the unfortunate fact of conversion, it wasn't given much of a choice; we are introduced to at least four English

[138] *The Famous and Wonderfull Recoverie of a Ship of Bristoll, called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier* (London, printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1622) A3v.
[139] Ibid, A3v.
[140] Ibid., A4r.

renegades, one of whom bought Rawlins from the Turks who eventually did take over the *Nicholas* and took the ship, goods, and men to Algiers. Although Rawlins had a lame hand, the "English Turkes" John Goodale and Henry Chandler bought a former English ship the *Exchange* and Rawlins to man it. And so the text simply must contend with the possibility of apostasy. It does so before we are introduced to the renegades, so as to preemptively ensure the reader will have no sympathy for the men who turned their back on God and nation. "…concerning their enforcing them, either to turne *Turke,* or to attend their filthinesse & impieties, although it would make a Christians heart bleed to heare of the same, yet must the truth not be hid, nor the terror left untold."[141] Some Christians are beaten until they bleed, have their teeth stricken from their heads, their tongues pinched and their bodies stretched until they give in. Still others, "who never knew any God, but their owne sensuall lusts, and pleasures, thought that any religion would serve their turns, and so for preferment or wealth very voluntarily renounced their faith…"[142] Our John Ward, of course, falls firmly in the latter category. Soon Rawlins, who refers to himself in the third person for the duration, becomes the standout protagonist, in a genre that typically glorifies a number of men for their valor. For a page and a half he enthusiastically encourages his fellow captives to fight for their freedom. "Oh hellish slavery to bee thus subjected to dogs! To labour thus to inrich infidels, and maintaine their pleasures, to be our selves slaves, and worse then the out-cast of the world: is there no way of releasement? No devise to free us from this bondage? No exploit, no action of worth to be put in execution, to make us renowned in the world, and famous to

[141] Ibid., B1v.
[142] Ibid., B2r.

posteritie?" It is not enough for this dramatized character Rawlins to obtain freedom; fame and renown at having escaped the infidels awaits the men who can shake of their yoke. The language is no longer of piracy, but of faith. "Oh God strengthen my heart and hand, and something shall be done to ease us of these mischiefs, and deliver us from these cruell *Mahometan* dogs."[143] The speech is clearly a fabrication, reasonable enough for a text whose primary purpose is to use the Turk Pirate as a representation of the trials God sets against us, and only secondarily to actually tell the story of events involving Turks. The depiction only gets more egregious later, when he tells us that the English renegade captain, upon seeing two Spanish men of war approaching, calls on a "witch" to foretell what action should be taken. "They also observe Lunaticks and changelings, and the Conjurer writeth downe their sayings in a booke, groveling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Devill to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the letter, as it were by inspiration." The fictional pagan rituals the author assigns to the Turks have little to do with the events at hand, and yet the point is hammered home that "many other foolish rites they have, whereon they doe dote as foolishly, and whereof I could intreat more at large ,but this shall suffice at this time."[144] It is more than a little ironic that, after the author's boisterous posturing against apparent Turkish customs, the ships in question were not in fact Spanish, but fellow Turks.

Because none of the Turks on board are sailors, Rawlins manages to successfully enact his plan to turn the ship in the direction of England, whereupon the captives make

[143] Ibid., B4v.
[144] Ibid.,, C2r-v.

their escape. In another grandiose speech, Rawlins makes clear the hierarchy of prizes for which they fight. “Be therefore coragious, and let us joyne heart, hand, and foot together, that we may execute this brave attempt, for Gods glory, our Countries honour, the good example of other, our owne deliverance, and if we may not be counted vaine-glorious, our everlasting memorie.”[145] Third behind God and country lies their deliverance, as if the very personal and tragic captivity of these men is emblematic all of English Christendom’s struggle against the infidel Turk. His men “make a crie and skrich, for God, and King *James,* and Saint *George* for *England.*”[146] The off-topic asides meant only to reiterate the barbarousness of the Turk continue throughout the text. When Chandler begged mercy from Rawlins, he acquiesced that he had indeed saved him in Algiers and given him a position on his ship. But Rawlins made clear that Chandler’s “*Apostasie* from *Christianity,* the unjustifiable course of *Piracy,* the extreame cruelty of the *Turkes* in general, the fearefull proceedings in *Argier* against us in particular, the horrible abuses of the *Moores* to *Christians,* and the execrable blasphemies they use both against God and men” meant he didn’t deserve mercy, although Rawlins did end up sparing his life. Remarkably easily were the apostates turned back to their true savior, “as being formerly seduced with the hope of riches, honour, preferment, and such like devilish baits, to catch the soules of mortall men, and entangle railty in the tarries of horrible abuses, and imposturing deceit.”[147]

[145] Ibid., D2v.
[146] Ibid., D3v.
[147] Ibid., E1v.

The author assumes his English reader is already well acquainted with the atrocities of the Turk, their "cruelty and inhumanitie," and how they "who from a native barbarousnesse doe hate all Christians and Christianitie, especially if they grow into the violent rages of Piracie, or fall into that exorbitant course of selling of slaves, or inforcing men to be *Mahumetanes*."[148] The suggestion is that Turks naturally hate Christians, but become even more inclined toward that hatred if they also become pirates. Were the reader to question the factual accuracy of anything in this text, however, it is clear that whatever embellishments may exist only serve to further the didactic purpose of the text. Although Rawlins presented the tale to the Marquisse, a trustworthy man who wouldn't partake of deceit, even the author feels there were some liberties taken. "As for illustration, or cementing the broken peeces with well tempred morter, blame [Rawlins] not for that: for precious stones are worne enameled, and wrought in gold, which otherwise would be still of value and estimation; but polished, and receiving the addition of Art and cunning, who doth not account the better, and esteemeth himself the richer for their possession?"[149] It becomes clear at this point that Rawlins' unusual decision to refer to himself in the third person was an attempt to build some authorial distance between himself and the story, favoring the illusion of eyewitness testimony over a personal first-hand account.

And so we are instructed, despite the flourishes, to "apply it, make use of it, and put it to thy heart for thy comfort." It is a text that "teacheth," "instructeth," and it is "a

[148] Ibid., E2v.
[149] Ibid., E3r.

mirror to looke virtue in the face, and teach men the way to industry and noble performances….Shall I fear death…when God is to be honoured, my Country to be served, my King to be obeyed, Religion to be defended, the Common-wealth supported, honour and renowne obtained, and in the end the crowne of immortality purchased?" The story ends with a call for good Christian English patriotism, the struggle for which is best represented through an enemy who unilaterally works toward the destruction of those ideals.

The broad tale told by the previous texts is that by the 1620s, piracy in the Mediterranean was more than just a financial burden on the merchants whose ships were regularly plundered. Piracy had become a matter of national security and, more importantly, a matter of national identity. The rhetoric of Daborne's play and the pamphlets of the teens and twenties that blurs the lines between pirate and renegade, born of a similar blurring between Turk and Turkish pirate, had entered common usage. In a 1619 deposition detailing the arrest of Patrick Morton, who was accused of conspiring with men by the names of Grymes and McCarty to abuse Harding the Friar, Morton was charged with "upbraiding the fryer for changing his religion and calling him Renegate (which the fryer interpreted to be a denyer of his faith)." But Morton cleared up the Friar's confusion in his deposition, explaining that because the Friar had himself abused Morton so greatly, he "called him a Runagate, which he meant according to the common use of the word for running from one Country to an other & not from one Religion to an

other. And this he saith is all what ever he said or did in the said bussines."[150] In Morton's mind, denying your country is a lesser accusation than denying your faith, hence his using his explanation to try to clear his name. But it stands that the term "renegade" was in the midst of a transformation of definition that was debatable even at the time.

And it is little wonder, given the panic with which England contended with Mediterranean piracy, that a renegade necessarily came to also mean one turning his back on his country. A 1617 petition to King James on behalf of various merchants of various trading companies affected by piracy represents the "infinite spoiles donn of late by pyratts at sea unto his Majestie's subjects, both of Englaund and Scotlaunde, by those of Argier and Tunis." The merchants make the argument that not only does this cause "the utter ruyne of themselves their wyves and children," but more broadly "the impoverishing and weakening of theis his realms and dominions." And so they implore the King to take speedy action in suppressing the pirates, even offering to add funds to a coffer in support of the endeavor.[151]

And so James, it having been imparted upon him by his merchant subjects that his job was "above all thinges the preservation of the lives, goods and liberties of his subjects," charged Lord Admiral Buckingham with the task of organizing an expedition. Buckingham called on Sir Robert Mansell in January 1620 to lead a fleet to Algiers for

[150] Examination of [Patrick] Morton. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1619-1623, preserved in the State Paper Department of her Majesty's Public Record Office* (*Vol. 3: 1619-1623.* Vol. CXI, p. 106) 27 December, 1619.
[151] [Meeting] Greenewich. *Acts of the Privy Council of England: A.D. 1542-[June 1631]. Vol. 35: 1616-1617* (Entry 404, p. 262) 1 June 1617.

the "chastizing and suppressing of those sea rovers, which all ages have accompted the common enimyes of mankinde." The expedition had been deferred for a few months prior, but now a resolution was taken to "goe on with that expedicion with the first of this springe," and the King had "made choice of you [Mansell] to be admyrall and comaunder of his fleete."[152] By September, Mansell had his orders: he was to go to Algiers and demand that all the king's subjects be handed over, whether they were slaves or free men. "He was to demand restitution for all the English vessels taken by the Algerian corsairs over the past five years and punishment for the pirates. And if he received no satisfaction he was to destroy the Algerian fleet."[153]

The expedition was not without its successes. Mansell's fleet anchored at Algiers on November 27 that year, and after a few days of negotiating with the "perfidious and fickle" Turks, had delivered to them "some 40 poore captives, which they pretended was all they had in towne, this was all wee could draw from them." Mansell was displeased. "The seventh in the morning our Admiral sent a letter with instruction to our Councell, with another letter to the Bashawe, to let him now how ill we tooke his perfidious dealing." But with little else he could do, the fleet set sail the following morning, bound for Majorca.[154] In a 1621 letter from John Chamberlain to then-Ambassador to the Netherlands Dudley Carleton, 1st Viscount of Dorchester (who would in 1628 become Secretary of State), Chamberlain complained that "Robert Mansfeld and his fleet have

[152] A letter to Sir Robert Mansell, knight. *Acts of the Privy Council of England: A.D. 1542-[June 1631]. Vol. 37: 1619-1621* (Entry 213, p. 105) 12 Jan, 1620.
[153] Tinniswood, 110.
[154] *Algiers Voyage in a Journal or Briefe. Reportary of al occurrents hapning in the fleet of ships sent out by the King his most excellent Majestie, as well against the Pirates of Algiers, as others: the whole body of the Fleete consisting of 18 Sayle* (Imprinted 1621). C1r-C3r.

done just nothing but negotiated with those of Argier for certain slaves."[155] Mansell's expedition had fallen well short of its ideal outcome.

One particularly disheartening, although ultimately inconsequential, event came on Christmas day 1620. At about nine that night "came eight or nine sayle of Turks into our fleet, whom so soone as we discovered, we chased them and made divers shot at them, but by reason it was a darke night, and that they sayled better then our ships, they escaped us."[156] A most disappointing moment for a Christmas evening…unless your knowledge of the event came from a broadside ballad printed the following month. *Newes from Argier, of the proceedings of our Royall Fleete since their departure from England, and what happened betweene them, and the Turkish Callies upon Christmas day last* tells an entirely different tale, set to a patriotic tune that calls back to Henry VIII's successful defense of Boulogne as English territory in the mid 16th century, *King Henries going to Bolloigne.* Listeners and readers of the ballad "shall heare how gallantly our royall Navy with the Turkes did meete." The Turks of the ballad are nothing like the mighty sailors depicted in the journal proceedings. The sky did indeed go dark, and a "black and bloody moone" appeared that frightened the inexplicably superstitious Turks and foretold to them "some following woe." Up to the point wherein the fleet has English captives returned to them, the story more or less follows, albeit with embellishment, the actual story. But when the English fleet sailed from Argier and spied "a fleete of Turkish Ships upon the sea, / Prepared for a lusty fight / imag'd all with men of might, / the which

[155] [Chamberlain to Carleton]. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1619-1623* (Vol. CXX., 13, p. 233) 10 March 1621.
[156] *Algiers Voyage,* C3v.

befell upon last Christmas day," the facts change. "The bloudy Moone of Turky, / Did flourish out most proudly, / in hope to win the glory of the day: / But the Lyon of our Land, / With the Unicorne did stand, / the victory to win and make them flye." Cannons roared, all the sea was aflame, and "the fearfull Turkes did make / And left unto our Englishmen / The golden prize of honour then, / which was the worthy conquest of the day."[157] An encounter that had in reality ended unsatisfactorily was depicted in the ballad as a resounding victory by the English.

The ballad writer's decision to so egregiously change the narrative lies not just in the fact that an English victory makes for a much more compelling ballad, and above all else ballads must be profitable. *Newes from Argeir* adopted an English naval failure that took place on the most important Christian holiday on the calendar and turned it into a nationalistic rallying cry, the fearful and irrational Turks being pitted against the brave English led by a valiant General and losing. England had spent the better part of the previous two decades being continuously threatened by Turkish piracy, merchants regularly petitioning the king for whatever help he could provide. By the 1620s, it became a matter of salvaging England's besieged mercantile communities, frightened of what may happen to them on the high seas, that popular literature should so ardently present a Turk that can, indeed, be defeated. "For now we understand, / Marchantmen of England, / preparing are to victuall us againe, / Our tackling and our furniture, / To make us able to indure / The daily dangers of the Ocean maine." Thanks in no small part to the

[157] *Newes from Argeir, of the proceedings of our Royall Fleete since their departure from England, and what happened betweene them, and the Turkish Callies upon Christmas day last* (Imprinted at London by G. P., 1621).

efforts of Mansell and his fleet, merchantmen of England are bravely preparing to embark once again, confident in their ability to endure whatever dangers they may encounter.

In what is perhaps the clearest evidence that popular ballad literature was intent upon presenting a pro-Christian pro-England narrative above even the truth, the woodcut presented at the top of the ballad shows two ships locked in battle, one flying the cross of St. George and the other the crescent moon of Islam. Whereas this woodcut is clearly meant to portray the English victory sung of in the ballad, it is actually identical to a woodcut found on the title page of *Ward and Danseker, Two notorious Pyrates.* It was this pamphlet that was likely the origin of the woodcut, in as much as it depicts an event wherein Ward encountered a French merchant ship, pursued and overtook it. Then, as witnessed by the Englishmen aboard the *Charity* that had just themselves dealt with Ward's ships, "our eies were made witnesses that they tooke the Merchant and the Master, and hanged them uppe at their yard armes…the pittifulnesse of which spectacle, we being in the view of beholding, would have compelled any but such hated villaines, even with teares for to have lamented."[158] The hanging men became the grim image attached to the entirety of the account, a woodcut identical to that on *Newes from Argier,* except that the Turkish ship, which had previously been the French ship that Ward overtook, has two Christians dangling gruesomely from the ship's mast. In its efforts to reorient an entire narrative structure in which the English have the advantage over Turks at sea, *Newes From Argier* performed a seventeenth century Photoshop and cropped the hanging men out; you can even still see a sliver of arm superimposed on the mast itself.

[158] *Two Notorious Pyrates,* C4v-D1r.

The Turkish ship once manned by an English pirate who hanged Christians from it for all to see became a Turkish ship running in fear from its English pursuers.

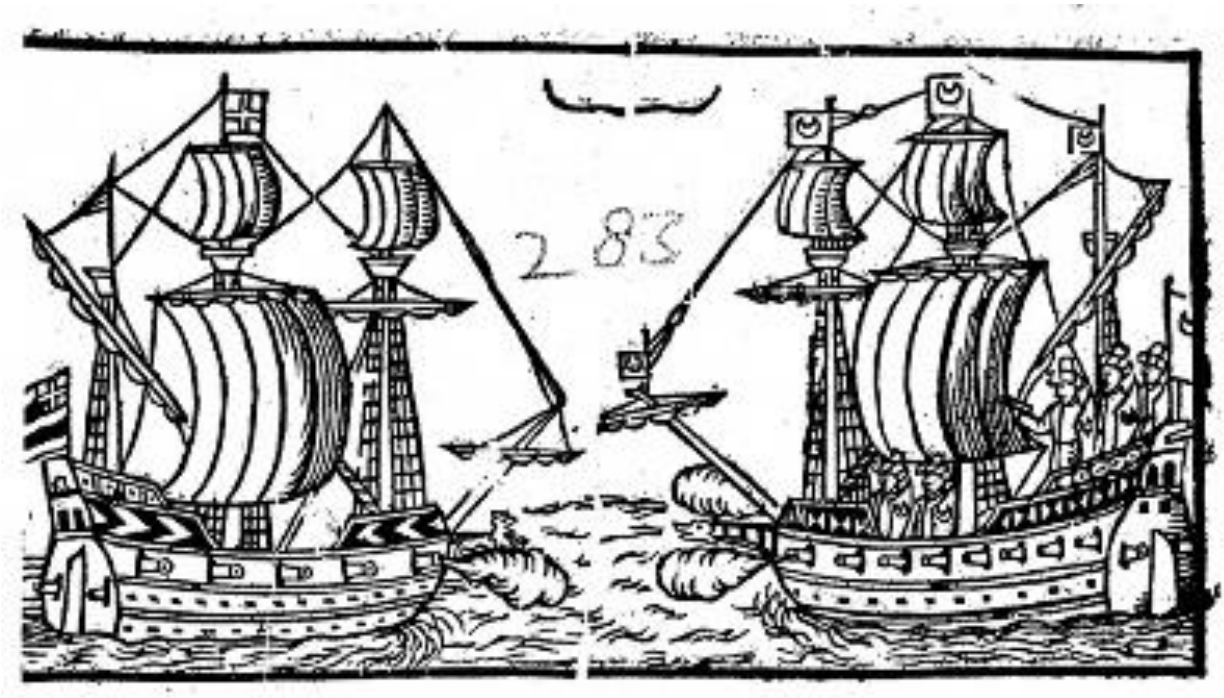

Figure 1

As the English scrambled to maintain profitable and healthy commerce in the Mediterranean, it increasingly became necessary to use the Turk as the symbol by which all things anti-Christian and anti-English were defined. As a result, the Turk became less a real entity with whom an English merchant might have to contend, and more a blurry picture of a Devil, a Heathen, a superstitious and fearful caricature whose allegorical utility served to warn any Englishmen who might be wooed toward piracy. English pirates, even those who hadn't converted, were enemies of the state, apostates by default, renegades from their faith and their nation. Although, as Nabil Matar argues, the renegade "represented the facility with which Christendom could collapse from within," English pirates like Ward necessitated expanding and personalizing that representation to

include those men who would willingly threaten not just the spiritual, but the commercial and military safety of England. And indeed, in popular and dramatic depictions, "the renegade did not serve to vilify Muslims, as the 'Moor' had done, but to embarrass, reprimand, and warn Christians."[159] But he also served to embarrass, reprimand, and warn English subjects in particular, by suggesting in no uncertain terms that for a pirate, one's apostasy can and does begin well prior to conversion.

[159] Nabil Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," *SEL* 33 (1993), 502.

"Mahomet's Elizium:" Piracy, Captivity, and the Turk of the Caroline Period

The problem of piracy would only worsen in England as the next decade drew on, and the novel excitement of the deeds of pirates like Ward that had titillated the populace and troubled the crown in the first two decades of the century would soon be replaced by the sobering realization that English captives continued to be held in thrall in North Africa with no hope of reprieve. While it seems natural that broadside ballads of the 1630s would continue the tradition of valorizing English heroes who won battles (whether fictionally or in reality) against Turkish foes, the genre actually takes a sharp turn in its utility of the Turk as a narratologically useful enemy. It is in the 1630s that we witness the birth of the Turk functioning allegorically, imbuing a ballad's political enemies with an added layer of meaning. Despite the continuing popularity of the subjects of piracy and captivity in news pamphlet and sermon literature in the 1630s, there are no extant broadside ballads, and indeed no stage dramas, that treat the subject even tangentially and risk incurring the ire of the King. Gone are the ballads of Ward's day, inspiring English zealotry by pitting brave seamen against treacherous Turks. Because of the broadside ballad's complete dependence on the continued interest of its common English audience, ballads treated the idea of the Turk much more obliquely so as not to fan the flames of unrest: those consuming ballads in England and those being taken captive on Turkish slave ships were largely one and the same, and neither the Crown nor Parliament were successfully addressing the issue. But the generalized Turk as Other would continue to find favor in politicized broadside ballads that needed a metaphorical adversary.

In order to understand why the subject of captivity was so plainly avoided by broadside ballads, we must first briefly explore the why King Charles I and Parliament, each frustrated by the other's perceived obstinacy in the face of much-needed reform, both failed to combat the problem. The relationship between English piracy and the Turk continued to be a problem made particularly poignant for the common population of England as the seventeenth century drew on. By the 1630s, the rise in the number of English captives in Ottoman territories was "in retaliation to the rise in English piratical attacks on North African shipping."[1] Invariably, that retaliation disadvantaged the poor seamen aboard the pirate ships who were unable to afford their own ransom. The systemic issue was compounded in the 1620s and 30s by Charles I's inability to effectively address the problem of piracy during his personal rule, and in the 1640s by the political gridlock of a newly recalled Parliament more keen on pointing blame at Charles and pushing its own agenda than quickly and efficiently ransoming captives.[2] Charles's extension of Ship Money from coastal towns to the entire realm of England was a wildly unpopular move, and it ultimately failed to adequately protect the nation from "certain thieves, pirates, and robbers of the sea, as well Turks, enemies of the Christian name…delivering men in the same [ships] into miserable captivity."[3]

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[1] Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760* (Leiden: Brill, 2014) 85.
[2] Charles seemed to avoid the issue of captivity for as long as he reasonably could, receiving petitions from bereaved families for years before taking action in 1629 and sending John Harrison to secure the release of captives in Morocco. Prior to that, Charles's reluctance to offer up his own coffers for aid was illustrated by his issuing a proclamation in 1627 to suppress and disperse petitioners that had gathered in a "tumultuous manner in and about the Cittie of London." Qtd in Matar, *British Captives,* 84. Further, Charles's refusal to sign an agreement with Andalusian rebels in Salé, despite Harrison's insistence that such an alliance would be mutually beneficial. "King Charles could have reduced the number of captives taken by the Saletians," Matar argues, "had he been willing to sign an agreement with them." Matar, *British Captives,* 86.
[3] "Specimen of the First Writ of Ship-Money" (October 20, 1634) Samuel R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660* (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1906) 105.

Therefore, by the 1640s, the issue of relieving English captives naturally became a politically divisive one, Parliament increasingly hoping to prove itself more capable of procuring releases than the King while simultaneously refusing to offer support for the financial means to do so.[4] Among the first acts of the Long Parliament was the impeachment Baron Finch, who had deemed the collection of Ship Money constitutional, but then asked the King to send out ships against Algerian pirates, the very task Ship Money was supposed to finance. "The King may well have wondered where the Commons thought the money was coming from."[5] But the nuances of where the money should come from was largely lost on a disaffected populace, whose representative MPs were eager to show support for their constituents' concerns. "[S]eamen's wives and their families blamed the unransoming of their kin on the King and his ministers. Thousands of these disaffected women and relatives, who…assembled angrily at the docks or in the precincts of Whitehall, found eager supporters among various members of the Commons who had been spearheading the opposition to the King during his 'eleven year tyranny'."[6] Charles and his recalled Parliament would increasingly spar over the legality of the Ship Money tax, which had been offering Charles a more expedient method of obtaining funds for supplying ships and relieving captives, and Parliament insisted upon a redress of grievances before considering Charles's by then desperate need for subsidies.

[4] For an exploration of the close relationship between captivity and the causes of the Civil Wars, see Nabil Matar, "The Barbary Corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War," *The Seventeenth Century* 16:2 (2001) 239-258.
[5] Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies: 1637-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 231.
[6] Matar, "The Barbary Corsairs," 239.

Even while the administration was still planning the funeral procession of the late King James, Charles faced captivity problems on England's very shores. The Mayor of Plymouth petitioned the king on April 18, 1625, fearing the "Certain Turks, Moors, and Dutchmen of Salee" on the coast of Plymouth, "spoiling such as they are able to master." The petition included an examination of William Knight that detailed the outrages committed by Barbary pirates off English coasts, as well as an examination of William Draper, witness to the very ship that committed the atrocities about which Knight was deposed.[7] A distressed 1626 petition to the Duke of Buckingham from the wives of "almost 2,000 poor mariners remaining most miserable captives in Sallee in Barbary" pleaded for their husbands who have "for a long time continued in most miserable estate, suffering such unspeakable misery and tortures that they are almost forced 'to convert from their Christian religion'." The petition notes that the petitioners have tried many times to implore his Majesty to act, but "could never yet receive any one answer…they pray the Duke in his wonted goodness and gracious pity towards poor women and miserable captives, to intercede with the King in their behalf."[8]

Although the Dunkirk Privateers in the service of the Spanish crown proved just as much a threat to English seafarers as did Barbary pirates, the Muslim Turks were a far more ideologically problematic captor. Edward Kellet and Henry Byam, two parish

[7] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I* 1625-1626, Ed. John Bruce, Esq. (London: 1858) no. 68, p. 10.
[8] CSP Domestic, no. 46, p. 517. Nabil Matar explores these early seventeenth century "distressed wives" petitions in "Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks: The First Women Petitioners in Caroline England," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 23 (1997) 111-28. He argues that the period from about 1625 to 1638 presents the first "wifely" petitioning in England, in which wives "appealed to their poverty and destitution, as well as to their status as husbandless wives" (112).

preachers in Minehead, Somerset dedicated the morning and afternoon sermon on March 16, 1627 to the issue of English captives returned from Algiers and the possibility of readmitting them into Christian life. It was not a hypothetical or impersonal issue for the parishioners of Minehead: their very countrymen were taken captive on their way to the Straights of Barbary and, in despair at living "in slaverie, by frailty and weaknesse, forsooke their Christian Religion and turned Turke."[9] Upon their rescue by an English ship that in turn took a Turkish ship on which the apostates were serving and returned them home, the people of Minehead had to contend with the horrifying notion of religiously rehabilitating men who had capitulated to the enemy and who could, it might reasonably be feared, infect the town with their newly-acquired disease of Islam.[10] The preachers minced no words in imparting upon the guilty parties the seriousness of their transgression:

> By not adhering to Christ, by waving thy beliefe, by disclaiming thy vow in Baptisme, by professing Turcisme, thou hast sold heaven, are initiated into hell, and hast purchased onely a conscience, frighted with horror, where the Worme

[9] Edward Kellet, Doctor of Divinity, *A Sermon Preached at* Minehead *in the County of* Somerset *the 16. of March, 1627. At the re-admission of a relapsed Christian into our CHVRCH* (London: Printed by T. H. for I. P., 1628) A2r. Byam's sermon, printed in the same document, has its own title page.

[10] Nabil Matar discusses the ways in which England conceived of the concept of conversion to Islam in chapter 1 ("'Turning Turke': conversion to Islam in English writings") of *Islam in Britain* (2008) 21-49. Joshua Mabie asks the question, why is there a dearth of dramatic accounts of the homecomings of captives? He argues that "the process of 'treason' while abroad and the possibility of prodigal return resulted in a system of conversion signification so unstable that returned captives could not be fully reintegrated into English social, religious, and political life." He describes the English church's response to returned captives as "at times grotesquely uncharitable." Joshua Mabie, "The Problem of the Prodigal in *The Fair Maid of the West, A Christian Turned Turk,* and *The Renegado,*" *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature* 64:4 (2012) 301.

> still gnaweth, and still is hungry. Yea, whereas you thought to gaine by forsaking Christ, you have forfeited all right, to all the creatures in heaven, and in earth.[11]

Their sins, the sermon states, weigh greater than those of Caine, Achitophel, or even the Jews who murdered Christ.[12] Add to this the greater sin of having aided Turkish ships against Christian nations: "Would you fight under the banner of the *Halfe-Moone,* against the Streamer of the Crosse of Christ? and live as a Bird of prey, in a man of Warre, and a Piraticall Thiefe of the sea, upon most innocent and oppressed Christians?"[13] The rhetorical connection between the act of piracy and the act of conversion initiated by the success of John Ward as a pirate and his popularity in literature were as strong as ever. Although piracy overall was in decline in the early seventeenth century, it remained at the forefront of King James's concerns and continued to affect thousands of lives.[14] Continued piracy meant poor coastal Englishmen aboard the ships who suffered the greatest injustice if and when their ships were captured. In 1625, William Wood of St. Catherine's petitioned the king to aid in his son William's unfortunate series of events: William, a ship surgeon, was captured and taken to Tunis where he stayed in captivity for three years, whereupon Captain Leatt ransomed him for a hefty sum. William's father had found sureties to guarantee repayment to the captain, but his ill-fated son was

[11] Ibid., 16.
[12] Ibid., 17.
[13] Ibid., 33.
[14] N. A. M. Rodger estimates that "at least 737 prizes, possibly as many as a thousand, were taken between 1626 and 1630. Most of them, however, were small and of little value." N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997) 361. David Hebb argues that "English piracy was not entrenched as deeply as James I believed….Indeed, at the very time James was complaining about the piratical nature of his subjects, they were much more often victims of foreign pirates rather than perpetrators of piracy." David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government, 1616-1642* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994) 1-2.

captured again by a ship out of Algiers on his way back to England and had to be ransomed yet again by the Captain. The petition's concern is with the means by which William will once again pay for the release of his son. Just four years later, James Wadsworth, who had been captured along with twelve other Englishmen and sold in Salé, by a good stroke of fortune came upon a French merchant who, upon learning that Wadsworth was the nephew of an English consul, ransomed him immediately, confident he would be repaid. Wadsworth inquired about his compatriots, and it was only after some shrewd convincing that not only would it be a charitable deed, but the men were "no less available to him, their Fathers and friends being men of great fashion in England" that the French merchant agreed to acquire their freedom as well.[15]

Raids both off the coast and at sea continued into the 1630s, and with them came increased frustration at the failure of the government to enact effective systematic efforts either toward curbing raids or ransoming those taken captive. The coastal town of Baltimore in Ireland was hit by an enormous raid on June 26, 1631 that succeeded in capturing over one hundred people and killing more. Having been colonized only at the beginning of the century by Protestant English that largely ejected the native Catholic population, the PR nightmare of the sack of Baltimore was as much a concern for Charles as the practicalities of having lost over one hundred English people to captivity. Baltimore's frantic mayor Joseph Carter sent a hurried note to Deputy Vice Admiral Sir William Hull in Leacon, Kent to notify him of the events. He asked that Hull "let people

[15] James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish pilgrime. Or, A nevv discouerie of Spanish popery, and Iesuiticall stratagems VVith the estate of the English pentioners andfugitiues vnder the King of Spaines dominions, and else where at this present* (London: 1629) 41-42.

in the west of Ireland know."[16] Two days later Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl of Cork sent a pleading letter to Lord Dorchester to protest against the Turkish raid on the city and try to send an ambassador on their behalf to court. The mayor blamed Captain Hooke, then captain of the *Fifth Lion's Whelp*. "[I]f he had even cruised about he would have frightened off the Turks," the letter states. "As he is under your special favour I trust you will admonish him."[17] The Earl penned another letter requesting help, this time to officer of the Royal Navy Sir Thomas Button, again laying blame at the feet of Captain Hooke for "lying idle in Kinsale harbor." He appeals to Button to make haste back to Ireland and offer assistance in Dublin.[18]

Captain Hooke took umbrage with the notion that the blame should be his to own. In a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty dated July 19 1631, the captain admonished the commissioners for his crew's insufficient supplies. Their absence on the coast of Baltimore at the crucial moment of the raid was due, it seems, to the fact that since May 4th his crew had only been provisioned for a fortnight, when they plied out to sea, but were then forced to come in again for want of supplies. They live "but from hand to mouth," the letter continues. The captain speaks woefully of Baltimore. They came in the night, he wrote, "and tooke away of the inhabitants there, of men, woemen, and children 108, and show too, all English, these times we have not had any victuals to goo out…"[19] The question of negligence and whether or not the captain had been properly victualed

[16] Joseph Carter (Sovereign of Baltimore) to Sir William Hull. SP 63/252 f.161, 26 June 1631.
[17] The Earl of Cork to [Lord Dorchester]. SP 63/252 f.162, 28 June 1631.
[18] Richard Earl of Cork to Sir Thomas Button**.** SP 16/196 f.28, 5 July 1631.
[19] Captain Hooke to the Lords of the Admiralty. SP 63/252 f.198, 19 July 1631.

would continue even through the following year.[20] When the captives and their captors (including English renegadoes) reached Algiers weeks later, the English consul registered their arrival. James Frizell, serving as English consul in Algiers, pleaded with no success for the crown to send ransom relief. But English authorities refused, "reasoning that it would merely encourage the corsairs to return and capture more,"[21] and the Baltimore captives languished in captivity, forgotten and lost to history as authorities at home opted instead to politick over blame.[22]

While the council and the King demanded answers as to whether Hooke, or Button, or anyone at all was responsible for failing to prevent the disaster at Baltimore, scores of Englishmen were still petitioning for recompense and receiving none. Captain William Hawkeridge petitioned the Privy Council in 1633 after having lost £3,000 in ship and goods, being imprisoned for twenty-three months and ransomed. Charles I granted a reference for Hawkeridge to the council so that he may redeem his men and repair his losses, but after four months Hawkeridge could no longer wait for an answer: the petitions asks that he may be granted leave for three years to serve the States of Genoa.[23] In 1635 - the same year that Charles's Ship Money tax was extended to inland counties,

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[20] The Lords Justices and Council to the English Privy Council. *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland: 1625-1632.* Vol. 1. No. 2077 p. 645. 11 Feb. 1632.
[21] Des Ekin, *The Stolen Village: Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2006) 192.
[22] Although the aforementioned 1632 letter to the English Privy Council states that the Lords Justices "sent evidence of the sufferings of the captives at Argeers and hope the English Consul now 'Leeger' there may do something," rhetoric remained centered on blame rather than assistance. In a letter from the Lords Justices and Council to Captain Hooke, they admonished him for claiming he was not adequately prepared in order to be able to defend Baltimore. "It is folly to say you were not victualled, because when you came over from England you had a good supply, and you have since got 100l. from us. You will at once set out and patrol the sea, and if you do not behave properly we shall inform the Lords in England." *CSP Ireland,* vol. 1 no. 2077 p. 646 27 Jan. 1632. The captives were not mentioned in state papers for the remainder of the year.
[23] Petition of Capt. William Hawkeridge to the Council. SP 16/256 f.125, [undated] 1633.

levied for an additional six years; and the legality of which was supported by judges - Robert Bertie, 1st Earl of Lindsay, wrote a frustrated letter to Secretary of State Sir John Coke. He had "hoped that by this time directions would have been with him for disposing the ships to Portsmouth and Chatham." But, "seeing they are not come and finding the ships beginning to be straitened for victuals, he has ordered such ships to be at Portsmouth as he judged fittest."[24]

Perhaps as a means of assuaging public concern that the King was not doing enough good with the Ship Money he was levying, a broadsheet was printed in 1637 that detailed each ship he was sending to Salé under the direction of Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.[25] Dramatically featuring Percy's portrait at the center, the broadsheet names the "Captaines and Lievtenants that are employed in this Action; with the names of his majesties, and Merchant Ships gone to Sally against the Turkish Pirats." London merchants were, after all, incensed at the lack of movement by the crown and signed a 1636 petition to that effect. Merchants trading to Spain and Portugal had already petitioned the king a number of times, setting blame for their losses at the hands of Turkish pirates which was "contrary to the articles of peace, for which nobody on your Majesty's behalf claims remedy, nor petitioners cannot, for want of unity and government." The petition prays that a charter prepared to this effect by the Attorney

[24] Robert Earl of Lindsey to Sec. Coke. *CSP Domestic*, vol. 8 1635. No. 45 p. 396.
[25] Orders were given to Captain William Rainsborough to serve as commander of the expedition from the Lords of the Admiralty on February 17 1637. They were to "proceed in a straight course to Sallee for the suppressing of Turkish pirates, and redeeming his Majesty's subjects whom they have taken and detain captives, according to such instructions as he shall receive from his Majesty." The orders took special note of the son of Captain Thomas Dirdo, who had petitioned the crown that month for the release of his son, captive since the April prior. Young Dirdo was not even eighteen at the time, and had been tortured in captivity. (SP 16/157 f.154, 17 Feb. 1636-37; SP 16/348 f.128, Feb. 1636-37).

General will be adequately debated, "that petitioners may be united, and enabled to speak in defence of their general causes, like a nation, and like your Majesty's subjects."[26] Ultimately, the expedition to Salé was successful in relieving the English captives, but the victory was drowned out by the unavoidable fact that scores of other Algerian, Tunisian, and Libyan pirates were continuing to take captives, and the King's deafness to petitions continued much the same as before.[27]

Such was the state of affairs for the population of England consuming popular literature in the decade preceding the Civil War. By now the Turk had found a firm ideological foothold in black-letter ballads that needed a dichotomous enemy against which they could moralize for its common English readers. The intricate politicking that muddled the already slow process of obtaining funds for captives' release or the repayment of men who funded it from their own purses mattered little to the families that fell into poverty in the absence of a breadwinner. The Turk of black-letter broadside ballads, immortalized as the Devil incarnate in desperate and frustrated parish sermons, shares few to no attributes with the real-life Turk with whom England's aristocratic and mercantile population had an extant – albeit complicated and troubled – diplomatic and trade relationship. News pamphlets and sermons were the literatures that issued the clarion call for action to the aid of distressed English families.

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[26] Petition of merchants of London trading to Spain and Portugal to the King. SP 16/377 f.57, [undated]. The *CSP* volume suggests 1637, although its reference to the charter debated on June 20 1636 could mean the petition was as early as late summer 1636.

[27] Matar, "The Barbary Corsairs," 256-57n41. Matar notes that the King advised action on a petition that was four years old, and upon receiving a petition from women regarding their more than 500 husbands, took no action.

Nineteen years after his publication of an account of the English ship the *Dolphin* against Turkish pirates, another John Taylor text illustrates the effect of continued systemic captivity and failed policies to counter it.[28] While news pamphlets detailing the adventures of English seamen against Turkish pirates in the early part of the century were vocal about pointing accusatory fingers at the crown and the ship merchants for failing to protect English citizens, texts like *A Brave MEMORABLE AND DANGEROVS SEA-FIGHT, foughten neere the Road of* Tittawan *in* Barbary, printed in 1636, exhibit a sense of both exhaustion and resignation at the fact that England still faced these issues on the high seas and the King was still failing to do anything about it. Taylor clearly learned his lesson, having stepped on Captain Nichols' toes by printing his account of the events aboard the *Dolphin* without his permission, because he penned a gracious and obligatory letter to Edmond Ellison, captain of the *George and Elizabeth* about which the account was written. He speaks indirectly toward the complaints Captain Nichols leveled against him, stating that "it is shame and pittie that virtue and extraordinarie good Actions should be buried in the gulph of oblivion."[29] Like the pamphlets of the previous decades, *A Brave MEMORABLE AND DANGEROVS SEA-FIGHT,* written in verse, commends the bravery of the seamen who fought valiantly against the Turkish aggressors and ridicules

[28] See previous chapter for a detailed look at the accounts of the *Dolphin* and the troubled issue of authority between the two texts.

[29] *A Brave MEMORABLE AND DANGEROVS SEA-FIGHT, foughten neere the Road of* Tittawan *in* Barbary, *where the* George *and* Elizabeth *(a Ship of London) under the Command of Mr.* Edmond Ellison, *having but 19. peeces of Ordnance, was encompass'd and encountred by nine great Turkish Pyrat ships, or men of War, they being in number of men at least 60. to one; and their Ordnance more than ten to one against the English, yet (by Gods assistance) they were encouraged to a resolute fight, and obtained a glorious victory over their miscreant enemies, and a happy returne* with men, ship, and goods to *London* (London: Printed for Henry Gosson, 1636) A3v. The pamphlet outlines events from November 20, 1635 and the attempted capture of English merchant ships by Turkish pirates.

those men who might hide out away from danger, seeking some "skulking hole, or hiding place, / Betweene the Decks… / To keepe their carkasse shot-free in their feare."[30] Taylor vocalizes the frustrated notion that merchants simply may not adequately pay their employees like earlier pamphlets, but emphasizes that this fact is not reason enough to justify giving up the freight without a fight. "We know not what will Merchants say, / When (without leave) we give their goods away… / If they pay us, we hold it right and just / To serve, and to be worthy of their trust: / But if there were such as would not depart / With fraight and wages, fitting mens desert, / Shall men turne ill 'cause they are ill inclin'd? / Or shall their being darke make others blinde?" It is with a sense of sadness, rather than anger, that Taylor begs such merchants to change their ways. "If any such there be, we hope they'le mend; / Or if they mend not, they will one day end."[31] The reality of the situation was even more complicated than Taylor's suggestion that merchants should reward brave seamen for their efforts: although Charles had ordered that Barbary merchants only trade in ports approved by the King of Morocco, English traders continued to illicitly trade with Saletians and Charles continued to take his due cut of their profits despite the dangers it posed.[32]

That England was suffering handedly from continued piracy can be seen in the unusual way in which Taylor attempts to monetarily justify risking captivity in defense of the fleet:

> And shall we give our selves away to those,
> That are the sonne of Gods malicious foes?

[30] Ibid., 9.
[31] Ibid., 11.
[32] Nabil Matar, *Britain in Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville University Press of Florida, 2005) 89.

> And shall we, for base feare be so unjust
> To part with Ship and goods within our trust?
> No surely, Bulke and Fraught much more did cost,
> Then cow'rdly to be given away or lost:
> Besides the slavery of our persons, and
> Our Ransoms begg'd from many a mizers hand,
> Who (some of them) as willing doe part,
> As they would do from bloud dropt from their heart.
> These things considered, we did hold it best,
> True Christians fortitude to manifest.[33]

Procuring freedom at the hands of miserly ransomers and the potential for unfair compensation from your employer: issues that the pamphlets from previous decades approached with anger and incredulity have become issues the pamphlets of the 1630s must accept and, for the sake of the mercantile economy, sidestep with a moral Christian argument that the common seafarer undoubtedly found hard to swallow. Because whether England was adequately dealing with the issue of captivity on the Mediterranean or not, the fact remained that the Turk was as much a threat to the poor of England as ever, and pamphlet literature in the 1630s such as Taylor's maintained vehemently hateful rhetoric toward the Turk in service of supporting the bravery of their English victims. The "faithlesse Turkes" against whom the men of the *George and Elizabeth* battled outnumbered them three to one in both men and arms, showed "barbarous and inhumane cruelty," and were only defeated by the grace of God.[34]

It is worth noting that the pamphlet makes clear that at first, the men "did not know / If they were *Christians, Turks,* or friend or foe,"[35] and at no point does Taylor

[33] Ibid., 4.
[34] Ibid., 7-8.
[35] Ibid., 3.

make explicit when their identity was discovered. He glosses over the nuanced possibilities of who might constitute a "foe," as not all pirates were Turks. No crescent moon flag is mentioned, nor turban nor scimitar (which does get explicitly referenced in Taylor's brief retelling of the Nichols/*Dolphin* story at the end of the pamphlet). The pirates are Turks simply by virtue of being pirates. So when Taylor hopes that the fighting spirit of good Christians might "curbe those rude unmanag'd jades / That live by Theft, and spoyle of Merchants Trades,"[36] he is speaking of English pirates and Turkish pirates indiscriminately. These "Hell-hounds of *Argiere,*" whose successes rest merely on "numbers, threats and composition,"[37] are explicitly employed not just as a literal enemy, a Muslim from Algiers, but also as an allegorical representation of English pirates who threatened English commerce and families.

Church sermons, reaching the ears and hearts of a concerned congregation, also capitalized on the fear of captivity and implored English people to remember their brethren in captivity and contribute, if they could, to their release. Charles Fitz-Geffry's series of sermons, preached in Plymouth in October 1636, illustrates the dire need for financial support for English captives in Barbary. In a prefatory letter to the sermons printed in 1637, Fitz-Geffry implores Plymouth mayor John Cause to send relief, "as there are distressed *Wives* and *Children* of your captived bretheren."[38] He describes the

[36] Ibid., C1r.
[37] Ibid., 8. Sophia Rose Arjana takes a close look at the representation of Muslims as "hell-hounds" and dogs in chapters 2 and 3 of *Muslims in the Western Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[38] Charles Fitz-Geffry, *Compassion towards captives chiefly towards our brethren and country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Vrged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. 13.3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636* (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Edward Forrest, 1637) 2.

Turks as "unreasonable creatures," "savage barbarians," and captivity under them as less a life than a "breathing death."[39] Fitz-Geffry paints for his parishioners a bleak portrait of life in Barbary not because it is a barren and uninhabitable place, but because its inhabitants have sullied a once holy place:

> Were *Barbary* as it was before it turned *Barbary* there would be some comfort of living in it, when it was famous for *Arms, Arts, Civility, Piety*. How many renowned *Martyrs*, reverend *Bishops*, famous *Fathers* hath *Africk* yeelded unto the *Church*….But now a man may seeke *Africk* in *Africk* and not finde it. Insteed of *Africk* we find *Barbary* and *Morocco*; Insteed of *Hippo* and *Carthage, Algier, Sally*, and *Tunis*; insteed of *Martyrs, Marty-makers*; insteed of *Confessors*, opposers of *Christ* oppressors of *Christians*; insteed of godly Ministers godlesse *Mofties*; insteed of *Temples* and *Schooles*, cages of uncleane birds, dens of theeves.[40]

It is a place entirely opposed to England, Fitz-Geffrey states, and those in captivity have been forced to exchange England, the "pleasantest, the most civiliz'd for the most barbarous, brutish nation of those parts of the world."[41] Renegades, those men who willingly supplant England for the hell of Barbary, are even more an enemy of God than the Muslim Turks because they chose, with forethought, to convert to Islam as opposed to being born into it. "*If light become darknesse, how great is that darknesse?* If a

[39] Ibid., 4-5.
[40] Ibid., 9.
[41] Ibid., 8.

Christian become Turke, he is more the child of perdition then the Turks themselves."[42] Fitz-Geffry's image of the terror of North Africa is rendered all the more potent when positioned against England, as natural a comparison as a devil against an angel. National and religious boundaries are crossed through captivity, hell threatens heaven, and Fitz-Geffry goes on in the sermons to draw this metaphor out to its ultimate conclusion, using a phrase that in the coming decades would surface time and time again in political broadside ballads of the Civil War, Interregnum, and Exclusion Crisis years: "Turkes at home." The Turk's use as an ideological metaphor in popular printed literature is broadening beyond English pirates who threaten their homeland, and is starting to be assigned to others who threaten England in ways unrelated to Islam. Fitz-Geffry speaks directly to the English citizens who were also threatened at home by usurers, oppressors, and "Land-pyrats" (a term recalling Shylock's cheeky warning to Bassanio that "there be land rats and water rats, water thieves and land thieves, I mean pirates…"[43]) who are forced to "crave commiseration" by these "Turkes at home" as much as those Englishmen captive in Barbary.[44]

The irony inherent in Fitz-Geffry's alarmist depiction of Turks that threaten English people and England's borders is that the Turks themselves lack definition beyond the basic identity of "Muslim" (or, simply, "not Christian"). They are borderless "bugbears" that literally sneak into homes at night, stealing terrified people from their beds. Fitz-Geffry was not making exaggerated threats: he recalls the aforementioned

[42] Ibid., 10.
[43] William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* ed. John Russell Brown, Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London, Thomson Learning, 2004), 1.3.22-24.
[44] Ibid., 45-46.

tragic events of Baltimore, Ireland in 1631, in which in the early morning hours of June 20 a fleet of Ottoman ships came ashore and captured over a hundred villagers, including women and children.[45] It was a horror so acute that it necessitated an image of a mythologized, nightmarish enemy: "The poore child cries, *O Mother keepe me, O Father keepe me*, when *Father* and *Mother* are kept fast enough themselves from keeping and helping theirs. Oft had the poore litle ones when they were pettish being terrified with, *The bug-beare comes to carry thee away:* Now not *bug-beares* but *Barbary beares* are come to carry away *Child, Mother, Father* and all they can finde in the family."[46] Even their religion is ill-defined and thus by nature contrary to the one true religion: "for what is *Mahumetisme*, but a *miscellany* of divers religions? and what is the *compounding of religions, but the confounding of true religion*?"[47] The calamity of Baltimore could just as easily visit Plymouth, the ghastly Turkish bugbear could as easily steal away with the lives of any one of the parishioners present at the sermon or reading it in print. And according to Fitz-Geffry's symbolic imagery, for those English people burdened with onerous debt or other financial bondage, this very threat was already at their doorstep.

Neither a news pamphlet nor a sermon, Francis Knight's 1640 publication of his time as a captive in Algiers is perhaps the most poignant text for illustrating the complicated relationship between captives, their native governments, and the texts that

[45] Des Ekin refers to the event as "the most devastating invasion ever carried out by the forces of the Islamist *jihad* on Britain or Ireland," employing a description clearly intended more for effect than historical accuracy. Ekin, 11.
[46] Fitz-Geffry, 46-47.
[47] Ibid., 10.

told their stories. Published twice in the same year, Knight's text informs the reader of his seven years in captivity, starting in 1631 "when it pleased *Almightie God* to give power to the *Infidels* to prevaile over me, whereby I became *Captive…*"[48] Knight's text is notable for its sheer depth of content: although called a relation of slavery, the first book of the account is largely a detailed retelling of events that Knight had the unique privilege to witness in his position as a captive, peppered with the odd escape attempt (and eventual success as he and a number of other captives from disparate nations made it safely out of Algiers toward Venice).[49] The second book abandons personal narrative entirely to offer descriptions of Algiers, including "its first rising to this Greatnesse, its Government, the particular denomination of its Governors, its Revinewes, its Forces by Sea and Land, its Victories, its Inhabitants, its Lands, Territories, and Riches."[50] Knight clearly felt compelled not just to tell the story of his escape but to also function as a useful informant, bringing with him back to England enough intelligence to justify and nullify his potential for having returned as a corrupting, converted agent.

As further evidence of his insistence upon proving himself still a true Christian, Knight pays much lip service to the troubling issue of conversion. In his prefatory letter to Sir Paul Pindar, former ambassador to the Ottoman Empire under James I, Knight calls

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[48] Francis Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie under the Turkes of Argeire, Sufered by an English Captive Merchant* (London, Printed y T. Cotes for M. S. Junior, 1640) 1.
[49] Nabil Matar argues that Knight's text "changed the whole character of the captivity narrative…it was longer than anything that had preceded it and focused as much on the world of the captors as on the strictly personal aspects of captivity….None of the ten accounts that had been published between 1589 and 1625 achieved any of the breadth, the historical and ethnographical detail, or the geographical variety that the post-1640 accounts provide." Introduction to Dan Vitkus, *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 35.
[50] Knight, 31.

upon Pindar's experience in Muslim lands as he expresses his "affection for the inlargement of the Multitude of my poore Country-men, groaning under the mercilesse yoake of Turkish thraldome," in particular because Knight has known "many who through the extremitie of their sufferings hath renounced their Saviour, and imbraced the *Mahomitan* and diabolicall Imposture…" He offers Pindar a call to action, being an "eminent personage in this flourishing Kingdome, maybe a worthy instrument to accomplish."[51] Knight's account expresses frustration from both sides of the issue of conversion. On the one hand, he believes it is the responsibility of all captives to "use all possible attempts for the effecting his liberty," and not succumb to the pressure to renege, because "in neglecting the least opportunitie" for escape, he has committed "a sinne against God, who hath not given us wings to outflie our enemies, but reason to devise stratagems and hands to execute them."[52] But Knight is also empathetic to the trials of those in far worse situations than his own, for Knight's good fortune "is a singular motive to modesty, and a forcible spurre to moderation…" Galley ship slaves lacked such good fortune, whose lives are so horrific as to "causeth them to curse the day of their Nativities, and the parents that engendred them, and if it were to dye to curse God himselfe…in their passions they renounce heaven, S. *Peter*, and all sanctitie; in their agonies or discontents, they vessially spit against the wind, disputing whether God and Nature be conspired against them."[53] Knight's positioning of his argument about conversion as centered on the captive's relationship to God, and not his captors, falls

[51] Knight, A3v-r.
[52] Ibid., 15.
[53] Ibid., 28-29.

under the jurisdiction of providentialism, which Jonathan Burton argues was an important structuring device in the travel genre that offered the English "a reassuringly systematic way of interpreting the world around them….Seemingly unjust tribulations ranging from storms to forced conversions might then be understood as God's paternal chastisement intended to strengthen the faith of the elect."[54] But Knight's account clearly sees a limit to justifying subjugation as a test from God to choose between conversion and martyrdom: the galley ship slaves did not fear death, they despaired having been born. They did not curse their captors, they leaned exhaustedly on the notion that their savior has maliciously refused to save them. Therein lies is the risk of providentialism taken to its ultimate conclusion: are *all* English captives among the elect? Although "providentialism allows the English to understand their weakness in relation to the divine, and not the Turks,"[55] it seems those in the worst conditions in captivity were left outside the jurisdiction of God's salvation. And Knight, for all his insistence that it is the responsibility of the captive not to capitulate, stops short of chastising the galley slaves and instead allows them their grievances against God.

The strength of English captives to withstand galley slavery being only so strong, then, Knight draws attention to whom in England should be responsible for obtaining their release. "I am certaine that the last peace [with Algerian pirates] was broken by the English," Knight admits, and insists that "if his Majestie should send for those his poore, but most loyall subjects; that the *Turkes* would give them upon honourable termes, and

[54] Jonathan Burton, "English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion: Five Perspectives on 'Turning Turk' in Early Modern Texts" *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2:1 (2002) 41.
[55] Ibid., 42.

have a just propention to a good firme and constant peace…"[56] Although Knight's text freely refers to the Turks of Algiers as "monsters more like than men," the ethnographical depth with which he explores the people and government of Algiers and his insistence that the Turks would agree to mutually amenable terms for the release of English slaves suggest that the audience for this captivity narrative must have been open to a complex and informed look at the reality of Ottoman territories in North Africa, dotted sparingly with subjective moral declarations. [57] For Knight, the Turks were a reality: cruel and fearsome, to be sure, but a people with emotions and motives and lives. And, as Knight makes clear a number of times in his narrative, they were also often captives themselves held in thrall in Europe.

There is another, more politicized reason why Knight may have deliberately chosen to focus on the facts of Algiers far more than his captivity, and it brings us to the heart of the question about broadside ballads: why did they almost completely avoid the issue of captivity? No captivity narrative was published in England from 1625 until 1640, reemerging with the 1640 Habeas Corpus Act and the abolition of the Star Chamber the following year. Charles I, as Nabil Matar argues, "was not a king who would have favored the publication of captivity accounts that showed the brutality of the Muslims

[56] Ibid., 52.

[57] Knight heavily insists upon his audience trusting his word as a witness to the events and facts in his narrative. In his prefatory letter to Pindar, he states that "these miseries and innumerable others, having beene presented to my eyes…doe still increase my zeale for their liberties." And he twice refers to his having been an "occular witness" to something. Julia Schleck's *Telling True Tales in Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in English Travel Writing, 1575-1630* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011) explores the variety of ways in which early modern texts that represent Muslim lands attempted to prove their veracity, and her chapter on Thomas Saunders' captivity narrative highlights the dual needs of captives retelling their tales. She argues that Saunders is "claiming both an honesty of account – these things really did happen, and as I am telling them here" (129), but captivity narratives were also functioning "to ensure the author's place within these national and religious collectives" (128).

and, by the same token, the incompetence of his administration."[58] And although broadside ballads were frequently published outside the jurisdiction of the Stationers' Register and the king's feelings were not necessarily of primary concern, the genre did have the unique responsibility of considering the situation of their common audience and whether stirring their vitriol was worth the added litigious attention it would draw to the printers and sellers of the ballads. Black-letter broadside ballads' primary objective was to entertain common English citizens (and thus sell copies of ballads) with humor, scandal, or tragedy, setting in print a common denominator of morality with which their readers best identified. Indeed, a broadside ballad's intended audience was the very same common people who might be most affected by the government's failure to procure release for captives. But England was on the brink of a civil war and Charles was "eager to find a way of funding the ransoms from money raised by the merchants, and not from his own coffers."[59] All the while, Parliament took advantage of Charles's relative inaction to criticize his handling of the crisis, but were themselves equally as impotent in releasing captives through their own efforts. The start of the Bishops' Wars had distracted Parliamentary-led forces. Parliament went on the defensive as best they could with the May 1641 "Suppression of Pirates Bill," which did little more than implore "every of his Maiesties Subiectes…take and surprise by all meanes whatsoever, all Turkish, Moorish, and other Pyrates…theire Shippes Goodes Prizes and persons, and to Convert and freelie

[58] Nabil Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East: 1577-1625," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54:2 (2001) 569.
[59] Matar, *British Captives,* 94.

to dispose…all the said Turkes, Moores, and Other Pyrates."[60] And although the "Grand Remonstrance" listed among its grievances Charles's failure to protect England's merchantships and for the first time wholly assigned responsibility of ransoming captives to Parliament and not the King, even its efforts fell short. Parliament ignored Henry Robinson's argument that naval action would prove more effective than ransoming, concentrating on military efforts at home instead, and the Levant Company which collected raised moneys was slow in passing the funds to the Navy.[61] Drawing direct attention to the fact that only groups of a dozen or so captives were being released here and there, paltry sums compared to the hordes of them left languishing, would have only served to rouse rabble among a broadside ballad's audience at a time when England's unrest had already reached a fever pitch. Captivity ballads would have invariably invoked just as much anger toward the English government, both King and Parliament alike, as they would toward the Muslim captors themselves.[62]

Foregoing the complicated politics of captivity and ransoming (or a lack thereof), broadside ballads leaned on the Barbary bugbear as the simplest enemy toward which

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[60] *The Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Addenda, 1514-1714,* ed. Maurice F. Bond (London, 1962) 11:248.

[61] CSP Domestic, no. 72 p. 115. Proceedings at the committee of both kingdoms reported "a desire that the Turkey merchants may pay in the 8,000*l.* they promised for the Navy."

[62] The ballad *The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks) Begging at God's Hand That He Would Open the Eyes of All Christian Kings and Princes to Commiserate the Wretched Estate of So Many Captives: and Withal to Free Them from That Turkish Slavery, in Which Both Bodies and Souls Are in Danger: with a Petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty and All Christian Princes* (London: 1624) is unique in its directness toward the English government about the issue of captivity. But the subject matter was clearly taken up in conjunction with an order by Parliament "that Letters Patents be granted, for a Collection through the whole Kingdom of *England,* for Redemption of those miserable Captives," and clearly intended to further the particular interests of that call to action. *Journals of the House of Lords,* vol. 3 (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1920), 413. The ballad is reprinted in C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Navy Records Society, 1908) 31-33.

their moralizing texts could point, a simplified exotic broad stroke "Turk" as far removed from Englishness as one possibly could be. Indeed, the genre of the text was crucial to the effectiveness of its message. News pamphlets could turn attentions to the heroic actions of brave English seamen and call directly on the government for action. Sermons were a haven of communal suffering and commiseration during which families could grieve and pray. And the aforementioned distressed wives petitions to King and Parliament, with their empathetic tone that "showed them as loyal, caring, and poor women who were nurturing the memory and the cause of their husbands while supporting themselves and their children,"[63] were unique in their ability to speak directly to the highest powers without seeming threatening. They were "persistent and relentless," but "there is no documented evidence of hostility toward them."[64] But broadside ballads - rendered impotent by the limitations of a genre lacking in dedicatory epistles to authoritative influencers or the moral puissance of the church pulpit, and perpetually endangered by a litigious printing culture that cracked down on sedition and libel - avoided the topic altogether.

And yet Turks did not disappear from broadside ballads entirely. In fact, they became the enemy of choice in political ballads that were otherwise totally unrelated to the Ottoman Empire. By this time, the only useful way to talk about a Turk in a ballad was vaguely, as a simplified enemy that could as easily represent some domestic enemy as an actual Turk. A close examination of the ballads' subject matter reveals that the topic

[63] Matar, "Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks," 113.
[64] Ibid., 114.

of the ballad dictated how it would represent the Turk. General themed ballads that detail eccentricities about the nation as a whole or its cities speak in similarly broad terms about the Turk, a vague distant foreigner from a geographically removed location. Whereas ballads that center on English *persons,* be they commendable or lamentable individuals, offer a Turk that interacts with the ballad subject on a personal level and leverages the localized tensions around the fear of captivity and slavery without explicitly mentioning them. *A Whetstone for Lyers,* categorized by Samuel Pepys under the heading "humour, frolic, and mirth," is a song of "strange wonders" supposedly told by some who prefer tall tales to the truth. They are tales "as true as some Stories that Travellers tell," positioning the ballad early on as highly skeptical of the veracity and honesty of those who have ventured far from England. While the second part of the ballad on the right-hand side of the broadsheet deals primarily with feats of superhuman ability (surviving terrible cold winters in the nude, learning incredible amounts of knowledge, surviving deadly battles and fires), the first half is primarily concerned with geographic distances of increasing impossibility. "From Barwicke to Dover, / Ten thousand times over, / I truly have traveld / ten times in a day," the narrator brags. And still yet, "From off Richmond Castle, / Nine miles into Scotland, / Ile run in a morning / at one breathing course." He even boasts of having walked up on the Thames "as well as on dry land." But the most impossible feat of all is saved for the final stanza of the first half: "Ile goe on a Message / Unto the great Turke, / Ith' morne; and at night / Ile be here hard at worke."[65] The

[65] *A Whetstone for Lyers* (Printed for Francis Grove, dwelling on Snow-hill, 1630?). As is the case with most black-letter ballads, the dating of these ballads from the 1630s can only be theorized. For these undated ballads I rely on dating offered by *Early English Books Online,* the *English Broadside Ballad Archive,* and the English Short Title Catalogue. These resources typically date ballads as accurately as

absurdity of managing a round trip from England to Istanbul and back in an afternoon is not offered only in geographic terms like the rest of the ballad. Rather, the impossibility is two-fold: the distance traveled as well as the end point, the Sultan himself, whom the traveler is benignly meeting with a message and from whom he will apparently escape unscathed.

But *A Whetstone for Lyers* only hints at the insurmountable chasm imagined by the common Englishman betwixt himself and a Turk. Ballads throughout the 1630s oscillated between representing the Turk as a benign foreign other and more harshly positioning him as the moral opposition to how decent Englishmen should behave. *I tell you, John Iarret, you'l breake* has a poor, misbegotten wife pleading with her husband John to stop misbehaving and start taking care of his family. "When you in your shop should be plying your workse, / In some scurvy blinde Alehouse you all day doe lurke, / More like than a Christian to some Jew or Turke: / If thus you neglect your living and worke, / I tell you, John Iarret, you'l breake."[66] What little knowledge about alcohol consumption and Islam an Englishperson might have had would likely have come either from Richard Knolles's 1603 *The general historie of the Turkes,* which notes a number of times that wine is "a thing utterly forbidden by their law,"[67] or George Sandys's *A RELATION of a Iorney begun An: Dom: 1610,* printed in 1615, that points out that "wine is prohibited them by their *Alcoran*: they plant none, they buy none." And although, he

possible using the publication years of the printer or bookseller, dates entered into the Stationers' Register, and context clues offered by the ballads.

[66] *I tell you, John Iarret, you'l breake: OR, John Iarrets wives counsel to her husband, to have care to his estate in this hard time, lest he turne Bankerout* (London: Imprinted by M. Flesher for F. Grove, 1630).

[67] Richard Knolles, *The generall historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1603) 443.

states, they will drink of it freely in the home of a Christian ("insomuch as I have seen but few go away unled from the Embassadors table"), they so fear the consequences of consuming alcohol that "death hath been made the penalty unto such as presumed to bring any in."[68] These texts in turn influenced a number of English dramas that utilized alcohol as a core iconographic difference between Islam and Christianity.[69] Although Knolles and Sandys, along with Hakluyt's compendium *Principal Navigations* would have been too expensive for a common English person to own, the popularity of the trope in dramas suggests that a basic knowledge about alcohol consumption in Islam would have been known to the general public. Exempt from the pedantries of fact, however, *John Iarret* presents a far more rhetorically useful Turk, inclined toward laziness drunkenness; the Turk of black-letter broadside ballads is little more than the empty vessel into which all anti-Christian ills could be spilled and presented back to an English audience as evidence for what it should not be.

Black-letter ballads had to navigate between presenting a moralizing and uplifting tale that championed Englishness and inspired audiences while also earnestly calling

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[68] George Sandys, *A RELATION of a Iorney begun An: Dom: 1610. Fovre Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adioyning* (London: Printed for W. Barrett, 1615) 66. Even prior to these seventeenth-century documents, the 1496 Richard Pynson English printing of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* offers English readers a justification for why Mohammad prohibited alcohol, having "cursed the Wine, and all those that drank it." Qtd. from *The voyages & travels of Sir John Mandevile* (London: Printed for R. Scott, T. Basset, J. Wright, and R. Chiswel, 1677) J4r.

[69] Fatima F. Ebrahim's doctoral dissertation successfully draws to the foreground the importance of alcohol in the presentation of Islam in English plays. Her fourth chapter, "'The Tankard Cannot Lye': The Christian-Muslim Encounter with Alcohol" cites myriad examples from seventeenth and eighteenth century English plays wherein either the consumption or rejection of alcohol is crucial to Islam's role in the play. She cites Ward's conversion (discussed in my previous chapter), wherein he is ceremonially offered wine from a Christian and throws the cup away. Thomas Goffe's 1619 play *The Courageous Turk* presents Muslim characters drinking wine, although they curiously compare it Eucharistically to Christians' blood. Fatima F. Ebrahim, "Turning to Food: Religious Contact and Conversion in Early Modern Drama" (PhD diss, University of Western Ontario, 2015), 153-171.

upon their everyday concerns and fears. 1631's *A Sayler new come ouer* sings of the wonders one might find entering port in the coastal town of Dover: sailors who have seen strange countries, doctors with unusual potions, a valorous Dutch pirate whose talent on the seas weakened the Holy Roman Empire, or a magic necromancer. Among these fabled persons, the ballad cites "a Turke and a Grecian, / with one of every nation: / All in a ship, together be, / come ore to England for to see / Our gallants in their bravery / and note each severall fashion, / thats worne in this our nation."[70] *A Sayler* is a ballad that clearly functions as a lighthearted tale of the culturally innovative wonders that can be found in an increasingly globalized England. Pirates and Turks and unusual, potentially dangerous foreigners are dulled in a ballad whose purpose is merely to inspire a fleeting moment of whimsy and national pride.

Two more ballads from 1632 offer further evidence that impersonal ballads need only impersonal Turks, and as such can sidestep captivity concerns in favor of a non-threatening Turk that is in awe of England and its illustrious cities. *Newes from* Hollands *Leager: OR,* Hollands *Leager is lately up broken, This for a certaine is spoken* seems to both celebrate and bemoan the attack on Holland's Leaguer, a brothel located on the Bankside on the southern shore of the Thames. London apprentices damaged the brothel in 1631 on Shrove Tuesday. According to the ballad, interested parties that once frequented the brothel include "the flaunting Spaniard, / and boone Cavillera, / The bragging Dutchman / thought cost him deare a: / Wallouns and Switzer, / both Jewes,

[70] *A Sayler new come ouer* (Printed at London for Henry Gosson, 1631).

Turke and Neager / Scots, Danes, and French."[71] Likewise the nationalistic *The praise of* London: *OR, A delicate new Ditty, which doth invite you to faire* London *City* lists the Turk along with the Spanish, French, Italian, and Grecian that "Doe come to the City for their delights."[72]

It is bad iesting with a halter, also from 1632, is a similarly jovial ballad, but one that focuses its attention on three specific Englishmen, and likewise employs a more sinister representation of the Turk. The three drunk, cheerful subjects of the ballad run into trouble when one of them could not pay the hefty bill he'd racked up drinking and smoking all night. He returned to the tavern not with money but with a rope in the hopes of selling it to his compatriots, who in turn wrapped it around his neck and nearly strangled him with it. "I must acknowledge," he said when he came to, "that I was much too blame, / In such a foolish manner / my betters so to Jeere." The three jokesters were also soldiers, as we are reminded at the end of almost every stanza: "They were three lusty souldiers, / and serv'd in France and Spaine, / Germany and Italy, / and were come home againe." The first stanza also tells us that "one in Warres had lost an eye, another shot quite through the thigh, / the third in Turkish slavery / endured had much paine." Although the rest of the stanzas end at "Three lusty souldiers" followed by "&c." to indicate that the line should be continued, the second part of the ballad, printed on the same side, ends its first stanza at "and were come home againe, &c.," which suggests that all of the stanzas were intended to be sung straight through the list of the soldiers'

[71] *Newes from* Hollands *Leager: OR,* Hollands *Leager is lately up broken, This for a certaine is spoken* (London, printed for I. W., 1632).
[72] *The praise of* London: *OR, A delicate new Ditty, which doth invite you to faire* London *City* (London: Printed for F. C., 1632).

grievances, including languishing in Turkish slavery. Such a scenario was commonplace enough that it could function logically as the repetitive ending to a stanza; these are the lines that were intended to stick hardest in a listener's brain, the ones most likely to be remembered, repeated, and engrained in the mind of whomever might catch ear of it in public.[73] The ballad's repetition succeeds in both valorizing and normalizing the extraordinary circumstance of captivity and slavery under the Turks, advancing it as something that happened to those men and boys who represent not only the best and bravest, but also the endearing fallible humans called husbands, sons, fathers, and friends. Although the issues of piracy and captivity were of national concern, the clear divide between the topics of these 1632 ballads and their use of the Turk demonstrates that the larger political ramifications of captivity were not of their concern. Rather, their rhetorical efforts were geared toward engaging with captivity as a deeply personal anxiety, resting its pressure primarily on the shoulders of those families directly affected by it, and secondarily on the coastal cities whose economies were suffering.

Entered into the Stationers' Register on October 15, 1639, *A lamentable relation of a fearfull fight at sea, upon our English Coast, between the* Spaniard *and the* Hollander was printed mere days after the actual events about which the ballad is written. The Battle of the Downs was understandably of great interest to the English, particularly the coastal towns affected by the skirmish between the Spanish and Dutch fleets amidst the Eighty Years' War. Not only had twelve English transport ships joined the assembly of a new Spanish fleet set on providing relief to the Spanish-held port of Dunkirk in northern

[73] *It is bad jesting with a halter* (London: Printed for F. C., 1632).

France, it was also at the roadstead area of The Downs, off the coast of Kent, that the fleets eventually met and Spain was decisively defeated on October 11[74] by Lieutenant-Admiral Maarten Tromp's fleet. What this would mean on a practical level for the citizens of nearby coastal towns was of great concern to the crown. In a letter from diplomat and former English envoy to Spain Endymion Porter to Secretary of State Windebank, Porter states that the king has "taken into his gratious consideration what maye happen if the Hollanders should in an hostill manner fall uppon the Spaniards in the Downes, and by anie such act, drive them to run on shore for safegarde of their lives." What would the English citizens do, Porter wonders, for those Spanish soldiers who would need food and lodging? Charles, through his "pious care" and desire to "prevent disorder on all sides":

> hathe commanded mee to lett your honor knowe that it is his royall pleasure, you signifie unto the Lord Warden of the Cinck Portes and to the debutie Liftennants of Kent, that they (in such case of necessitie) see provision bee made for the billeting of strangers in such places….that thereby the world maye see, his majesties Christian-like intentions to the subjects of his frends and alies."[75]

England, in the wake of the First Bishops' War, was therefore wrestling with the nascent contentious moments of the civil wars that would embroil the nation for the next

[74] Modern sources cite the Gregorian calendar date of October 21, but for the sake of continuity with the primary documents I am using, I will continue using the Julian dating ten days earlier, the battle taking place on the 11th and the ballad having been entered on the 15th.
[75] Endymion Porter to Sec. Windebank. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, Oct 1639-Mar 1640, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office.* Ed. William Douglas Hamilton. Vol. 15: Oct 1639-Mar 1640 *London: Longman & Co., 1877) SP 16/430 f.130, 10 October, 1639.

decade while simultaneously dealing with a foreign sea-fight on its shores. *A lamentable relation* begins to hint at the role the Turk would play in broadside ballads for the next fifty or so years: not so much as an individual who was a threat to Englishmen, as in the ballads of the early part of the century, but as a people that were a threat to England and Christendom as a whole. This black-letter ballad moralized the complicated political issues surrounding the Battle of the Downs by lamenting the fact that one Christian nation was battling another. "Great pitie tis that any pen / Should note such hate twixt Christian men," the last line of each stanza reads. It offers gruesome details of the aftermath of the battle: "A multitude the sea cast up, / Which all had tasted of deaths cup, / Some without heads, some wanting armes, / Some legs, all shewing what great harmes / Proceed from that inveterate spleene, / Which hath long time inventing been." Turning its eyes instead toward a common enemy against whom Christians would be better served focusing their attentions, the ballad cries, "O that all Christians would accord, / To fight the battell of our Lord, / Against the Infidel and Turke, / That upon our dissention worke."[76] It is a trope previously unseen in black-letter ballads that mention the Turk, and yet it would appear time and time again throughout the rest of the seventeenth century starting with the popularization of white-letter ballads, which introduced in England an entirely new political propaganda genre that mocked the form and content of popular black-letter ballads while at the same time piggybacking on their success as a mass printed media. England's devolution toward civil war, which drew out apocalyptic rhetoric concerning the consequences of Christian fighting Christian, meant that popular

[76] Martin Parker, *A lamentable relation of a fearfull fight at sea, upon our English Coast, between the* Spaniard *and the* Hollander (London: printed by M. F. for Tho. Lambert, 1639).

printed texts would see an uptick the use of the Turk as a useful rhetorical propaganda tool.

As white-letter ballads began to unilaterally adopt an image established by black-letter ballads in the previous decades of the seventeenth century, the Turk that once represented the looming threat of captivity, coercion, and conversion for common English families was transformed into a cloak worn by political enemies who threatened England from within. Although white-letter ballad topics in England starting in the 1640s were dominated almost exclusively by the increasingly divisive relationship between the Crown and Parliament, the Turk was the means by which one side identified itself against the other: this particular local group against which this ballad is written, like the Turk, are enemies of England and we are not like them. To gloss white-letter broadside ballads from about 1640 until Charles' execution is to witness a swift tightening of the allegorical screw as the Turk became ever more closely associated with a particular faction, party, or even individual. *IUDGE BARKLEY HIS PENITENTIALL COMPLAINT* is the first white-letter ballad I have found that uses the Turk symbolically rather than literally, and it is a first person dramatization from the viewpoint of Robert Berkeley, a Justice of the King's Bench that ruled favorably for King Charles' Ship Money in 1637, and was impeached and imprisoned for high treason in February 1641. One could argue for the effectiveness of the Ship Money toward the relief of Barbary captives,[77] and there were certainly

[77] For example, Charles sent a fleet to join the North Saleans against the South Saleans, and their subsequent victory earned the release of all the English captives in the city. The expedition, led by Captain Rainsborough, was hailed as an enormous victory in the fight against Barbary captivity, and a Moroccan ambassador was shortly thereafter welcomed in England for a visit. It was "a much needed publicity victory for King Charles who could not but have felt that he had vindicated Ship Money" (Matar, "Barbary Corsairs," 244). For a discussion of Rainsborough's excursion, see chapter nine Adrian Tinniswood's

concerted efforts to politicize the utility of the Ship Money by pointing to its use as a ransom fund,[78] but the sheer enormity of the issue of captivity on the Barbary coast and its lack of a centralized power meant that the Ship Money had limited success combating it. The handful of times Ship Money actually successfully brought captives home were drowned out by its absolutely staggering unpopularity – an unpopularity on which propagandists were more than willing to capitalize. In the ballad, Berkeley laments his role in promoting Avarice over good Christian morality in England. He calls it a wonder "That I who ballanc'd *Right,* and in her Scale / Did raise or sinke her to make *Wrong* prevaile, / Should now lye lost to Justice, and inferre / My selfe an Exile to her Hall and her." Avarice, with her "blacke Army," that infiltrated the English courts is "That Turke 'mongst Christians,"[79] drawing that first thin line of connection between the Turk and a local political faction, in this case the Roundhead judges who supported the Ship Money tax.

A 1642 ballad reveals the Turk had morphed into an even more particular signifier than what it had been in the nascent moments of full-blown civil war: *A GODLY*

Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean (New York: Riverhead Books, 2010) 145-65.

[78] Kenneth R. Andrews argues that Ship Money was never primarily about piracy, but "its promoters were clever enough politicians to realize that maritime England…would respond 'willingly and cheerfully' to an appeal which gave prominence to the feared and hated Moor." He suggests Rainsborough's 1637 expedition was a "side-show," and that the emphasis given to piracy in the language of the original 1634 writs is "misleading, and was presumably meant to mislead." That Andrews argues that it would have been "inappropriate to summon up a great fleet of heavy warships" to deal with the Barbary Corsairs is a bleak reminder that the Crown and Parliament had to constantly contend with the disparate concerns of the English Navy and the desperate families petitioning for their loved ones' release. Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 130-31.

[79] *IUDGE BARKELY HIS PENITENTIAL COMPLAINT: Wherein he laments the Condition of his present Imprisonment, and the late Corruptions of violated and inforced IUSTICE* (1641).

EXHORTATION TO THIS DISTRESSED NATION, a Royalist broadside, makes an emotional plea for a return to peace in England, a peace that it makes clear has been threatened by "Popery" and common rabble-rousing. Although the ballad carefully toes the line of outright politicking, it blames "some that cannot read nor write" who "Shall tell us of a new-found light," "Popery" that "resteth in the land," and people who "for the common good, / Unnaturall shed each others blood." "When London is entrenched round, / When feare our senses doth counfound; / When men with griefe behold those works, / As if we were besieg'd by Turks. / *'Tis time for us to crie and call / Good Lord have mercy on us all.*"[80] It is the only metaphor employed in the ballad, and one that perfectly encapsulates the confusion of the Civil Wars: the only apt comparison is an invasion by the mysterious, other-worldly, terrifying Turk. A fear of London having siege laid to it by Turkish forces was of course unrealistic. But it was a fear that drew on the guerilla tactics met upon the coastal towns of England, citizens who actually faced on a day-to-day basis the very real possibility of Turkish galley ships on their shores. The common man's fear was extracted from its source and employed as imagery in a white-letter ballad whose audience did not share those fears.

Thankes to the Parliament, printed in 1642, lays the blame on Papists for ruining the good name of the governing body (the Long Parliament had been sitting since November 1640), which had replaced the disastrous Short Parliament and the oppression of Charles I's Personal Rule. "With taxes, and Monopolies opprest, / Ship-mony,

[80] Humphrey Crouch, *A GODLY EXHORTATION TO THIS DISTRESSED NATION. Shewing the true cause of this unnatural Civill War amongst us* (London: printed for Richard Harper, 1642).

Souldiers, Knighthood, and the rest, … / Then think good neighbor how much we are blest / *In the great Counsell of the King, / And the Kings great Counsell."* Were not these "plagues," the ballad asks, "worse then a sweeping rot"? The ballad calls attention even in the early days of the Civil Wars to the fearmongering it argues the opposing side was employing to strike fear in to the hearts of common English people. "See how this wise Assembly they abuse / And fill our head with tittle tattle Newes, / As if they were farre worse than Turkes and Jewes, / Because they are the men whom we did chuse…"[81] *Thankes to the Parliament* chastises those texts that stoop so low as to compare their enemies to the Turk. The Papists and their apologists were trying to poison the good name of Parliament against the public by suggesting they are not just comparable to, but *worse than* Turks and their equally-maligned Other brethren Jews.

Political pamphlet literature from the same year echoes the ballad author's concern, but adjusts the scope of the comparison to fit more specific political concerns as the heat of the Civil Wars increased. *REASONS VVHY THIS KINGDOME OUGHT TO ADHERE TO THE* PARLIAMENT, written anonymously in 1642, outlines succinctly why standing behind Parliament is the best course of action for England. In an almost panicked tone of dire warning, the pamphlet begs its audience to recall the "unjust and distructive" war that was forced upon them against their "brother Nation of Scotland" by Papists, prelates, court Priests, and other "malignants" that have left England bleeding.[82] It argues that a "discontinuance of Parliaments hath filled this Kingdome so full of

[81] *Thankes to the Parliament* (London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, at the Signe of the Bible in Woodstreet, 1642).
[82] *REASONS VVHY THIS KINGDOME OUGHT TO ADHERE TO THE* PARLIAMENT (London, 1642) 1.

diseases, that we grow weary of Physicke before our Physitians can perfect the cure…."[83] Later, calling on the Turk as a reference point for the kind of disease to which it refers, the pamphlet states, "He that thinks a Parliament can be forsaken, knows not the power of Parliaments; for if the Parliament pursue only their own [interests], and comply with the King….They can make him more absolute than any Prince in Christendom, nay then the Turk or Muscovite."[84] Cited as even more powerful than any Christian king, the Turk is the absolute endpoint at which the English should never wish to arrive.

Similarly, the 1642 English translation of Jaques Davy Du Perron's *LUTHERS ALCORAN,* hedges its accusations against English Puritans at first,[85] but then spends the remainder of the lengthy publication explicitly detailing why "*Lutheranism* agreeth with *Mahumetisme,* or *Turcisme."*[86] The treatise, Perron argues, makes evident that "the Positions, and Articles of the *Lutherans,* and their answerable practice of them are at least equall, if not more wicked, and lesse iustifiable by force of all Reason, then the contrary *Tenets* of the *Mahumetans,* and *Turks.*[87] It is no coincidence that the translator N. N. P. chose 1642 as the ideal time to publicize a polemic connecting Islam and Puritanism. Civil war had interrupted and diverted relief funds for captives in thralldom under the Turks, and printed pamphlets in the early 1640s frequently called for politics to be set

[83] Ibid., 3.
[84] Ibid., 7.
[85] "The reason of my translating it, is the Affinity, or rather *Identity* of the Religion of the *Hugenots* in *France,* with the Religion of the *English Puritans.* Therefore if this Treatise do iustly condemne the *Hugenots* of *France,* I referre to the iudgment of the learned, whether it may not seem to inuolue within the like Centure, the *Puritans* of *England.*" *LUTHERS ALCORAN Being A Treatise first written in French by the Learned* Cardinall Peron, *of famous memory, against the* Hugenots *of* France, *And Translated into English by N. N. P.* (1642) 3.
[86] Ibid., 2.
[87] Ibid., 20.

aside in order to aid in the return of captives. "God is much offended, and will one day take account thereof, and the Kings Majesty no little dishonour'd by keeping Peace with Infidels, upon such dis-advantages, and suffering his Subjects…to give Merchandize for Merchandize…," one 1642 pamphlet states. It goes on to argue that the English should cut trade ties with "those effeminate lazy people," and send a fleet of forty ships to lay siege to Istanbul (which the pamphlet obstinately referred to as Constantinople).[88] The Qur'an would not be printed in English for another seven years, so few to no English persons had access to the text, and the Turk was the ideal candidate for inciting fear in the hearts of common English people who were witnessing the increased tensions between church factions. It was clearly advantageous to denounce not just whatever group was against you, but the symbol to which you continually compare them as well. A fake letter supposedly penned by Sultan Amurath "the great Turk," one of a number of fake letters attributed to Ottoman sultans,[89] was printed and distributed on broadsheet in 1643, threatened war against all of Christendom. In it, Amurath threatens to "besiedge you in your chiefe and metropolitan Cities" with a mind-bogglingly large army of "sixteene hundred thousand men." "We will keepe you as slaves, and use you like dogs in continuall misery, impaile your fairest sonnes, and daughters upon stakes…we will…rip open your women with child, and trample their children under our feet."[90] It is little

[88] Henry Robinson, *LIBERTAS, OR RELIEFE TO THE ENGLISH CAPTIVES IN* ALGIER (London: Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Sweeting, 1642) 5, 8.
[89] Fatima Essadek Ali Belgasem argues that these fake letters were fabricated by anonymous authors and were frequent enough as to justify being regarded as a genre all their own. "Representations of Ottoman Sultans in Elizabethan Times" (PhD diss., Durham University, 2013).
[90] *A PROVD AND BLASPHEMOVS CAHLLENGE* [sic] *Given out in denunciation of warre, by* Amurath *the great Turk, against all Christendome. Coming with an Army of 1600000, men* (1643). The annotation on the Thomason copy of this broadsheet states it was printed January 19, 1642 in the old style of dating.

wonder that ballad literature, both white-letter and black-letter, found in the Turk such convenient fodder as the ballad genre joined the cacophony of propaganda print voices in the midst of the Civil Wars.

As tensions mounted in England between 1646 and 1648, the number of political broadside ballads printed skyrocketed. So, too, did the number of appearances of the Turk as symbol, becoming ever more precise in its allegory. *The NEW LETANIE,* printed in 1646,[91] invoking church service invocations, calls upon the Lord to liberate England from a wide variety of enemies. The ballad starts out fairly broad, asking for liberation from "The Turk, the Pope, and the *Scottish* Nation," from "a fighting Priest, and a Souldier that preaches," from "Mouldy bread, and Mustie beere," and from "believing of the Printed lyes." On par with these potential scourges upon England, the ballad concludes: "And now to make an end of all, / I wish the *Round-heads* had a fall; / Or else were hang'd in *Goldsmith's-hall.* / Amen." Roundheads, it seems, trumped all other enemies – Pope, Irish Rebel, Welsh "hubbub-men," "Thomas Turne-Coate," and even Turk.[92]

The Roundheads were not the only faction to fall victim to attack by allegory. *A PANEGYRICK* (1647), Faithfully representing *The Proceedings of the PARLIAMENT at* Westminster, turns the tone of 1642's *Thankes to the Parliament* sardonic, and with a sharp, salty tongue spits venom at the Long Parliament for a wide variety of abuses. The ballad, the Thomason Tract copy of which is dated 5 June 1647, was likely penned after

[91] A hand-written note at the bottom of the Thomason Tracts collection at the British Library, dates the ballad as "March 15th 1646," which is likely the day that George Thomason obtained the copy.
[92] *The New Letanie* (London, 1646). *Early English Books Online* dates the ballad 1647. Angela McShane cites the Thomason MS as dating the ballad 15 March 1647. *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Pickering & Chatto Ltd., 2011) 54.

Charles had fallen into Parliament's hands, who would hold him captive until his attempted escape to France in November of that year. It references the 1644 execution of Sir Alexander Carew as well as the 1645 executions of Sir John Hotham and his son. One might be able to interpret the first two stanzas as legitimate praise, if the English weren't renowned for their dry wit. It praises "Everlasting Parliament" as being "greater then all Kings by odds," and says that "*Moses* and *Aaron* ne're did doe / More wonders then are wrought by you / For *Englands Israel.*" The sarcasm strengthens in the sixth stanza: "What wholesome Lawes have you ordain'd, / Whereby your propertie's maintain'd / Gainst those would us undoe? / Yea both our fortunes and our lives, / And what is dearer, ee'n our wives, / Are wholly kept by you." But it is in the third stanza that the opposition is directly connected to the Turk. "In sixe yeares space you have done more / Then all our Parliaments before: / You have quite done the worke; / The Cavaliers, the King, the Pope, / You have o'rethrowne, and next we hope / You will confound the Turke."[93] If the King and his supporters were among the greatest of all possible enemies, away from whom Parliament had led England as if "through the Red-Sea we have past," the next enemy on that list is the Turk.

A 9 September 1647 ordinance called for Parliament to send a militia committee to settle in the London borough of Southwark. There, they would have "the Power to lead, conduct" fit persons in Southwark and employ them, "arrayed and weaponed, for

[93] *A PANEGYRICK,* Faithfully representing *The proceedings of the PARLIAMENT at* Westminster, *since their first Sessions to this present: Wherein their wonderfull Acts are truly declared; And what is further by them to be expected* (London: 1647).

the Suppression of all Rebellions."[94] Supporters opened the gates, and four regiments entered the borough.[95] The ballad *The Cities thankes to* Southwarke, *for giving the Army entrance,*[96] minces no words in its berating of Southwark for having so willingly allowed the militia in. "Nor to the City will they doe / But what is good and faire, / They will help all the Suburbes too, / *When frogs fly in the ayre.*" "[H]ow durst you be so bold / Our foes for to invite / And with them treatie for to hold, / Ere we thought requisite?" These representatives of the New Model Army in Southwark, the ballad cautions, have the potential to cause damage beyond military occupation. It is a warning that reminds the reader that, even in the worst years of the battle between the Crown and the New Model Army, the Civil Wars were still being fought in part to settle deep-set religious conflict in England. "Did ever men before like you, / Send for their bane unto them…. / And give possession of their works / To those whose undertakings / Shew they will force men like the Turkes / To serve Gods of their makings. *You knaves and dolts that nothing know / But are made for the slaughter, / By you our feares do dayly grow / Weel fit you fort heereafter."*[97]

Shew they will force men like the Turkes to serve Gods of their makings. The argument is clear: Parliament had proven time and again that they wished to force their religious agenda upon England against its will, just as the Turk had done to…the ballad is

[94] C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, ed. *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, vol. 1 (London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, Printed by Wyman and Sons, 1911) 1010.
[95] For a discussion of the Southwark and other occupations around London during the Civil War, see chapter 43 ("The Military Occupation of London") in Samuel R. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, vol. 3 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891).
[96] The Thomason copy of the ballad is dated September 1, 1647, although this dating is likely incorrect as the ordinance was not passed until eight days later.
[97] *The Cities thankes to* Southwarke, *for giving the Army entrance* (London, 1647).

not clear who precisely the object of the Turks' force was, nor does it have to be. The popularity of the topic of conversion had not diminished. Church sermons concerned themselves deeply with the issue, and the Ottoman Empire's policies either for or against forced conversion had been published in travel and captivity narratives.[98] Popular dramas, with their own allegorical needs centered on social mobility, tended toward a comedic approach to conversion, which Jonathan Burton argues was "crucial relief because it facilitated a sort of double displacement whereby 'turning Turk' was first deconsecrated and then apportioned to plebian harlequins."[99] Archbishop Laud even wrote *Laudian Rite for Returned Renegades* in 1637 as a means of regulating the fraught issue of former renegades trying to return to the English church. "Let the minister of the place have frequent conference with the party in private; lay open and aggravate the heinousness of his sin both in respect of God, the Church, and his own soul…"[100] Laud

[98] Henry Blount points out that the Turks were rather successful in diminishing the number of Christians in their lands, but they did so by keeping them in "perpetuall poverty" which "turnes so many thousands to *Mahometanisme,* and prevailes with lesse scandall, than fire and sword would doe, in as much as it goes lesse harsh with a man to forget his Religion than to defie it." Henry Blount, *A voyage into the Levant. A breife relation of a iourney, lately performed by Master H. B. Gentleman* (London: Printed by I. L. for Andrew Crooke, 1636) 110-11. Alternatively, Mary C. Fuller cites a number of examples from English narratives wherein a narrator tells of moments of forced conversion and fear of captivity, including John Rawlins' account detailed in my previous chapter, as well as the diary entries of Thomas Dallam, who had been commissioned in the early seventeenth century to deliver a mechanical organ he had built to Constantinople. She notes that the presence of foreign converts is presented differently in both stories, Rawlins having been subject to the unique customs and dangers of a ship, and Dallam being isolated at court under the protection of the ambassador. Mary Fuller, "English Turks and Resistant Travelers: Conversion to Islam and Homosocial Courtship," *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern World,* Eds. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 68-69.

[99] Burton, 53. Burton cites Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II,* and Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* as examples of dramas in which a "clownish servant" is "linked to an upper-class hero who is momentarily threatened with a form of conversion.…in each case it is the clownish servant who manages to blunder his way beneath a castrator's knife in a bit of comic relief." Heywood's Clem tries to climb the social ladder by pursuing favor in a Muslim court, providing Heywood a subplot "to contain the threat of 'turning Turk'" (53), and his castration is a punishment for his attempt at social mobility. Both plays, Burton argues, "used castration as comic relief to elide the threat of conversion" (57).

[100] Vitkus, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption,* 361

appears to be competing with the dramatic types of conversion seen far more in English dramas than in actual conversions with the ceremony of penance he required of reformed renegades: "Let the offender be appointed to stand…in the porch of the church…in a penitent fashion in a white sheet and with a white wand in his hand, his head uncovered, his countenance dejected….let him, in a humble and devout manner, kiss the bottom stone of the font, strike his breast, and presently depart into the church porch as before."[101] Indeed, even in practice such public ceremony was often deemed necessary for the salvation of an apostate; anything less would have failed to adequately extinguish the power of the Muslim Turks over Englishmen. In a sermon preached at Stepny church outside London on October 21 1638, William Gouge spoke at length about a renegade received at the church. Vincent Jukes, native of Shropshire, had been taken captive by Turks off a merchant ship in 1637 and sold from owner to owner. Repeatedly beaten and threatened, Jukes converted. He "acknowledge[d] *Mahomet* to bee a great *Prophet*, and in testimony thereof to bee circumcised and to conforme himselfe to the *Turkish* rites, and attire."[102] It was only by willingly and publicly returning to the church that Jukes had any hope of salvation. Gouge strikes fear in to the heart of those parishioners and readers who might have "renounced your Religion, and denied your Lord and Saviour, and yet without any publicke confession or satisfaction intrude into the Church, and thrust your

[101] Ibid., 362
[102] William Gouge, *A RECOVERY FROM APOSTACY. Set out in A SERMON Preached in Stepny Church neere London at the receiving of a Penitent Renegado into the Church, Octob. 21. 1638* (London: Printed by George Mider, 1639) 3.

selves in among the guests which are invited to the Lords Table, Ye draw a skin over a festering wound….Well note this and tremble."[103]

The metaphor present in *The Cities thankes to* Southwarke does not leave room for the possibility of a Laudian return to morality, publicly or otherwise. The hypothetical renegade of Laud's rites posits contrition, regret, and a desire for reform. "I do here in the presence of almighty God and before you His faithful people humbly and penitently confess that I have grievously offended the majesty of God and deeply wounded my own soul in that I so far yielded to the weakness of my sinful flesh…"[104] It is also worth noting that Islam and Turks are never mentioned in Laud's rites directly; the focus is entirely on facilitating re-conversion to Christianity. Sermons, narratives, and dramas all employed unique representations of Christianity and Islam that were totally separate and decidedly un-metaphorical; whether their interest was in comedically undermining the act of conversion for the sake of diffusing anxiety or concern with bringing a convert back from the depths of Islam to the grace of the English church, Islam never stood in for anything other than itself. But the propagandistic nature of broadside ballads meant that Islam could only ever function metaphorically. *The Cities thankes to* Southwarke ballad more closely aligns with the image of Islam presented by black-letter ballads and their audiences' fears around captivity. Comedic relief would have failed to incite a fearful connection between Parliament's purported religious agenda and that of the Ottoman Turks. Whereas popular dramas support a "disavowal of the allure and power of

[103] Ibid., 21.
[104] Vitkus, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, 363.

Islam….locating inferiority and vulnerability elsewhere, by making the apostate the fool,"[105] for the metaphorical connection between Parliament and Islam to succeed, ballads necessarily had to fully acknowledge the puissance of the Empire, both religiously and militarily. Downplaying Islam's strength would have diminished the propagandistically useful image of Parliament as not just evil, but with the power to enact that evil upon England.

As different as these white-letter ballads may have been from their black-letter predecessors, the authors, printers, and sellers were fully aware that they were adapting a genre that, although oft maligned for its lack of sophistication, still inarguably had a long tradition in England. In the most contentious decade in English history, during which the very definition of Englishness was up for debate and at the end of which the King himself lost his head, such tradition was a crucial weapon in the fight toward a unified nation. Unified under what, of course, was precisely over what the white-letter ballads argued. *A Loyall Song of the Royall Feast, kept by Prisoners in the Towre in* August *last* written by Sir Thomas Wortley and printed in 1647, is a ballad that not only calls for England to "Send *Turk* and *Pope* defiance," it also speaks to its own relationship to the ballad form:

> This if you will rime doggrell call
> (That you please you may name it)
> One of the loyall traytors here
> Did for a Ballad frame it
> Old Chevy Chase was in his minde
> If any lute it better:
> All these concerned in the Song
> Will kindly thank the Setter.[106]

[105] Burton, 51-52, 59.
[106] *A Loyall Song of the Royall Feast, kept by the Prisoners in the Towre in* August *last, with the names, titles, and characters of every Prisoner. By Sir F. W. Knight and Baronet, Prisoner* (London, 1647). The

Call this ballad what you will, Wortley insists, but he had that most classic ballad tune *Chevy Chase* in his mind when he wrote it, thus inducting it into the long tradition of ballad literature that could reach the hearts and ears of all English people alike. The distinction made here between "rime doggrell" and "a ballad" suggests that contemporary audiences recognized the difference between a broadside ballad as either drivel or literature: value lies not in the form itself, but in its method of appropriation.[107]

A Vote of No Address was passed on January 17, 1648 that broke off negotiations between Charles and Parliament after Charles began to align himself with the Scottish Covenanters. On December 6 1648, Colonel Thomas Pride's Regiment of Foot positioned themselves at the steps of the House of Commons. By December 12, forty-five members of Parliament had been imprisoned, many stayed away fearing imprisonment, and only about 200 MPs remained to sit the Rump Parliament. In what was arguably England's only military *coup d'etat,* Pride had successfully crippled Parliament and rendered it once and for all a political faction wholly and legally opposed to any negotiations with the King.[108] Events moved quickly after that. The failed Treaty of

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ballad is dated by hand "1 7ber 1647," and references the two ducks the King sent to the Royalist prisoners in the tower on August 19. Wortley, who was captured in 1644, was imprisoned in the tower from 1644 to 1648. Charles Mackay, LL.D., ed. *The Cavalier Songs and Ballads of England, from 1642 to 1684* (London: Griffin Bohn and Co., 1863) 39-50.

[107] Angela McShane's introduction to *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England* details the practical differences in the reception of black-letter and white-letter ballads. She notes that even contemporary collectors like Samuel Pepys and Anthony Wood separated the two, stating that "these factors offer the strongest evidence of how contemporaries distinguished ballad products, and the audiences for which they were considered appropriate, by typography." McShane, xxiv.

[108] After the Restoration, the Earl of Clarendon notes with more than a hint of exhaustion "how opprobrious they [Parliament] were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the *rump,* as the fag end of a carcass long since expired." *The History of the Rebellion: A New Selection,* ed. Paul Seaward (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009) 410.

Newport was annulled on December 13, then an ordinance was passed to try King Charles for treason on January 4, which the House of Lords rejected. But the House of Commons simply passed an Act serving the same function and Charles was executed on January 30. (The House of Lords, for its last ditch effort to save the King and press for negotiation, was abolished six days later.)[109]

Two 1648 ballads reflect in their irate tone the bewildering events that had befallen England in the months leading up to Charles's beheading. And both found cause to call upon the Turk to illustrate either the horrors wrought *on* Parliament or *by* Parliament. *The Cryes of* Westminster, printed after the Vote of No Address, derisively lists the ills done to England by Parliament, their powers allegedly sold to the highest bidder. "Who buyes the Parliaments Declaration against / the King…" the ballad asks. "Buy a new Ordinance to repair Churches: / A new Ordinance, new, new, new." "Buy a new Ordinance of the Commons, against Stage-players…Saints now alone must *Act* for Riches, / The Plott out-smells old *Atkins* breeches."[110] It was reprinted later in the year with a second part of additional stanzas. The reprint includes a stanza that reads: "My New Articles of Faith, who buyes the Parliaments new Faith? You may see by their

[109] Clarendon's account of the abolition of the House of Peers reveals the shock at the quickness with which Pride's Purge set upon Parliament. The official charge against King Charles for treason, having been approved by the Commons, was sent to the Peers, where 'it was so ill received that there was not one person who concurred with them; which, considering the men, and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And…they adjourned for a week, presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that career which the House of Commons was upon, and in that time some expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceived in this….and when the day came to which the Lord had adjourned their House, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with padlocks, that there should be no more entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers…" Ibid., 325.

[110] Thomas Atkins, Lord Mayor of London in 1644 and re-elected MP for Norwich in 1647, and supporter of the Parliamentary cause.

WORKS, they are worse then Jews or Turks; let their faith be what it will, their Religion is to Kill."[111] The superlative comparison drawn between Parliament and the Turk – that the former is actually *worse* than the latter – plays off the ethos propagated in no small part by black-letter ballad predecessors: clearly the audience had a firm understanding that the Turk is very bad, so it is quite a statement to suggest that Parliament is even worse.

The Turne of Time, OR, The Period of Rebellion Dedicated to the infamous Members late Sitting at Westminster, a seething satire against the remaining members, states that "vengeance no longer will allow / what seven yeares hath lasted." It furthers its vitriol against the sitting members of Parliament: "Ther's some that say; you went away / because a stinking vault, / Beneath your House of mischief lay… / … But fie no, it is not so, no execrement could drive / The Saints from their Seraglio, / who for a crowne durst strive." This line from the fourth stanza would not be the only time the ballad associated disparate faiths as a means of demonizing the heretics to which it referred. These unholy "saints" that were sitting a Muslim Sultan's "Seraglio" instead of Parliament are also implored by the ballad to get themselves to Scotland wherein "*Mahomet's Elizium* / you shall possesse, alone."[112] Certainly, the particular argument made by equating a Parliament infected with anti-Royalists to a Seraglio, and Presbyterian Scotland to

[111] *The Cryes of* Westminster. *Or the* Parliament Pedlar, *with his whole Pack of Knavery opened, and set to sale* (London, 1648).
[112]*The Turne of Time, OR, The Period of Rebellion Dedicated, to the infamous Members late Sitting at* Westminster (London, 1648). McShane dates this ballad sometime after March 23 1648 due to its reference to Pembroke Castle having declared for the king on that date. *Political Broadside Ballads*, 69.

Mohammad's afterlife made clear the apocalyptic levels of fear toward which propagandists were reaching.

The Turk is afforded no nuance in broadside ballads of the Civil Wars. Even white-letter ballads, with their specific references to political players and events leading up to January 1649, wholly adopt the broad caricature of the evil Turk that black-letter ballads had embedded in to the popular conscience for decades prior. Gone are the ballads of the teens, twenties, and thirties wherein Turks – although still functionally very much the antagonist – still clung to some semblance of identity. Poorly shaped and crudely drawn, the Turk, although cutthroat, bloodthirsty, piratical, cruel, and decidedly *foreign,* was still human, however opposed to Englishness he may be. By the time white-letter ballads were clawing at the throats of their political enemies in the 1640s, a ghastly Turk had appeared with no distinctiveness of his own other than that which he had forced upon him when compared to a political enemy. This monstrous chimera Turk would remain unique to broadside ballad literature for the duration of the seventeenth century. The great Muslim enemy was offered little to no moral defense in any English literatures, but it was the broadside ballad that transformed him into a Devil – not some fallen angel, but an enigmatic demon pulled formless from the ground and draped upon the treacherous English political landscape.

A 1649 short play entitled *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* – written at least as late as the executions of Lord Capell, the Earl of Holland, and the Duke of Hamilton on 8 and 9 March 1649 – offers a stark contrast to ballads in how it uses the Muslim to illustrate a point. Oliver Cromwell is the Machiavellian antagonist of the

drama, colluding with his right hand man Hugh Peters to usurp the throne. "Their conspiracy undercuts the justification for regicide," Laura Knoppers states, "reduced here to a Machiavellian plot."[113] In the months immediately after the start of England's Commonwealth, a pro-Charles drama that elided the political complexities of the traumatic Civil Wars in favor of an iconoclast Cromwell shouldering the burden of responsibility was intended to stoke the ire of the defeated Royalists. By deliberately not representing Charles in a play that nevertheless bears his name in the title and instead staging only his scheming enemies, the recently executed King was immune to parody and distortion. Cromwell, with a "Nose, like a bright red Beacon" that hangs "like a comet o're thy dreadfull face, denouncing death and vengeance,"[114] has his Tamburlaine-esque ambitions lampooned. His bright red nose from drinking is met with hyperbolic cosmic praise, taking on the form of an ominous comet looming over Charles's fate. "The Ancients fam'd *Alcides* for his Acts, thou hast not slaine, but tane the Kingly *Lyon,* and like great *Tamberlaine* with his *Bajazet,* canst render him within an Iron-Cage a spectacle of mirth, when e're thou pleasest," Peters praises Cromwell. And it is Cromwell himself who is proud to draw a comparison between himself and Mohammad, with his "better Genius" Peters by his side. "Thou art that Load-stone, which shall draw my sense to any part of policy i'the Machiavilian world, we two (like *Mahomet* and his pliant *Monke*) will frame an *English Alchoran,* which shall be written with the self-same pensil great *Draco* grav'd his Lawes…"[115] This brief mention paints Mohammad as a tyrant, to

[113] Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) 25.
[114] *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* (London, 1649) 2.
[115] Ibid., 4.

be sure, but nonetheless a powerful ruler whose calling was foretold to him by Sergius the Monk. And an "English Alchoran," draconian by its very definition according to Cromwell, would function as the harsh and unforgiving legal structure by which Cromwell could continue his dictatorial reign.

The playlet posits a tangible reality about Islam, a characterization that is terrifying and yet functional. Cromwell compares himself to the actual prophet over a nebulous Turk, and ties the Qur'an to a real legal system, offering definition to what Islam could realistically represent. The author even makes a suggestion to Charles II (now exiled in France) that would be deeply disturbing to a broadside ballad audience used to a particular representation of Islam and the Turk. He urges Charles to summon all nations, including the "*Truculent*; / *Fastidious Moore*," and "*Tartars*, bent / to bloud and horror, those whose God is said / To hang twixt Heaven and Earth…take all, except 'gainst none, / For many hands, must lead Thee to Thy Throne." And although Knoppers suggests the play "sustains the mystique of kingship in a play intended for a popular audience,"[116] I would argue that the prefatory material argues loudly against the notion that the readership was anything less than gentry. For indeed the play includes a prologue to the gentry, in which the author derides the commoners of England for their lack of sophistication:

> Though *Johnson, Shakespeare, Gosse,* and *Devenant,*
> Brave *Sucklin, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shurley* want
> The life of action, and their learned lines

[116] Knoppers, 26.

Are loathed, by the Monsters of the times;
Yet your refined Soules, can penetrate
Their depth of merit, and excuse their Fate:
With this position those rude Elves…
Perfect in nothing, but imperfectnesse.
Can finde no better engine to advance
Their Thrones, then vile, and beastly Ignorance:
Their bloudy *Myrmidons,* o'th' Table round
Project, to raze, our Theaters to the ground
…
So that (which Heaven forbid) should they reduce
Our *English* world, to their confused use,
'Twill be admired, more then a prodegie
To hear an Herald, state a prodigee;
An 'twill be thought, a sharpe, and bitter blur
To salute any, by the title (*Sir.*)

The author accuses the lowly rabble-rousers of England of having murdered their King, and sweeps Cromwell under the rug with them.

The similarities between *The Famous Tragedie* and other propaganda literature of the time are numerous. "To say also that it is similar in many ways to the dialogue pamphlets of the day only underscores the plasticity of genre at a time when content exerted stronger obligations than form," Dale Randall argues.[117] And while this is true for the way in which these disparate texts that deal with English politics, it is decidedly *not* so for their wildly different portrayals of Turks and the Ottoman Empire. Although the

[117] Dale B. J. Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama, 1642-1660* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995) 109.

basic purpose of propaganda literatures from plays to pamphlets was to vehemently argue for a particular side, the genres brought with them a breadth of possible material that meant representations of Turks were far more three dimensional, if still ultimately contemptuous and hostile. *Liberty of Conscience Confuted* is one such dialogue pamphlet, printed in 1648 in England and translated from advertisement 64 of Trajano Boccalini's 1612 *Ragguagli di Parnaso.*[118] The King had not yet been tried for treason but soon would be, and the anonymous translator felt that this was an opportune time to introduce a twenty-five year old dialogue between a Christian and a Turk, debating liberty of conscience. The Christian in the text is Jean Bodin, whose *Les Six livres de la République* had been translated into English in 1606 by Richard Knolles. Boccalini's text calls him a notorious atheist for his support of freedom of conscience. The Turk, interestingly, is represented by the Ottoman Empire herself, personified as a woman called in to defend the purported liberty of conscience for which her empire allows. Bodin tries to defend himself against charges of atheism by claiming that "he was deceived by the example of the *Turkish Empire,* which admits and tollerates all Religions in its Dominions, with great and admirable tranquility of the state."[119]

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[118] Matthew Birchwood seems to be of the impression that the text is actually penned by the English translator. He cites the inclusion of Boccalini's name as an attempt at "distanc[ing] himself from the, undoubtedly provocative, nature of the material," a means of "refraction of authorial identity." He further suggests that the anonymous author was made privy to the connection between Bodin and the Ottoman state via Knolles' translation. But the distinction between penning a text outright and translating a decades old Italian text because of its contemporary political expediency is important to note, as I would argue it imbues the text's argument with a level of authority that both the anonymous translator and audience would have found advantageous in a debate about liberty of conscience. Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007) 91-92.

[119] Trajano Boccalini, *LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE CONFUTED: BY Arguments of* Reason *and* Policie. *DELIVERED In a Discourse betwixt a TURKE, and a CHRISTIAN.* (London, 1648) 3.

To defend her position, the Ottoman Empire is brought in to testify. "I perceive *Bodin,* you are wholly ignorant of that rule, by which I measure and manage this particular of Religion in my State….that I might governe in peace, and fetter them in a constant and contented bondage, I have allways given them leave to continue the use of those Lawes, as well *Religious* as *Civill,* in which I found them….So that little by little, the *exercise* of *Religion* being taken away, the *memory* of it also vanish, and their children of the third Generation degenerated into *Mahometans.*"[120] She continues to defend in detail the various ways in which she governs her people; in fact, no other character speaks for the duration of the twenty-eight page text. Her soldiers are "bound to drinke no other liquor but water," as she understands that "the flames of Heresie come from the fire of *drunkennesse,* very much in fashion in *Christian Armies.*" It is only by allowing freedom of conscience, she continues, "that all the modern Heresies spread in many *Christian* Kingdomes, by *Luther, Calvin,* and others."[121] Eventually the precise stance the text is taking on liberty of conscience becomes muddled as the Ottoman Empire offers increasingly indefensible reasons for allowing it. Although "a Nation or People left to their owne will or *Liberty in Religion,* without any coercive power to confine them within the bound and rules of it, soone become salvage, seditious, rebellious, incapable of government, or submission to any superior,"[122] she does so by banishing the learning of arts and sciences, "that all my Subjects might for ever be lockt up in that obscure simplicity and rude ignorance," and prohibits the translation of the

[120] Ibid., 8-9.
[121] Ibid., 14-15.
[122] Ibid., 23

Qur'an into "the vulgar *Turkish* language," as it "produces whole swarmes of errors, contentions, and other evills."[123] The debate about translating the Bible into the vernacular was long settled in England by that point, so the Ottoman Empire's unsavory justification for appearing as though she allows for freedom of religion suggests that the very nature of the debate itself was fraught with complications, as indeed was the case at the zenith of the Civil Wars. The Ottoman Empire of this text is as far a cry from the bestial Turk of broadside ballads as seems possible. She is eloquent and verbose: she speaks more words than almost any other Ottoman character in any English text before or since. But she is also calculating and despotic: she is the Machiavellian Mahomet that Cromwell strives to become.

As England consolidated its naval and mercantile strength on the seas in the early 1650s, the divide between genres in representations of the Turk grew. The engaged and eloquent Muslim characters of dramas and propaganda pamphlets became ever more different from the purely allegorical "Turk" - functionally no more than a metonymy for the non-English, non-(Protestant) Christian enemy - of broadside ballads. Cromwell's Commonwealth and Protectorate, followed by Charles II's restoration in 1660, continued to inspire politically charged ballads whose main focus was a domestic enemy who were consistently and predictably compared to the Turk. The mid-seventeenth century in England would see a multitude of Turks represented across a wide spectrum of genres – from dramas to operas, historiographies to travel narratives – expanding the literary milieu in which Muslim characters could exist in the English imagination. If, that is, you

[123] Ibid., 12-13.

were an English person fortunate enough to be able to consume these dense and expensive literatures. Broadside ballads, on the other hand, continued to slog obstinately behind the other genres, comfortably relying on a stagnant enemy Turk inspired by decades of captivity in the Mediterranean and the anguish it caused countless poor English families.

"The Great Turke for Little Rome": Anti-Catholicism and the Turk in the Interregnum

The years of the Interregnum and Restoration mark a turning point in representations of the Turk in English literature. The change in regime in England meant a change in not just the way England dealt with the issue of captivity, but how it managed diplomatic relationships with the Muslim lands that threatened it at sea. Oliver Cromwell made a concerted effort to build English presence in the Mediterranean to promote England as a major player in the trade economy and protect its mercantile interests. At the same time, Cromwell had more success than either King or Parliament before him in garnering financial support for the systematic return of English captives from the Mediterranean, efforts supported by a diplomatic relationship with Algiers that was mutually beneficial (although frequently undermined by piratical behavior from both sides). The ransoming of captives had been among the issues volleyed between the deadlocked King and Parliament, Charles attempting and failing to legally procure the funds from a Parliament that made illegal the very Ship Money that was intended to relieve captives, and the latter in turn pointing the finger of blame at the King for the thousands of English men and women who were suffering in captivity. Cromwell knew that a tactical agreement between English and Muslim naval powers, despite their religious differences, could only serve to protect and expand English trade. Such a strategic relationship would invariably butt up against the foundational image of the Muslim Turk as England's preeminent enemy. "Turkey provided an 'other' against which Europe defined itself," Susan Wiseman argues, "but the status of this 'other' was

consistently undermined by the close trading links between the various Christian countries and the Infidel."[1] Undermined in particular, I argue, by broadside ballads that insisted upon maintaining the stale image of the Turk as barbaric enemy. While Cromwell's concerted efforts to change dialogue with Algiers was reflected in the pamphlet and drama literature at the time, broadside ballads remained ever firmly dedicated to their single-minded use of the Turk as little more than allegorical fodder, an easy epithet tossed at a political enemy. The gulf between the reality of the Turk in the milieu of English experiences and the signifier "Turk" that broadly occupied the opposite side of the spectrum from the English would grow ever wider as the seventeenth century progressed.

The purged parliament that remained after Cromwell's rise to power aligned with the future Lord Protector on the belief that it was the government's responsibility to redeem English captives.[2] Parliament passed "An Act for the redemption of captives" in 1650, imposing a duty on goods and merchandise imported and exported from the realm, having found that "the Moneys already collected on those Ordinances, will not be sufficient to perfect that good work."[3] After Cromwell was named Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, an ordinance was passed for the continuation of the 1650 Act.[4] Because

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[1] Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 153.

[2] Nabil Matar discusses the complications that arose in negotiating the release of captives that were either English or non-English Britons, as "the Algerians thought that the Irish and the Scots were not included in any of the treaties signed with the English, since in his letters Blake spoke exclusively of 'the English that they have slaves'" in chapter 2 of *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760* (Leiden: Brill, 2014) 106-07.

[3] *An Act for the redemption of captives. Whereas the Parliament formerly taking into consideration the redemption of captives, taken by the Turkish, Moorish, and other Pirates…* (London, 1650).

[4] *AN ORDINANCE for the Continuation of one Act of Parliament, ENTITLED, An Act for Redemption of CAPTIVES* (London, Printed by Hen. Hills, 1653).

many European seaports had banned English ships after Charles's execution, English merchants increased trade with North Africa and the Levant. At the same time, Cromwell's Navigation Act of 1651 "restricted the transport of goods from North America, North Africa or Asia exclusively to English ships,"[5] and the merchant and naval fleets doubled between 1649 and 1653,[6] which simultaneously consolidated and enhanced English mercantile power at sea. Cromwell and Parliament had both the means and the justification to put the burden of captivity relief on trade. "Export of merchandise and ransom went together: both Cromwell and his Lord Admiral Robert Blake recognized the importance of linking trade with the North African region to diplomatic overtures, backed by strong naval presence."[7] Cromwell deployed this strengthened navy under the Admiralty of Robert Blake as a show of force against the regencies of Algiers and Tunis. Blake successfully forced the Diwan of Algiers to agree to peace with Cromwell. "News has come that they have received every mark of honour and respect from the pirates of Algiers and Tunis," Lorenzo Paulucci, the Venetian secretary in England remarked, "and they hope to obtain complete satisfaction of their claims."[8] The published version of this treaty praises Blake and his fleet for having entered into Algiers "with so much terrour and astonishment, that the Governour immediately gave Order, for the release of all the English; and set forth an Edict, or Proclamation, prohibiting the seizing of any English

[5] Nabil Matar, *British Captives,* 103.
[6] Jonathan Scott, *When the Wave Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011) 75.
[7] Matar, *British Captives,* 103.
[8] 7 May 1655, CSPV, 30: no. 69. *British History Online.*

Vessel whatsoever, upon pain of death."[9] It was because of the Lord Protector's influence in Algiers, "a thing wonderfully to be admired," that "the Agier men of War are become Associates with the English, and will not permit a man of our Nation to be carried captive into thraldome."[10] In two ballad elegies upon the death of Robert Blake, he is credited with having defeated the "Zealous Enemy of the Scarlet Whore." "The Barbarous Pirates upon *Tunis* Strand / Felt the effects of his revenging hand."[11] The second ballad remarks on his success against "Turkish Pirats, in cleering the Seas, and taking and drowning their ships, and burning of many of the best of them in their Strongest and most Fenced Havens*."*[12]

The Venetians had hoped that Blake's successes in North Africa would also benefit the republic. "The news pleases the government and the merchants of the mart here particularly and further particulars are expected. They now say here that this affair may help the most serene republic, and I pray God it may be so," Andrea Rosso wrote to the Doge and Senate.[13] But they would soon learn that Cromwell's financially beneficial relationship with the Algerians trumped even the relationship with Christian Venice. When approached to help the Venetians protect Crete from the Ottomans only six months later, Cromwell evaded the issue: "A person who has a hand in state affairs and is the

[9] *A MESSAGE SENT FROM His Highness the Lord Protector, TO THE GREAT TURK, WITH His Demands and Proposals; and the releasing of the English Captives* (London, printed for Peter Mitchel, 1654) 4.
[10] Ibid., 8.
[11] *AN ELEGIE ON THE DEATH OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE* ROBERT BLAKE, *Esq. One of the GENERALS at Sea, who departed the 7. Of* August *1657. On board the* George*near* Plymouth *Sound* (London: Printed for John Bartlet the elder at the Golden Cup in Pauls Church-yard, 1657).
[12] *AN ELEGIE, On the Death of the Right Honourable and most Noble Heroe, ROBERT BLAKE,* Late Generall of the English Fleet at Sea (London: Printed for Tho. Vere and W. Gilbertson, 1657).
[13] 30 May 1655, CSPV, 30: no. 76. *British History Online.*

Protector's ear, told me that if I had arrived here six months before their forces were engaged in the Indies the fleets might have been sent to the Levant, and have captured the island of Cyprus with a powerful landing force."[14] The treaties between England and Algiers were paying off: Cromwell was successfully diminishing the threat of captivity while also increasing trade revenue from North Africa. "He realized that the best protection for his adventurous seamen was to follow the example of Queen Elizabeth and negotiate with the Deys and Beys of the regencies – while building a strong fleet." [15] Cromwell even praised the Algerians in a letter written in June 1656 for being "in all things…men loving righteousnesse, hating wrong, & observing faithfulnesse in covenant."[16] It was no doubt Cromwell's having favored alliance with Algiers over Venice that inspired a persistent comparison between Cromwell and the Turk in pamphlet literature. Opponents of Cromwell's military rule "used the image of the Turk to recast the political debate and to establish the polemic and ideological initiative for a popular audience."[17] The comparison would, upon Charles II's coronation, serve to "underscore the validity and order of the newly restored monarchy."[18] Despite (and also because of) the obvious benefits of an agreeable relationship with the Ottomans, comparing Cromwell and the Turk as evidence of his tyrannical rule was too convenient an allegory for pamphleteers to pass up, and indeed had been in use since even prior to the

[14] 12 November, 1655, Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, CSPV, 30: no. 187 *British History Online.*
[15] Matar, *Britain in Barbary*, 111.
[16] Qtd. in Matar, *Britain in Barbary*, 108.
[17] Glenn Sanders, "'A plain Turkish Tyranny': Images of the Turk in Anti-Puritan Polemic" in *Puritanism and Its Discontents*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003) 168.
[18] Ibid., 182.

execution.[19] The tyranny depicted in detail in these didactic pamphlets was distilled down in broadside ballads to something so recognizable it could be summed up in one word: Turk. To use the term as a point of comparison was to automatically recall the myriad ways in which the Turk had come to embody "the arbitrary power, violence, false religion, and inverted anarchy" of whichever enemy a ballad was railing against.[20]

Cromwell's diplomatic amicability with predominantly Muslim Algiers, these new "Associates with the English," is reflected in William Davenant's Interregnum opera, *The Siege of Rhodes,* pivoting away from the commonplace Christian-Muslim binary and postulating that Turks might be capable of representing Christian notions of governance as well as, if not better than, a Christian. The first part of the opera was entered in the Stationers' Register on August 27, 1656[21] and performed at Davenant's small private theatre at Rutland House, likely the following month in order "to take advantage of the confluence of gentry to London for the opening of Parliament, and for Michaelmas term at the law courts."[22] *The Siege* was the first dramatic production given legitimate status by Cromwell since the closure of the theatres in 1642, and had to be performed as an opera rather than a drama.[23] Davenant's depictions of both captivity and the Turkish characters in the first part of his opera further support the argument that it

[19] Sanders cites Milton's *Observations upon the Articles of Peace* and *Eikonoklastes,* as well as a number of newspapers and pamphlets that directly compared Cromwell to either a Turk or Mahomet himself.
[20] Sanders, "'A plain Turkish Tyranny,'" 183.
[21] The popularity of Davenant's opera reignited an interest in dramatic representations of the Turk. Lodovick Carlell's *Osmond the Great Turk,* whose good Christian woman Despina is reflected in Ianthe, was performed in 1637 but printed in 1657, just one year after *The Siege*'s initial performance.
[22] Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928) 152.
[23] Chapters five and six of Susan Wiseman's *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) explore the politics of opera as a genre, chapter six in particular focusing on *The Siege of Rhodes* and its depictions of rule and hierarchy.

was only intended for a gentry, rather than popular, audience. Furthermore, his portrayal of the rabble-rousers on Rhodes in the second part, first printed in 1663 along with major textual changes to the first part but first entered into the Stationers' Register on May 30 1659, suggest an outright hostility toward common folk and their potential influence on the politics and machinations of those in power. In total, *The Siege of Rhodes* offers perhaps the starkest contrast in the whole of the seventeenth century between how the upper echelons of English society were able to conceive of the Turk and how the rest of England understood him.

Davenant obtained special permission to perform the production in the midst of Cromwell's crusade against dramatic performances in England by positioning it in his epistle to the reader as a "heroical" performance intended to "advance the Characters of Vertue in the shapes of Valor and conjugal Love." But he is overt in his denunciation of Puritanism – despite having initially justified the play to a Puritan audience - in the post-Restoration printing of the full play. He states in his epistle to the Earl of Clarendon in the printed edition of 1663 that now it is Puritanism that is the thing from which he has to protect his art. "[H]ow violent they are who persecute Dramatick Poetry…I cannot be safe unless I am shelter'd behind your Lordship." Dedications, Davenant argues, are intended to protect art from puritanical readers, and "Dramatick Poetry meets with the same persecution now, from such who esteem themselves the most refin'd and civil, as it ever did from the Barbarous."[24] Dryden even argued that "it being forbidden him in the

[24] William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes.* For this chapter I will cite the critical edition by Ann-Mari Hedbäck, *The Siege of Rhodes: A Critical Edition* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia 14, 1973) 5.

rebellious times to act tragedies and comedies, because they contained some matter of scandal to those good people, who could more easily dispossess their lawful sovereign than endure a wanton jest, [Davenant] was forced to turn his thoughts another way, and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse, and performed in recitative music.[25] By moralizing the themes of his opera, Davenant elevates his characterizations of Muslim Turks and the problem of captivity beyond mere dramatics into the realm of Truth: his morally righteous and upstanding characters like Alphonso and Ianthe, truthful in their morality, were only acceptable alongside representations of Muslims that his audience could accept as equally truthful and realistic in their depiction.

When the Admiral of Rhodes brings frantic news to Villerius and Alphonso of the approaching Turkish fleet, they are wholly aware of the intensity of the threat that faces them. "What can to *Rhodes* more fatally appear / Then the bright Crescents which those Ensigns wear?"[26] Villerius asks, and tries in vain to usher Alphonso home to safety in Sicily to his new bride of scarcely a month. But the heroic Alphonso refuses. "Honour, is colder Vertue set on fire: / My Honour lost, her Love would soon decay: / My Sword against proud *Solyman* I draw, / His cursed Prophet and his sensual Law."[27] Alphonso establishes that he has been given the option not to engage with the oncoming Turks, but that he is choosing to do so for virtue and honor. Likewise, Ianthe opts to put herself in

[25] W. P. Ker, ed. *Essays of John Dryden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926) 149.
[26] Ibid., I.i.43-44, p. 11.
[27] Ibid., I.i.80-84, p. 12.

harm's way when she collects her expensive jewels to help fund the battle at Rhodes and joins her husband there.[28]

Even upon being taken captive by Solyman outside of Rhodes, Ianthe was always in control of the circumstances of her captivity. Solyman was immediately taken with Ianthe's beauty and bravery, and offered to safely escort her to her husband. "Thou great example of a Christian Wife, / Enjoy the Lord and give him happy Life. / Thy Gallies with their fraight, / For which the Hungry wait, / Shall straight to *Rhodes* conducted be; / And as thy passage to him shall be free, / So both may safe return to *Cicily."*[29] For a viewing and reading audience of the opera, captivity was a negotiable concept, their freedom in the unfortunate event of capture and captivity being procured easily enough through negotiations of payment, and captivity is depicted as similarly negotiable in the fiction of the play. Although it functions as a crucial plot point to the drama, it is always fleeting, with freedom being restored on a whim. When Ianthe presents Solyman's offer to usher her and Alphonso home, Alphonso – in the unique position of actually being able to choose between freedom and captivity - opts to remain captive. "In *Rhodes* besieg'd we must be *Rhodians* too," he argues with Ianthe. She counters, "'Twas Fortune that engag'd you in this War," but Alphonso argues that it was Providence's fault that "Heaven's Pris'ners here we are." The very nature of captivity – be it at the hands of Solyman or under siege by his Turkish army – is debatable for Ianthe and Alphonso, and the question of whether one even actually *is* or must *remain* captive is navigable via the

[28] Hedbäck notes the likely parallel between Ianthe and Queen Henrietta Maria who sold her jewels in order to buy supplies for her husband during the Civil War. The scene between Ianthe and her women was expanded in the 1663 printing of the opera. *The Siege of Rhodes: A Critical Edition, lii-liii.*
[29] Davenant, II.ii.114-120, p. 19.

waters of honor and integrity. Similarly, real life merchants with the funds available to pay their own ransom needn't spend time languishing in captivity, they maintain relative control over their thralldom, just as Ianthe effortlessly enacted her own release via payment with the morals Davenant was employing to appease a Puritan audience: beauty, virtue, and conjugal love. Not so for the masses in England, who were neither welcome to experience the opera nor likely to have any control over their own freedom in the case of captivity.

Alphonso and Ianthe were able to consider their captivity as a morally righteous option rather than an unfortunate inevitability wholly because of Solyman. Although he is besieging Rhodes, he and his Vizier Pirrhus are afforded ample time to offer justification for their actions. "How can ambitious Manhood be exprest / More then by marks of our distain of rest? / What less than toyls incessant can, despite / Of Canon, raise these Mounts to Castle-height?"[30] There is virtually no distinction in the rhetoric used by Alphonso and Villerius and their discussion of the invasion in act 1 scene 1 and Solyman and Pirrhus's parallel conversation in act 1 scene 2. In fact, both scenes use terms like "virtue," "honor," "bravery," and "valiant" an equal number of times. "[T]he distinction between the Turks and Rhodians cannot be fully maintained," Susan Wiseman argues, "as the problems facing the two sets of rules come to replicate each other and the attribution of virtue by nation becomes evidently ambiguous."[31] I would argue, however, that turn of virtue slightly favors the Turks, who maintain an enclosed, self-reflexive

[30] Davenant, II.ii.9-12, p. 17.
[31] Wiseman, 156.

logic about their actions and ethics. The Turks' exchange focuses on their own sacrifices and gains, whereas the focus of Villerius and the Admiral's conversation was on frustration at how little aid Rhodes was receiving from Christian European nations. "How oft and vainly *Rhodes* for succor waits / From triple Diadems, and Scarlet Hats! / *Rome* keeps her Gold, cheaply her Warriours pays, / At first with Blessings, and at last with praise."[32] The contrast couldn't be starker. Solyman is fierce and militaristic, forward-thinking and willing to make sacrifices for victory: "Away! range all the Camp for an Assault! / Tell them, they tread in Graves who make a halt."[33] The Rhodians are left wringing their hands, bemoaning the misused fleets in Spain and the imperial aims of France and England in lieu of sending aid to Rhodes.

So in the events just prior to Ianthe and Solyman meeting for the first time, audiences are left in an unusual conundrum: if the opera is extolling virtuous behavior, and both sides speak with equal fervor about their bravery and honor, might the Turks be as virtuous as the Rhodians? And if so, can the audience so easily divide the two camps down the lines of righteous Christians and barbarous Turks? Like the female personification of the Ottoman Empire in the previous chapter, the very fact that Davenant has allowed his Turks to speak extensively and intelligently humanizes them to a tolerable extent for the opera's audience. Although they can conceive of the two-dimensional evil Turk of broadside ballads, they can simultaneously accept an altogether

[32] Ibid., II.i.13-16, p. 15.
[33] Ibid., II.ii.27-28, p. 17.

different Turk, a forthright and merciful man like Solyman, although the two bear little resemblance to each other.

Virtue recognizes virtue, and Solyman was taken with Ianthe from the moment she was presented to him by Mustapha. Although Solyman chides Mustapha for having promised Ianthe she could remain veiled and be returned to Alphonso without consulting the Sultan, Solyman's anger is brief, and he accounts for the natural balance that must be maintained between military triumph and moral virtue. When Pirrhus asks whether the assault on Rhodes can begin, Solyman insists he wait. "*Pirrhus* not yet, *Ianthe* being there. / Let them our Valour, by our Mercy prize. / The respite of this day / To vertuous Love shall pay / A debt long due for all my Victories."[34] Solyman struggles with his own morality, and the trait of matching valor with mercy exalts him as among the most righteous characters in English drama of the century. He is a "Christian Turk."[35]

The injection of Solyman's wife Roxolana into the plot after Davenant's edits and addition of the second part only further civilizes the Muslim characters in the story. Although initially hot with a jealous rage at Solyman's perceived affection for Ianthe, Roxolana cools relatively quickly when she warms to Ianthe, and much of the drama of the latter half of part one centers on love and jealous rivalry, which take precedence over the siege itself. For Roxolana, the consequences of Solyman taking Rhodes are secondary to the consequences of him taking Ianthe. "Let *Solyman* forget his way to Glory / Increase in Conquest and grow less in Story. / That honour which in vain / His valour

[34] Ibid., III.i.38-42, p. 22.
[35] Ibid., III.ii.112, p. 25.

shrinks to gain, / When from the *Rhodians* he *Ianthe* takes, / Is lost in losing me whom he forsakes."[36] It is of little surprise that Davenant turned the focus of the play toward jealousy, that "rich corrupted wine of Love."[37] Without a clearly defined enemy toward which to hurl vitriol – and the Turks of *The Siege* are certainly foes, but not enemies – concepts become the focal point. Captivity isn't a permanent threat, only a means to illustrate virtue and valor. Even the siege is background setting to the opera's actual theme. The biggest threat to the personal security of all the characters is jealousy. It eats at Alphonso and saps him of his power. "Keep back *Ianthe,* for my strength does fail / When on thy Cheeks I see thy Roses pale."[38] Likewise, Roxolana's jealousy is directly preventing Solyman's success. "My War with *Rhodes* will never have success, / Till I at home, *Roxana,* make my peace."[39] The dangers presented by and to these relationships are merely painted with the dramatic strokes of an ongoing war.

Davenant returns with full force to the issue of the masses in the second part of *The Siege of Rhodes.* The first clear mention of a performance of the second part is offered by Pepys in his entry on July 2 1661, and Birchwood argues that likely it "had already been tried and tested on audiences at Davenant's embryonic theatre at the Cockpit."[40] It is no small coincidence that Davenant introduces the problem of the common masses in the years just prior to the restoration of the monarchy. In a 1660 poem celebrating the return of Charles II, Davenant steers his delicate allegiances, as he had

[36] Ibid., IV.iv.23-28, p. 33.
[37] Ibid., IV.v.9, p. 34.
[38] Ibid., V.iii.105-6, p. 42.
[39] Ibid., V.iv.19-20, p. 43.
[40] Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007) 105.

done in his dedicatory epistle to Clarendon, by passively blaming the wind of "opinion" for the turmoil of the last two decades. "No more shall any of the *Noble Blood* / Too faintly *stem* the People's rising *Flood.* / But when the Wind, Opinion does grow loud, / Moving like waves, the Many-headed Crowd; / Then those *great Ships* shall fast at *Anchor* ride, / And not be hurri'd backward with the Tyde."[41] *The Siege,* Birchwood argues, "evokes the same sense of national 'shame' and portrays an analogous conflict between the 'People's rising *Flood'* and the Rhodian ruling class."[42] Whereas little attention was paid to the common citizens of Rhodes in the first part, in the second they are the impetus by which Ianthe returns to Solyman's tent. The fickle, boorish minds of the people prove so dangerous to the well-being of the military elites that Ianthe willingly re-enters the belly of the beast in order to assuage them, as "the clamour of the 'People within' again penetrates the solemn serenity of the council chamber, creating a sense that the Rhodian rulers are besieged by their subjects as much as by the Turkish hordes."[43] Closely mirroring his 1660 Restoration poem, Davenant's Admiral laments, "The People's various minds / (Which are like sudden winds, / Such as from Hilly-coasts still changing blow) / Were lately as a secret kept / …. / But now, as if they meant to waken Death, / They rashly rise, and loud in Tumults grow."[44] They have placed their hopes on

[41] William Davenant, *Poem, Upon his Sacred Majestie's most happy Return to his Domionions* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1660), 4.
[42] Birchwood, 108. Birchwood explores the analogous relationship between the events of *The Siege* and the Civil Wars in the third part of chapter four of *Staging Islam in England*, "'The Peoples Various Minds': Conflicts of Sovereignty in the Second Part of *The Siege of Rhodes.* He argues that "the growing desperation of the Rhodian people seems to obliquely refer to the experience of the Civil War." (117).
[43] Birchwood, 117.
[44] Davenant, Part 2, I.i. 169-77. This line also presages the popular John Selden quote addressed in the next chapter. "Though some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits: as, take a straw and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that which way the wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a stone. Solid things do now show the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels."

Ianthe as their savior, the only one with the power necessary to overcome the standards of captivity to which they find themselves bound fast. Alphonso expresses concern over their manic mob mentality. "What pleasant, but what frantick dreams, / Rise from the Peoples feaver of extremes? / I will allay their Rage, or try / How far *Ianthe* will comply."[45] The needs of angry commoners, it seems, can no longer be ignored. "Their strength they now will in our weakness find, / Whom in their plenty we can sway, / But in their wants must them obey, / And wink when they the Cords of pow'r unbind."[46]Add to jealousy the threat of unruly masses as among the more immediate concerns of the Rhodian characters above the siege itself, the harshest consequences of which (like a slow, un-valorous death by starvation) they are largely immune to.

Virtues, it seems, are reserved only for the privileged few. "If Courage be a vertue, 'tis allow'd / But to those few on whom our Crowns rely, / And is condemn'd as madness in the Crowd," Solyman quips in part one.[47] And it is not the tested bravery of the people of Rhodes that is praised, but Ianthe's. "The Guiltless cannot Honour lose, and she / Can never more than Virtue guilty be," Villerius said, to which the Admiral replied, "The talking World may persecute her name." "Her Honour bleeds not when they wound her Fame," Villerius answers. "Honour's the Soul which nought but Guilt can wound; / Fame is the Trumpet which the People sound."[48] When Ianthe is sent to Solyman and the people of Rhodes express their joy, spiteful Villerius wrinkles his nose at their pleasure. "'Tis fit that with the Peoples insolence, / When in their sorrows rude, we should

[45] Ibid., I.i.214-17, p. 56.
[46] Ibid., I.i.266-69, p. 58.
[47] Davenant, Part 1, III.ii.44-46, p. 18.
[48] Davenant, Part 2, II.i.31-36, p. 59-60.

dispence; / Since they are seldome civil in their joys: / Their gladness is but an uncivil noise."[49] Interestingly, fame is another theme that Davenant would revisit shortly after writing the second part in his Restoration poem, further placing the onus of unrest on neither the Crown nor its dissenters, but on the more abstract tendency of the people to act in irrational ways. "No more shall your bold *Subjects* strive to *Reign; /* and *fatall Honor* on each other gain. / Their courage, which mistook the way to *Fame,* / (And may find *pitty* where it meets with *shame*) / Shall, by your valour guided, far out-shine / Our glory got in *France* and *Palestine.*"[50]

The masses, the voiceless majority of the opera, do not have courage, they have madness. They do not have virtuous honor, they have fleeting fame. And if they are, in fact, a "Hydra-like populous" that functions "as a distinct protagonist of the play," as Birchwood argues, then it is a deeply problematic protagonist with whom the main characters remain unsettled.[51] Part two of the opera ends in a Turkish victory, albeit a vague one overshadowed almost completely by the final resolution of the various lovers' quarrels. Solyman outright equates the two when he sends Ianthe back to offer conditions of surrender to Rhodes. "I am content it should recorded be, / That, when I vanquisht *Rhodes,* you Conquer'd me."[52] Roxolana proved "revengeless" and remained for Solyman "of my heart secure," Alphonso is reunited with Ianthe and will "sing long Stories of [Solyman's] virtue,"[53] and the people of Rhodes are relegated out of the scene

[49] Ibid., 59-62.
[50] Davenant, *Poem,* 3.
[51] Birchwood, 120.
[52] Ibid., V.Vi.210-11, p. 99.
[53] Ibid., V.vi.181, 193, p. 99.

entirely. While it is clear that "Davenant's play directs the audience's sympathy ambiguously by posing an increasing disjunction between Solyman's war against Rhodes and the representation of the Sultan as highly moral in European terms," such disjunction was absent for both the common people of Rhodes and the common people of England.[54] Solyman's mercy for one woman, his being the "apogee of a notionally Christian ideal of kingship,"[55] means little to an entire community besieged by a cruel Turk. In the span of one opera, Davenant successfully illustrated the enormous chasm between the Turk's presence in the lives of the elite few, and his presence in the lives of those with no power, no agency, and indeed no right to their own sense of honor and integrity.

The idea that English Christians might have lessons or virtues to learn from the Turks, or that the Turks themselves held innate qualities that could make a transition to Christianity not just feasible but quite logical, wasn't unique to Davenant's opera audience. But the aim of texts promoting such ideas was never altruistic or cooperative. Rather, pamphlet literature during the Interregnum and after the Restoration explored various facets of England's relationship to the Ottoman Empire most often as a means of understanding events at home and the factions that were perpetrating them. England's interest in Turks only extended as far as they could be practically useful as either a mirror of military tensions in the dawn of the Restoration, or as a Protestant "enemy of the enemy is my friend" foil against Popery.

[54] Wiseman, 160.
[55] Birchwood, 128.

Learne of a Turk, OR Instructions and Advise sent from the Turkish *Army at* Constantinople*, to the* English *Army at* London, a pamphlet printed in 1660 (the Thomason Tract copy dates it as February 23, 1659, about three months prior to Charles II's restoration), tells the didactic tale of the death of Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I and the subsequent turmoil of succession, making an "ingenious intervention into the political discourse of its day and provid[ing] a suggestive context for Davenant's own rendition of Ottoman history."[56]

After Ahmed's death in November 1617, his brother Mustapha took the throne, but "growing cruel and odious, the Grand Vizier came with an Army out of *Persia* and deposed him, forcing him to returned to his Cell" after reigning for barely three months.[57] Mustapha's nephew and Ahmed's heir Osman succeeded next, albeit messily and to almost immediate upheaval. Osman's army and Janissaries turned against him when he attempted to disband them, and when Osman's Vizier left the safety of the Seraglio to confront the angry hordes, one "insolent villain broke with the general modesty" and "answered him with their swords, and suddenly cut him in pieces."[58] But the author of the pamphlet is evidently not in support of the reinstatement of the previous ruler Mustapha, a man he esteems as "rather holy (that is frantick) then wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell then a Scepter."[59] Rather, the pamphlet suggests, the mutineers had ventured dangerously down a road from which they could not return. "[T]hese fellows having tasted the sweet

[56] Birchwood, 126.
[57] *Learne of a Turk, OR Instructions and Advise sent from the* Turkish *Army at* Constantinople, *to the* English *Army at* London (London, 1660) 1.
[58] Ibid., 3.
[59] Ibid., 4.

of prosperous Mutinies…knowing that the greatest wickednesses are begun with hazard, but perfected with reward, took such *an head* as could *not safely be suffered on, nor securely taken off.*"[60] This oft-employed Hobbesian notion of the head of a political body here supports Commonwealth over war. It is the ruling head that Davenant's Solyman embodies, but it proves too heavy and unwieldy for the army rising up against Osman to bear. They have broken one of Hobbes's twelve principal rights of the sovereign, that "because the major part hath by consenting voices declared a Soveraigne; *he that dissented must now consent with the rest; that is, be contented to avow all the actions he shall do, or else justly be destroyed by the rest.*"[61]

Learne of a Turk does not shy away from allowing even the Turks of this convoluted tale of mutiny some humanity. Osman had been captured, put up a fight, and was strangled with a bowstring at the urging of Daout Bassa, counselor and brother-in-law of the reinstated Mustapha. The mutineers of the mutiny (in a complicated fashion that mirrored the daily shifts in politics in England after the restoration of the Rump Parliament and Parliament's having once again undermined the authority of the New Model Army) captured Daout Bassa and took him to the prison where he had sent Sultan Osman for execution. In a moment of divine irony, the Bassa was shown "the very *corner* where he had committed that foul act," and it was there that he was "miserably strangled."[62] "Observe again," the pamphlet author implores us, "the power of

[60] Ibid., 7.
[61] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a COMMON-WEALTH ECCLESIASTICAL and CIVIL* (London, Printed for Andrew Crooke at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651) 90, italics mine.
[62] *Learne of a Turk,* 10-11.

conscience, even in a *Mahomet,* able to make him, if not his own Executioner, yet almost a voluntary sacrifice to the Ghost of his murthered Prince."[63] It is in no small part because of the conscience of these Mahometan Turks that the author can dedicate the last section of his history to the "instruction and advice" of the English army at home, a teaching moment that would otherwise have failed in the face of the insurmountable illogic of trying to connect the fundamentally ethical with the fundamentally unethical. The Turks, imbued with a conscience, can now serve a pedagogical purpose: "The reading of History, having in it no recompense but delight, unlesse it look forward to use and action…it will not be unprofitable upon the foregoing discourse to raise som Observations."[64] These observations, being theological, moral, and political, connect Osman with either Charles I, Charles II, or Parliament; Daout Bassa and the Janissaries with the New Model Army that was either supported or undermined by Parliament, and from it the astute reader can glean some basic important lessons.

The nature of the lessons is clear: God can accomplish his own holy ends even through the lusts and furies of men, it is dangerous for a supreme power to have constant need of a standing army, and it is better to live under the worst of leaders than at the courtesy of a mutinied army. Because indeed, "the standing army that had been traditionally perceived as the backbone of Ottoman imperialism was now a civil liability," and England found itself equally liable under the New Model Army in 1659.[65] But to *which* specific persons or events at home these lessons point precisely is muddled,

[63] Ibid., 11.
[64] Ibid., 25.
[65] Birchwood, 23.

either deliberately (the author perhaps opting to hedge his political bets during this tumultuous time) or by virtue of the historical landscape itself changing rapidly and thus fundamentally altering the context of the pamphlet. A few short months later, General Monck and his branch of the New Model Army would help facilitate Charles's restoration, further complicating the question of whether this "unruly Camel, which they cannot manage" on top of which the ruler sits refers to disparate factions of the current New Model Army; Charles's supporting army; or the New Model Army of the early years of the Civil Wars that executed Charles I, instated Oliver Cromwell, and set off the brief years of relatively peaceful Commonwealth that were even now in jeopardy. No matter one's interpretation, it is clear the old enemy has been afforded a new significance, a new way of reading, in light of England's regicide and political turmoil. Davenant's Solyman learned and personified these lessons and now the English must as well, lest the Turks become better models of good Christian governance than they.

If the English could learn a lesson or two from the Ottomans, it's not a particularly tedious stretch to consider that Ottoman Muslims might in turn learn something from the English. A collection of baptism pamphlets from the mid-1650s reveal that conversion from Islam to Christianity was both possible and desired, through thoughtful conversation and the fulfilling of certain duties. While this does not necessarily reflect any particular positivity toward Islam that Cromwell might have proffered Algiers or that Davenant displayed through Solyman and Roxalana, the pamphlets explicitly suggest a communal relationship between Protestantism and Islam, one in which the former has found a way to victoriously control the latter, converting and

subsuming them in a war against a common enemy: Catholicism. *The Joyfull Convert* and *The Baptized Turk,* both printed in 1658, each tell the story of the successful conversion of a Muslim to Christianity. Employing a Socratic method of debate, Rigep Dandulo of *The Baptized Turk* and the unnamed Muslim of *The Joyfull Convert* are each asked a series of questions by their conversion sponsors, with the intent of proving that Protestant Christianity is clearly the most logical religious choice. "Wherefore do you forsake the law of *Mahomet* in which you have been bred?" *The Joyfull Convert* asks, and offers in answer "It doth not acknowledge the Redemption. It denyeth that Jesus Christ is dead; as for *Mahomet* he died not for others." Then, by way of a logical consideration, the text argues "*He cannot therefore be called a Redeemer*. *Now the Doctrine of Redemption is the Soul of Religion. There is no Religion there, where the Redemption is denied…"*[66] With a similar tactic of rhetorical syllogism, *The Baptized Turk* offers "proof" to Dandulo of a supernatural revelation made by Christ, but that "your own Religion doth confess and witness that already, and if Jesus Christ were not a true Prophet come from God, Mahomet must confess himself a false Prophet. It remains therefore…that you bring some proof that Mahomet hath received from God any such supernatural Revelation for the founding of his new Religion."[67]

Both texts lean heavily on the false (and intentionally misleading) history of Islam versus the true history of Christianity. *The Baptized Turk* notes that "600 years after

[66] Jean d'Espagne, *THE Joyfull Convert: Represented in a Short, but Elegant SERMON Preached at the baptizing of a TURKE* (London, printed by J. Leach, 1658) 11.
[67] Thomas Warmstry, *THE Baptized Turk, or a NARRATIVE of the happy Conversion of Signior* Rigep Dandulo, *THE Onely Son of a Silk Merchant in the Isle of Tzio, from the Delusions of that great Impostor* Mahomet, *unto the Christian Religion* (London, printed for F. Williams, T. Garthwait, 1658), Postscript.

Christ *Mahomet,* pretends that Jesus Christ had prophesied of him as a great Prophet that should come into the world, but he not able so much as to shew any such Prophesie of any Prophet," and conversely that Christianity is the "light of Nature and right Reason," as the Apostles had written about Jesus's prophecies during his lifetime and the Jews, "our bitterest Adversaries," kept "Books written many ages before Christs coming" that have confirmed a variety of supernatural miracles.[68] Likewise, *The Joyfull Convert* also offers the consideration that "the Jews do make mention of his death" and "The Apostles who were with him have published it over all the World." But Mahomet, "who lived many ages after him…give[s] the lie to so many unreproveable and Eye witnesses…Is he more to be believed than those who lived in the same age with him…?"[69]

This "proof," as the Protestant English converters offer it within the tactically edifying structure of the baptism texts suggests that the Muslims in question can be successfully reasoned with and convinced, a strategy whose primary use was to legitimize Protestant Christianity beyond mere faith, but by consequence also legitimized Turks as rational people who were at least knowledgeable enough in their own faith to recognize both its obvious logical fallacies and its parallels to Protestantism. Such "proofs" also set the purported Protestant method of conversion against the Muslim one: logic and rationality versus violent, forced conversion. Although the Turk was not civilized enough to convert Christians in the reasoned tactics of the Protestants, he was at least civilized enough to recognize when his faith had been logically bested by a clear

[68] Ibid., Postscript.
[69] *THE Joyfull Convert,* 13.

superior. Absent the equation that convinced these Turks to swap out Islam for Protestantism is Catholicism: it simply does not logically fit. "*Question:* Having acknowledged that eternal Salvation is not to be found but in the Christian Religion…why did you not addresse yourself to the Church of Rome? *Answer:* By reason of the Images to which they kneel, and because they do adore a piece of bread, saying that it is God himself," *The Joyfull Convert* reads. It further explains that it is Catholicism's idol worship that is the reason most Muslims and Jews detest Christianity, and that "even common sense rejecteth this abomination."[70] Thankfully for Rigep Dandulo, the interpreter brought in to assist in his conversion had recently returned from travels in Turkish lands and "since that return made another happier then that, from the errors and Superstitions of Popery to the true Christian Catholick, Apostolick Religion, professed by the Church of *England…"*[71]

Of course, Rigep Dandulo in *The Baptized Turk* had one major advantage that made him the perfect candidate for conversion: he was born half Christian. Descended from many generations of a noble family from Venice, "Joseph" was born to a Turkish father and a Christian mother of the Greek Church. Thus, his conversion to Christianity was more of a return to a natural state, "the prayers of this Christian mother…have ministred unto the good providence of Almighty God, for the bringing home of this straied sheep unto the holy Fold of Christ Jesus." It was divine providence that at last brought Rigep "into the bosom of the persecuted English Church."[72] Although he was

[70] *THE Joyfull Convert,* 17-18.
[71] *THE Baptized Turk,* 22.
[72] Ibid., 2-5.

brought up "according to the way of the delusions of his Father," the fact that he was born of a Christian womb meant that "he was born into the world an holy Childe," according to the Apostles. Therefore, "though he was ravished for a time by those evil principles which his bad Education infused into him, yet the Lord hath now in mercy restored him thereunto." [73] English anxiety about conversion to Islam cannot be understated. While dramatic texts often responded to this anxiety by "constructing a fantasy of Christian vindication whereby the renegade repents his apostasy or else suffers divine retribution,"[74] the non-dramatic texts about the baptism of a Turk offer practical outcomes that are more reasonable than vindictive. The threat of conversion to Islam offered a Turk that English writers could treat as an invading virus, an infidel to be beaten from within one's very soul. But the prospect of conversion to Christianity, and on English soil, necessitated humanizing the subject who would be living and worshiping amongst them. Close proximity to the Turk brings him into focus as a flesh and blood person, more suited to an alliance with Protestants against Catholics than as a standalone enemy himself.

Contrast this with the Turk of texts such as *A True and Strange RELATION Of the Travels, Adventures, and great Persecution of Four eminent Quakers of Glocestershire* (1673), in which a band of overachieving English Quakers enact a (not particularly well thought-out) plan to convert Muslims to Christianity from within a mosque in Constantinople. The men were apprehended and taken before the Mufti for punishment,

[73] Ibid., 10-11.
[74] Birchwood, 96. See chapter 4 of Nabil Matar's *Islam in Britain* for a look at English writings on conversion to Christianity, as well as my first chapter on the conversion of John Ward.

who ordered that "they were to have their hands chopt off, their tongues cut out their eyes bored out, and each man to have a sharp wooden stake run in at his Fundament and so quite through his body, all which was accordingly put in execution."[75] The author, one John Elias who was a witness to the events in Constantinople, placed some of the blame on the "Rashness" of the Quakers, but the onus of responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Turks who, having had conversion brought to their doorstep by zealous Christians without the studious and careful dialogue of a conversion on English soil, reacted swiftly and violently.

The Turks of these texts, from inside the walls of Davenant's royal camp to the newly-converted Christians and even the "barbarous" and mutinous Turks in the Ottoman Empire are not ultimately unreasonable and are certainly allegorically complicated. They function as a rhetorical prism through which English Protestantism can either be reflected, highlighting commonalities that ultimately prove the validity of the English Church; or refracted, offering a contrast from which the English might learn to more successfully unify as a church and a nation.

Of *The Siege of Rhodes,* Matthew Birchwood points out the "play's reluctance, or even inability, to impose a moral definition of Orient and Occident, a disjunction that feeds upon the fluid and conflicted image of Islam in this decade."[76] Alternatively, I

[75] John Elias, *A True and Strange RELATION Of the Travels, Adventures, and great Persecution of Four eminent Quakers of GLocestershire Who in the Year 1673. Travelled through* France, Italy, *and* Turkey, *to promote their Religion* (London, printed for L. W. in White-cross street, 1674) 7.
[76] Birchwood, 113.

would argue that for Davenant, it was more a matter of *inability* than *reluctance*: while it would have certainly been politically advantageous for him to deliberately mirror the cordial relationship Cromwell had been fostering with Muslim nations, the fact remains that for the audience for whom Davenant was writing, the framework for depicting Islam as anything other than fluid and conflicted was simply not in place. English people with a multifaceted understanding of the faith, culture, and history of the Turk – with access to narratives, historiographies, and dramas that had presented Turks throughout the seventeenth century – would have had difficulty identifying a simple, two-dimensional Turk as the same sort with which they had grown accustomed. Although the Turk of longer, denser literatures might still ultimately be the enemy, they still had the freedom to play with, deliberate over, and ultimately reach that conclusion. Broadside ballads, which by the 1650s were so heavily inundated with the weight of political propaganda, offered quite the opposite. By the end of the Civil Wars, the Ballad Turk had become an entirely different species altogether, functioning only to define a political enemy and having been stripped entirely of any identifiers that might even vaguely approximate the Turk of English literature at large.

The texts I have explored so far in this chapter might be summed up as positing the question "how can we use the Turk to learn about ourselves?" But broadside ballads from the same decades ask the opposite question: "how can we use the Turk to learn about our enemies?" To understand just who those enemies are, we must look at who precisely the political propagandists would have been attacking in print during the reigns of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. A combination of influences in the nascent years of

Cromwellian England play into why there is a brief dearth of political pamphlets that reference the Turk. First, suppressive print laws tightened restrictions on popular print and targeted campaigns against certain types of print meant that the quantity of pamphlet print rose and fell periodically throughout the 1650s. But in reality, as Jason McElligott argues, print censorship under Cromwell was more about quality than quantity. "The degree of censorship in a society depends not on the number of items regulated, but on the quality, importance and reputation of the items censored: it is a qualitative rather than a quantitative process."[77] For example, the September 1649 Act against Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets sought to weed out those libelous pamphlets with aims toward "the subversion of the Parliament and present Government, which they well know cannot with more ease be attempted, then by lies and false suggestions, cunningly insinuated and spread amongst the people, and by malicious misrepresentations of things acted and done," and thereby "in force for punishment of devisers and spreaders of false and seditious news, lyes and rumors, by writing printing, speaking or otherwise,"[78] such punishments were not meted out uniformly among all texts and genres. But the fact that the state had an "unwillingness or inability…to see print as anything other than a minor irritant" meant that libel laws were really intended to ensure that the authorities "had a way of punishing offenders should they choose to do so,"[79] rather than preventing such printing from occurring in the first place, meant that broadside ballads often flew under

[77] Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007) 215.
[78] "September 1649: An Act against Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for better regulating of Printing.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660,* ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 245-254. *British History Online*
[79] McElligott, 213.

the radar of the enforcing authorities who were only ever attempting to hold libel at arm's length when they felt it encroached too closely upon the political aims of the regime.

It is unclear what, if anything, caused a drop in ballad mentions of the Turk. It is possible there was no decline at all, and a number of such ballads are coincidentally and unfortunately lost to time. The Turk only makes a couple of casual ballad appearances in the 1650s as little more than bawdy archaic stereotypes. *THE FANATICKS BARBER: OR, a New Cut for NON-CONFORMISTS* uses both the "Saracen" and the "Turk" interchangeably to represent the cruelty of a man who cuckolds another man. Although technically an invective against non-conformist Parsons, its political abuses are vague and the titillation of the ballad lies far more in the poor husbands cuckolded by one of these Parsons, who is compared to the cruel Saracen, and even "The Turk ne're gave so deep a wound / unto the Tribe of *Levy*."[80] Similarly, 1657's *An Invective against the Pride of VVomen* rails against various behaviors of women, the anonymous author at one point wishing sardonically that he "were the Turk, / And they my Concubins," and thus having more control over women who, "wherefore're you find them stirring, / They'l put you in mind of your Sins."[81] The Turks of these mid-1650s ballads were the typical cruel and hyper-sexualized Turks with which consumers of the literature would already be intimately familiar.

Broadside ballads would not find a dedicated use for the Turk again until after May 1659 (the same month in which *The Siege of Rhodes* would be entered into the

[80] *THE FANATICKS BARBER: A New Cut for NON-CONFORMISTS.* (London). The ESTC dates the ballad as likely printed in 1655, although the ballad itself is undated.
[81] *An Invective against the Pride of VVomen* (London). The Thomason copy is dated "Aprill 1657."

Stationers' Register), when Oliver's much-beleaguered son Richard gave in to the demands of the Army and dissolved the Third Protectorate Parliament, the Rump Parliament of 1653 then being reinstated. The new Rump Parliament was a wildly popular topic among white-letter broadside ballads, and their unique nature further divided the disparate genres of white-letter and black-letter broadside ballads. As Angela McShane notes, the Rump ballads "looked different, they sounded different and they offered a different message to the traditional political ballads of the same period. Even as white-letter broadsides many 'Rump ballads' stood out."[82] They were not illustrated, were intentionally non-musical, and are therefore prime examples of the ways in which political propaganda ballads were furthering the evolution of the broadside form. The Rump ballads recalled the actions of the rebellious army of the 1640s in its derision of the new Rump Parliament, citing it as the reintroduction of military insurrection into England once again. *THE RE-RESURRECTION Of the RUMP: Or, Rebellion and Tyranny revived* minces no words, the balladeer offering "though I foul my Mouth, Ile be content, / to sing of the Rump of a Parliament." The ballad is soaked in exasperation. "A Cat has a Rump, and a Cat has nine Lives, / Yet whn her heads off, her Rump never thrives; / but our Rump from the grave hath made two Retrives." The eighteenth stanza of the ballad sounds remarkably like the ballads of the decade prior, comparing the Turk against the unpopular Rump Parliament (The Rump, of course, emerging as the greater of two evils). "And whil'st within the Walls they Lurk, / To satisfy us, will be a good work; / Who hath

[82] Angela McShane, "The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and Politic in Restoration England" *Past & Present* 196 (August 2007) 257.

most Religion, the Rump or the Turk, *which nobody can deny.*"[83] The repetition of "which nobody can deny" after each of the twenty stanzas reinforces the fundamental truth of the ballad, insisting that the opinions voiced within are shared by the entirety of the English population. The Rump are as much infidels as are the Turk. They are as dangerous, as untrustworthy, as much an enemy as the faithless Muslim, if not more so. *Chipps of the Old Block; OR, HERCULES CLEANSING THE AUGÆAN STABLE* (1659) calls out a number of Rump Parliament members like Harry Vane, Harry Neville, and Sir John Lenthall – each stanza is dedicated to disparaging a Parliamentarian. Nicholas Lechmere, who sat for Bewdley during the Rump, is called out in stanza thirteen. "Nick Lechmere Loyalty needs still, / And on Weather-cocks he feeds still, / If Heathen, Turk or Jew should come, so he would change his Creed still."[84] Lechmere's lack of loyalty, wind-blown and unpredictable as it could be, it seems might even be susceptible to the influences of any combination of heathen, Turk, or Jew (they being largely interchangeable in ballad literature) were one to present himself.

The ballad *ARSY VERSY: OR, The Second Martyrdom of the RUMP*, as far as Rump ballads go, is thematically and structurally similar to the others, but presents a unique moment of insight into what the ballad author assumed his reading audience's level of knowledge about Islam would likely have been. The ballad has numbered stanzas

[83] *THE RE-RESURRECTION Of the RUMP: Or, Rebellion and Tyranny revived* (London). The ESTC dates the ballad 1659.
[84] *Chipps of the Old Block; OR, HERCULES CLEANSING THE AUGÆAN STABLE* (Printed at the Hague, for S. Browne, 1659). McShane notes that Rump ballads were produced "on thick, expensive paper of a larger than folio size and were printed with plenty of white space…of a quality that suggests they may have come from the Netherlands." *Chipps of the Old Block* is one ballad that claims this, "though that is no guarantee of veracity." McShane, "The Roasting of the Rump," 257.

that satirize individual Parliamentarians just like *Chipps of the Old block,* but the seventeenth stanza of which Harry Neville is the subject, states that he "look's lik a *Mahomet's* Pidgeon, / Accused to be of a State-man's Religion; / Is left to his choice what Processe he'l have, / To be burnt for an Atheist, or hang'd for a Knave."[85] The reference to Mahomet's pigeon, presumably the one he had eat from his ear to give the illusion he was being offered divine secrets, suggests a reading audience that was at least marginally familiar with the standard Islamic mythos that existed in English texts. Neville, as compared to this pigeon, is a liar and charlatan, better suited for either the stake or the gallows.

Charles II's restoration on 29 May 1660 was an enormously popular topic for black-letter ballads, the themes of which focused on England's long overdue return to a monarchy after eleven dark years in exile under the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Black-letter ballads leaned on the comforts and concerns of England's common consumer, and catered to their basest desires in ballads like *A Loyal Subjects Admonition, or, a true Song of* Brittains Civil Wars, set histrionically to "the Tune of General Moncks right march, that was founded before him from Scotland to London," which cites the rebellion that "hath been the fore-runner of sorrow and woe," and implores readers to "be loyal and true to our King."[86] Likewise, *ENGLANDS JOY For the Coming in of our Gracious Soveraign King CHARLS the Second* calls for the ringing of bells, bonfires, and echoing voices to "shew how we do all rejoice: / If we by this / Can have the bliss / To

[85] *ARSY VERSY: OR, The Second Martyrdom of the RUMP* (London). The Thomason copy is dated "March 23. 1659."
[86] *A Loyal Subjects Admonition, or, a true Song of Brittains Civil Wars* (London, Printed for F. Grove on Snow-hill, 1660).

re-injoy a Unity." It begs that "The Parliament will rise no more in arms, / To fight against their lawful King."[87] These black-letter ballads still found use for the Turk, although it was a particular version of the Turk with which a popular audience would have identified. *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second* speaks glowingly of England's seamen and their "Fidelity, Loyalty, and Obedience" to the newly-instated King, the ballad functioning as much to praise these men (and inspire devotion to Charles among them and their families) as to praise the king himself. It features two intricate woodcuts of both ship and land battle, with roaring cannons and felled horses, crashing waves and armed cavalrymen. "In darkest nights, or Shipwrecks," the ballad reads, "always we are on our guard: / Of French or Turkish Pirate, / we never were afraid. / But cal'd stout English Sea-men / Where-ever that we go."[88] *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation* offers a glimpse at an actual reality of a common seaman's experience of the Turk. It does not reference his faith, it does not pair him broadstroke with the Pope or the Jew, but instead points to the legitimate fear English seafarers had of both French and Turkish pirates. It was, after all, a sad fact that little had been done to systemically improve the conditions or outlook for English captives in Turkish lands by the time Charles was restored to the throne. The ineffective Richard Cromwell was unable to maintain the reins of power established by his father and the Navigation Acts of the 1650s, the consequence of which was a sharp increase in English piracy in the Mediterranean and a weakening of the relationship between

[87] *ENGLANDS JOY For the Coming in of our Gracious Soveraign King CHARLS the Second* (London, Printed for John Andrews at the White Lion near Pye Corner, 1660).
[88] *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charles the second* (London: Printed for F. Grove living on Snow-Hill, 1660).

England and Algiers. The Dey of Algiers complained in 1658 that the English were selling Muslim slaves to the Venetians,[89] leaving Charles to deal with the concurrent uptick in English captives that were the consequence of the resurgence in English piracy. Hoping to capitalize on this potential moment for a restoration in faith in the crown, Charles ordered on 6 December 1660 that £10,000 "go towards the redemption of English seamen taken by the Turks and Moors,"[90] but by 1662 captives and their families lost faith that such promises were going to turn into tangible action. "If there had been a project to ransom Britons, it had not been effected and captives now realized that the king would not help as much as parishioners."[91]

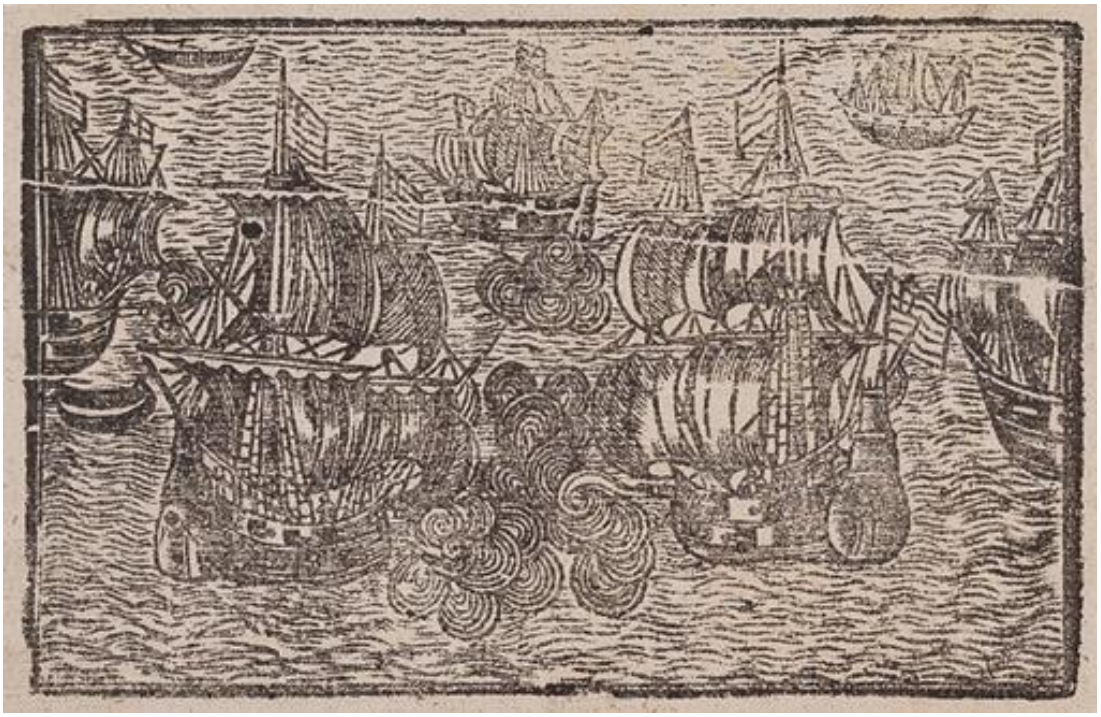

Figure 2

[89] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Turloe, Esq.* ed. Thomas Birch (London, 1742), 7:566-67.
[90] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II* 1660-61, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: 1860) no. 40, p. 405.
[91] Matar, *British Captives*, 114.

Figure 3

Other black-letter ballads from the mid to late seventeenth century, although much more difficult to date as their content is less specific than white-letter ballads, perform a similar balancing act between praising English seafarers and echoing the sentiment of fear and frustration around English captivity. The playful ballad *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good Sack and is free from Treason* speaks to two basic sensibilities of the proper English person: loyalty and a love of wine. "Drink about your full brim Bowles," the ballad implores, for "Sack it doth inspire the Wit, / though the Brain be muddy, / Some that ne'r knew nothing yet, / by it's vertue falls to study." The ballad also devotes an entire stanza to the sober Turk, first praising the "grand actions" of English seamen "when the Turks and they do meet, / within the Dardonellows." It goes on to poke fun at Muslims: "Mahomet was no Divine, / but a senseless Widgeon, / To forbid the use of Wine / unto those of his Religion." It even reinforces the pigeon myth

that had already been debunked in Pococke's largely inaccessible Latin text: "Fall-sickness was his shame, / And his Throne shall have the blame, / for all his whispering Pidgeon."[92] Likewise, *The Jovial Marriner; OR, The Sea-mans Renown* suggests that one of the defining characteristics of brave, honorable English mariners is that they "value neither Turk nor Pope."[93]

Interestingly, my research has turned up only one ballad whose sole theme is the captivity of an English seaman. *Algier Slaves Releasment: OR, The Unchangeable Boat-Swain,* uses the context of a poor Englishman's sudden captivity in Algiers as allegory for the love between him and his forlorn Betty at home: he is both a literal captive and a captive to her love. "Sometimes to the Gallies / I'm forced to go; / Though amongst all my Fellows, / like a Slave I do Row: / And when I am spent / with this Labour and Pain; / The thoughts of my Love / doth revive me again." Though he is distant, tortured, and under constant threat of being converted, he is cheered at the thought of Betty. *Algier Slave Releasment* takes great pains to minimize the terror and hopelessness of captivity for readers who, were they to find themselves suddenly in thrall, would have little hope of government intervention to return them home. In fact, the subject of the ballad does manage to return home, although only by his own efforts and good fortune. "And now thorough Providence, / I am return'd; / By Shipwrack I scap'd, / for our Ship it was burn'd: / No torment like mine was, / when I was a Slave: / For the want of my *Betty*, /

[92] *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good Sack and is free from Treason* (London: Printed by E.C. for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright). Printers names suggest the ballad was printed between 1663 and 1674.
[93] *The Jovial Marriner; OR, The Sea-mans Renown* (London: Printed for T. Passinger on London-Bridge). Publication date range of 1670-1682 suggested by printers information.

was worse then a Grave."[94] Ballad printers, far more interested in selling copies than rousing rabble, tactfully argued that lovesickness was worse than captivity, and that one could manage to exact one's escape even without the financial intervention of either crown or parish.

White-letter ballads of the post-Restoration era, however, continued to employ the Turk as the stand-in enemy, the standout political issues being Charles and Parliament's differing interests over religious tolerance and the Second Anglo-Dutch War. The Cavalier Parliament, which opened 8 May 1661, pressured the King to enact a series of acts known as the Clarendon Code, which cemented the episcopal Anglican Church as the official church of England and persecuted dissenters.[95] They also ordered a dramatic public burning of the Solemn League and Covenant,[96] repealed the 1642 Bishops Exclusion Act, and targeted Quakers with the 1662 Quaker Act.[97] *The Tyrannical Usurpation OF THE INDEPENDENT CLOAK OVER THE EPISCOPAL GOWN* (1663)

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[94] *Algier Slaves Releasment: OR, The Unchangeable Boat-Swain* (London: Printed for J. Deacon at the Rain-Bow near Davids-Inn, in Holborn).

[95] The Clarendon Code includes the 1661 Corporation Act, which stated that "no person or persons shall for ever hereafter be placed elected or chosen in or to any the Offices or Places aforesaid that shall within one yeare next before such Election or Choice taken the Sacrament of the Lords Supper according to the Rites of the Church of England" ("An Act for the well Governing and Regulating of Corporations," *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80,* ed. John Raithby (s.l., 1819), p. 321-23, article IX), as well as 1662's "An Act for the Uniformity of Publique Prayers and Administracion of Sacraments & other Rites & Ceremonies and for establishing the Form of making ordaining and consecrating Bishops Preists and Deacons in the Church of England" (p. 364-70), *British History Online*.

[96] The House of Common ordered that, on 20 May 1661, the "instrument of writing, that had caused so much mischief, called, 'The Solemn League and Covenant,' should be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, in the Palace-Yard at Westminster…and be forthwith taken off the Record in the house of Peers…" *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 4 (London: 1808), 209.

[97] The 1662 "Act for preventing the Mischeifs and Dangers that may arise by certaine Persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawfull Oaths" ordered that anybody who maintained that the taking of an oath of loyalty to the king and church is unlawful, and if any of those persons "comonly called Quakers" assembled in groups of more than five any time after 20 March 1662 or joined a religious worship not authorized by the laws of the realm, they should be lawfully tried and convicted for their offenses. *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80,* ed. John Raithby (s.l., 1819), 350, *British History Online.*

laments the tragedy of the former puritanical command in England, the dissenters who sought to destroy common prayer and "routed the King, and the Kings servants Menial / And set up a power of Traytors Triennial." So fervent were they in their efforts to root out once and for all the threat of papacy in England that they "did joyn with the Devil" and "rather then fail, 'twould have brought in the Turk."[98] An all-too familiar refrain has re-emerged: anti-royalist zealots would rather welcome the Turk onto England's very shores than risk a Papal infection in the name of religious toleration. Similarly, *The RECANTATION Of a Penitent PROTEUS Or the CHANGLING* (1663), satirically ridiculed non-conformists and roundheads, calling on "*Conformists* and brave *Caviliers*" to "unto my doleful Tone prick up their Ears." Written as a first-person retraction from the voice of Parliamentarian and Chaplain Richard Lee, former member of the Rump Parliament and noted political flip-flopper who professed against the Solemn League and Covenant in a November 1663 sermon,[99] the ballad above all criticizes Lee's inconsistency and desire for political gain over loyalty. A loyalty so fickle, it seems, that were the Turk himself to turn up in England, Lee would quickly and easily acquiesce. "If the *great Turk* to *England* come, I can / Make *Gospel truckle* to the *Alchoran;*" the voice of Lee states, "And if their *Turkish Saboaths* should take place, / I have in readiness my *Friday Face.*"[100] The fact that the ballad was set to the tune of "Doctor Faustus" is a testament to precisely what one's opinion should be of a willing turncoat. Thanks to the

[98] A.C. and P.C., *The Tyrannical Usurpation OF THE INDEPENDENT CLOAK OVER THE EPISCOPAL GOWN* (London: Printed for Gideon Andrews, 1663).
[99] Richard Lee, Cor humiliatum & contritum a sermon preached at S. Pauls Church London, Nov. 29, 1663 (London: Printed for R. Royston, J. Williams, T. Garthwait, 1663).
[100] *The RECANTATION Of a Penitent PROTEUS Or the CHANGLING* (London, 1663).

legislations enacted by a reluctant Charles against Quakers as well, white-letter ballads were no kinder to them in their political barbing. *THE SAINT turn'd SINNER; Or, the Dissenting Parson's Text under the* Quaker's *Petticoats* features a titillating woodcut of a sneering Parson reaching beneath a woman's dress, and colors the Parson so lecherous, "more eager, / Than lustful Turk or Neger," that he justified his harassment of the Quaker woman by citing Solomon's many wives. Neither Parson nor Quaker woman came off positively in the ballad, and it is the poor Turk to whom the Parson's lust is compared with flippant abandon.[101]

George Monck made his own appearances in white-letter ballads of the 1660s, as a champion of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. *A New BALLAD Of a famous German PRINCE and a renowned English DUKE* (1666) and *An Heroical SONG On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE* (1667) sing the praises of the man who had been instrumental in the restoration of Charles II, whose coronation would occur while Monck was commanding a fleet of ships against the Dutch in the Four Days' Battle. *A New BALLAD* tells the tale of the St. James's Day Battle, fought the very next month between the very same commanders, Monck and Prince Rupert of the Rhine. The subtitle of the ballad states that Monck "fought with a *Beast with Seven Heads,* call'd *Provinces,* and dramatically recounts events of the battle, each stanza ending with the canon sounds "with a *Thump, Thump, Thump, Thump, Thump…*" In a twist of the truth by now predictable in ballad literature, Edward Spragge,

[101] *THE SAINT turn'd SINNER; Or, the Dissenting Parson's Text under the* Quaker's *Petticoats* (London: Printed for N. Palmer near Shoe-Maker-Row, 1670).

subcommander of the rear (which had actually been routed by the Dutch led by Lietuentant-Admiral Cornelis Tromp, although the ballad judiciously avoids this fact) [102] is described as a valiant soldier who will "beat this vapouring *Trump* to th' *Hague,*" and his efforts for the English navy are summed up in one of the most arresting lines in the whole century of Anglo-Muslim broadside ballads: rallied by Spragge's cry, his Chaplain answered with "Now for the King and the Duke of York!" and is described as having "Pray'd like a *Christian,* and fought like a *Turk.*"[103] The message echoes previous uses of the Turk as a symbol of military might, but pivots away from the typical purpose. In this instance, it is a helpful trait for an Englishman to fight like a Turk: the prayers of Christians combined with might of the Ottomans won them the battle against the Dutch fleets. A ballad whose subject matter focuses on an enemy outside of England has the flexibility and freedom to be able to employ the Turk metaphor more positively. When confronting the issue of domestic enemies within England's borders, comparing one's allies to the powerful Turk would constitute a dismantling of the moral hierarchy on which political ballads relied: our enemy at home must be the Turk, not us, because one could not reasonably consider an English Turk to be morally superior to even an English Catholic sympathizer or political dissenter. But when the English are fighting the Dutch, a relatively uncomplicated ally-enemy dichotomy drawn along rigidly defined

[102] The failure of the English rear against Tromp's ships was a humiliating defeat for Spragge, who would die in 1673 at the Battle of Texel while trying once again to defeat Tromp. N. A. M. Roger gives an account of the series of battles that made up the Second and Third Anglo Dutch Wars in chapter 5 of *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2004) 65-79.

[103] *A New BALLAD Of a famous German PRINCE and a renowned English DUKE, who on ST.* James's *day One thousand 666 fought with a* Beast with Seven Heads, *call'd* Provinces; *not by Land, but by Water; not to be said, but sung; not in high English nor* Low Dutch; *but to a new French Tune, call'd* Monsieur Ragou, or, The Dancing Hobby-horses (London: Printed by James Cotterel, 1666).

nationalistic borders, adopting the puissance of the Turk in pursuit of defeating an external enemy does not threaten English integrity. This rhetorical freedom is further evidenced in *An Heroical SONG On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE,* which cites the Turk as a "Potent Lord" because of his many "Battles fought,"[104] among other models including William the Conqueror and Henry V who "their Greatness to Encrease, these exercis'd their might." Only in a ballad in which the Dutch are the primary enemy could Ottoman Turks possibly be compared to an English hero like Henry V. Samuel Pepys, for his part, mentions having read this "ridiculous ballad made in praise of the Duke of Albemarle" in his 6 March 1667 entry. "I observe that people have some great encouragement to make ballads of him of this kind," he states. "There are so many, that hereafter he will sound like Guy of Warwicke."[105]

And yet simultaneously, when it served to bolster the need for a strong Christian coalition throughout Europe, the very military might that the Turk embodied might also function as a dark shadow, one presently looming over mainland Europe with designs on approaching England. *Rome for the Great* TURKE*, Or Else, The Great* TURKE *for little ROME,* a short 1664 pamphlet that offers "a Briefe Narration of the present Calamity of the King of HVNGARIES Country," refers to the 1663-64 Austro-Turkish War through the grandiose lens of a (Protestant) Christian crusade. The title page calls for "all *Christian* Prince to joyne courageously and Unanimously together, to lower and

[104] *An Heroical SONG On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE* (London: Printed by W. Godbid for John Playford at his Shop in the Temple, 1667).
[105] Henry B. Wheatley, ed. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* vol. 6 (London: George Bell & Sons, 1895), 210.

suppresse the Pride and Tyranny of this inhumane and young railing Rabshakeh: That boldly Writes himselfe an implacable Enemy to all that professe and owne the Name of CHRISTIANITY." An unsmiling Turk graces the page, likely meant to represent Sultan Mehmed IV. The pamphlet is disinterested in the actual details of the war, which originally started when Prince George Rákóczy II of Transylvania invaded Poland without permission of the Ottoman central government (which had suzerainty over Transylvania) and instigated an Ottoman invasion of Habsburg Hungary. Instead it opts to gloss details and generalize the Turk against Christianity writ large, positing that Catholic Austria, by virtue of having done "*Messiah and his servants wrong,"*[106] now suffers under the Turk. Mahomet "will all *Christians* in the world devoure"[107] unless they unite under the true Christianity againt the Catholic Church. "[T]he Church of *Rome* we know must downe, / Being 'gainst CHRIST, his Scepter and his Crowne," the pamphlet reads, promising that peace will come to those that turn against "the Whore of *Babylon; /* The house of *Austria*."[108] And although Catholic parts of Europe are suffering, God will "indue time, doe what his Forces can, / Will wound and spoyle this great Leviathan, / And hooke his nostrils for to make him tame… /And when hee doth with horror thus returne, / *Constantinople* will in Sable mourne." The pamphlet (effectively a three page ballad, as it is written entirely in rhymed verse couplets) ends on a unifying

[106] *Rome for the Great* TURKE*, Or Else, The Great* TURKE *for little ROME* (London: Printed by T. F. for F. Coles, in the Old-Baily, 1664) 2.
[107] Ibid., A3r.
[108] Ibid., 2.

note: "*which is not only the hope, but also the beliefe of one that wishes well to all the Protestants in the Christian world*, E. F."[109]

The Turk was a scourge brought upon Catholic Europe, and the only thing protecting England from the same fate was a strong coalition with fellow Protestant Christians. It was a rhetorical strategy employed even into the 1670s as Protestant-Catholic tensions mounted in England, culminating in Titus Oates's fervor-inducing Popish Plot of the late 1670s and the simultaneous Exclusion Crisis, both of which unambiguously set the terms for what the Turk would be compared to in popular literature for the remainder of the seventeenth century: either Catholics, or those who vehemently opposed them. Either way, the Turk found himself inexorably tied to Popery as England would spend the rest of the century (and beyond) ideologically wrestling with its relationship to Catholicism.

Although anti-Catholicism had been the grimy film through which nearly all English politics, domestic and international, occurred for the better part of two centuries, it hit its zenith after Charles II's restoration to the throne. Charles had aligned with Catholic France against the Protestant Netherlands during the Anglo-Dutch wars, supporting Louis XIV's invasion of the Spanish Netherlands in the hopes of distracting the Dutch long enough to prepare English fleets. Despite Michiel De Ruyter's June 1667 raid on the Medway targeting unmanned and unarmed English battleships, a disastrous blow to English war plans that led to a hasty treaty favorable to the Dutch, it was

[109] Ibid., 4.

ideologically more advantageous for the English to once again be aligned with a Protestant nation. And yet, in pursuit of a monarchy that was more closely modeled after Louis XIV's French absolutism,[110] Charles signed the disastrous Treaty of Dover with France in June 1670, the public version having veiled the secret version in which Charles promised to declare adherence to the Roman Catholic Church in exchange for French support[111] (an alliance through which the Third Anglo-Dutch War was orchestrated) and two years later enacted the Declaration for Indulgence that Charles tried to unconvincingly assure Parliament did not grant more liberty to Papists, but rather simply allowed them freedom of religion in private. Although Charles was "Resolv'd to stick to [his] Declaration,"[112] Parliament quickly forced him to withdraw it, implementing in its place the first of the draconian Test Acts of 1673,[113] mirroring the Clarendon Code regulations of the decade prior. On top of which Charles had married a Catholic princess,

[110] Richard Ashcraft discusses the relationship between the Treaty of Dover and Charles's duplicitous aims in regards to English commercial superiority in chapter 1 of *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) 17-38.

[111] The second clause of the treaty stated that "the lord king of Great Britain, being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion and resolved to declare it and reconcile himself with the Church of Rome as soon as the welfare of his kingdom will permit..." shall declare himself and the nation of Great Britain Catholic, and that "The time of the said declaration of Catholicism is left entirely to the choice of the said lord king of Great Britain" and that this conversion would be supported with both troops and funds from France. G. M. D. Howat, *Stuart and Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1974) 166-67.

[112] "The second parliament of Charles II: Eleventh session- begins 4/2/1673," in *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1660-1680*, (London: Chandler, 1742), 163-178. *British History Online.*

[113] In what can only be read as a shocked and befuddled tone, Girolamo Alberti, Venetian secretary in England to the Doge and Senate, cited the act as the product of a parliament that is "never stable or uniform but liable to strange, unexpected and perpetual changes." "This measure…shows animosity against the Catholics who are thus persecuted at the moment when the king sought to relieve them." Alberti is clearly flabbergasted. "[T]his affair does not end with a joke for they have made a bill to banish all the priests…if parliament continues in its career of licence, running with the reins on its neck, very strange freaks…may be seen both against the king's authority and to the destruction of his most confidential ministers." CSPV, 38 1673-1675 (London: 1947) no. 40, 17 March 1673. *British History Online.*

Catherine of Portugal, and his brother and presumptive heir to the throne converted to Catholicism.

The 1674 ballad *Room for a Ballad, OR, A ballad for Rome,* the title of which appears to be a direct reference to the 1664 pamphlet *Rome for the Great TURKE,* is a white-letter ballad whose narrator satirically tries to convince readers of why they should convert to Catholicism. It is accompanied by a detailed woodcut featuring a winged demon clinging to the back of a man, presumably Catholic, carrying a pack of relics on his back, and in particular denounces the idea of paying for indulgences and pardons.

Figure 4

The ballad offers a stanza that argues that the Catholic Church "…have terrible Bulls, and Pardons for Gulls, / Holy Water to Scar-crow the Devil'; / With Consecrate Swords, take

them on our words, / They shall make the Great *Turk* be Civil."[114] It is not as simple as to say that the ballad pits Catholics against the Turk. Rather, it positions both of them as powers of equal strength against Protestantism. In a reversal of what the similarly titled pamphlet from ten years prior suggests, this stanza posits that perhaps it would be the Turk that would be the harbinger of Catholic Europe unto the destruction of Protestants, rather than the other way around. Either way, the two gluttonous behemoths with their false religions could spell doom for Protestants in England.

The Quakers, for a brief moment, replace Catholics as the point of reference for the Turk in a couple of ballads printed after the dramatic debates between Quakers and Baptists that started in 1672 with the publication of *Dialogue between a Christian and Quaker* by Baptist Thomas Hicks, and which culminated in the debates at Barbican Hall and Wheeler Street Meeting House in 1674. The meeting was satirized in a black-letter ballad that year entitled *The Quakers Ballad,* and in it the narrator states that when it comes to being true Christians, "Mahomet had as much claim to't as we."[115] And the 1675 white-letter ballad *THE Quakers Farewel to England, OR Their Voyage to New* Jersey, *scituate on the Continent of* Virginia, *and bordering upon* New England offers delusional Quakers who are heading to the new world, "To the *Indians* wee'll goe, / And our *Lights* to them show, / That they be no longer benighted." They've become so powerful, it seems, that they can face any foe. "With the *POPE* and the *TVRK* / We before made no work; / That if either now comes near us, / We'll let them both know, /

[114] *Room for a Ballad. OR, A Ballad for Rome.* (London: Printed for Benjamin Harris at the Stationers Armes in Swithins-Alley near the Royal Exchange, 1674) publication date suggested by *Wing Short-Title Catalogue.*
[115] *The Quakers Ballad* (London, Printed for James Naylor, 1674).

That power we have now / Shall make them to Quake and fear us."[116] Catholicism is never far from the Turk in these ballads, the Quakers being but a brief blip, a sect with as haughty and false a claim to true Christianity as Catholics. The late 1670s black-letter ballad *England's Gentle Admonition: OR, A Warning-Piece to All Sinners* illustrates this ever-present problem of "true Christians" by echoing twice the tried and true refrain, adding a repetitious staccato to a ballad intended for a popular audience that reads like a prayer, a plea, a warning. "In spight of Jew, of Turk or Pope, O Lord in thee is all our hope, / To let the Gospel have full Scope in England. / That neither Pagan, Turk or Jew, / Or any of their Wicked Crew, / Have Power our Kingdom to Subdue."[117]

Titus Oates was the flame to the kindling of anti-Catholicism in England, offering an easy nudge that sent its fearful people tumbling into the dark abyss of chaos, rumor mongering, and mass hysteria. The fear of a present and persistent threat to Protestantism in England was suspected long before Oates, and "to suppose that Oates's so-called discoveries were a monstrous concoction which deprived the nation of its senses at one stroke…is misleading and can only create a distorted picture of the crisis as a whole." Rather, Oates's stories had their desired effect because "they appealed on different levels to every section of the nation, they confirmed assumptions about Papists held by almost everyone…"[118] Oates's naming of dozens of Catholic sympathizing conspirators launched years' worth of trials and executions until the true nature of his accusations was

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[116] *THE Quakers Farewel to England, OR Their Voyage to New* Jersey, *scituate on the Continent of* Virginia, *and bordering upon* New England (London, Printed for J. G., 1675).
[117] *England's Gentle Admonition: OR, A Warning-Piece to all Sinners* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J Clarke). Wing offers date range of 1674-1679.
[118] J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) 21.

discovered and Oates was imprisoned, but even that did not wholly or even mostly eradicate anti-Catholicism in England. "The stories invented and spread by Oates and his imitators found eager acceptance from the ignorant and credulous, who were by no means confined to the lower classes."[119] I would argue that it is in no small part because of Oates's declaration and the subsequent backlash that popular print in England was so keenly interested in the Ottoman invasion of Vienna in September 1683, about which the next chapter will go into greater detail.[120] The 1679 printing of Oates's *A TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE Horrid PLOT AND CONSPIRACY OF THE POPISH PARTY Against the LIFE of His Sacred Majesty, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE Protestant Religion* pulled no punches, calling out King Charles for trying to deal gently with Catholics through his Declarations of Indulgence.

> How little therefore the Criminals concerned in this Plot deserve from Your Majesty, the World will better judg, if they will but consider how graciously Your Majesty hath dealt with them, and connived at them….Hath not Your Majesty hazarded the hearts and affections of Your best Subjects, and much of Royal

[119] Ibid., 22.
[120] John Kenyon's chapter on the effects of the plot in *The Popish Plot* (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1972) offers context to the long-term consequences of Oates's role in fanning the flames of anti-Catholicism in the late seventeenth century, and is a concise explanation of why England would have been so wildly interested in the Ottoman invasion of Vienna from not just a practical but also a moral and conceptual standpoint. Jonathan Scott corrects what Kenyon described as "one of the most remarkable outbreaks of mass hysteria in English history," more precisely, to "one of the most remarkable outbreaks of mass *amnesia* in English historiography" (emphasis mine), having largely repeated the religious crisis of the Civil Wars. His chapter "England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot" suggests that England's experience cannot simply be explained within a national framework, because the "religious division concerned was not English, but European." Chapter from *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England,* ed. Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1990) 107-31.

> Honour, in appearing for the late Indulgence with frustration, to win and oblige, if possible, these everlasting holy Cut-throats?[121]

Catholics, Oates argues, profess allegiance only to a "Foreign contrary Soveraign," and traitorously surrender their Souls over into implicit slavery to an Impostor," and therefore cannot be trusted to have any allegiance "either to King, or Christ, or Conscience."[122] Naturally, the Popish Plots were popular fodder for broadside ballads. *A Looking-glass for all true Protestants: Or,* A True Declaration of these Troublesome Times, printed in 1679, calls on all of England to protect the Protestant nation and King from these devilish plotters. "Good People all consider what was done, If they'd gone on in what they had begun," the ballad reads. "Then Fire and Fagots must have been our share, / But our Saviour Christ of us had mighty care." The stanzas call on God to protect them from "the malice of the Popish spight" so that they may "defie the Devil and their Hell-hound Pope."[123] A ballad written after the December 1680 execution of William Howard, Viscount of Stafford, who had been implicated as a traitor in Oates's testimony, suggests a working relationship between the plotting Catholics and the Turk, facetiously suggesting the Catholics will beatify Stafford as a martyr who will work such powerful miracles as to convert even the Turk.[124] "Oh Sir, the *Papishes,* you know / Have much more gratitude then so; / For this same Lord that brake the Laws / Of God and Man, to

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[121] *A TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE Horrid PLOT AND CONSPIRACY OF THE POPISH PARTY Against the LIFE of His Sacred Majesty, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE Protestant Religion* (London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, and Thmas Cockerill, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside near Mercers Chappel, and at the Three Legs in the Poultrey, 1679) a2r.
[122] Ibid., a2v.
[123] *A Looking-glass for all true Protestants: Or,* A True Declaration of these Troublesome Times (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke). Likely printed in 1680.
[124] Viscount Stafford was, incidentally, beatified as a Catholic martyr in 1929.

serve their Cause, / Shall live in Prayers, and Almanacks / Beyond what Ballad-Monger make; / And some such years hence, you'l see, shall work / Such Miracles, would turn a *Turk.*"[125]

And yet, even as men that Oates had named were put on trial, popular print was debating the veracity of his claims, and finding ways to draw the Turk into the fold. *A BALLAD UPON THE POPISH PLOT* suggests the plots were false, that a "Politick Statesman" was responsible for convincing fools it was real. "From Pulpit to Pot / They talk'd of a lot, / Till their Brains were inslav'd and each man turn'd Sot. / But let us to Reason and Justice repair; / And this Popish Bugbear will fly into Air." The pretender, it states, "now is at work, / With the Devil and Turk." Oates and his allies are in camp with those who wish to rouse rebellion and disorder, and the Devil and Turk are offered up as exemplar of how the reader might conceive of just what kind of enemy would do that.[126] In response, *The Second Part to the same Tune; OR, An Answer to the Lady of Qualities POPISH BALLAD of the POPISH PLOT* says the plotters are getting what they deserve, that "the Plot was first hatch'd in a Jesuitical Brain: / And you shall without *Romish* Spectacles see, / Who both the Contrivers, and Actors still be." The author of the previous ballad, whom he refers to as a "Priest under Petticoats," is deceived. The salaciousness of the accusations means that "Hell is broke loose, and the Press set a work, / By Jesuit, by Jew, by Christian, and Turk; / By Fools, and by Fops, by Rascals, and Knaves, / By Counterfeit Ladies, and by Scribbling Slaves," news of the plots have

[125] *UPON THE EXECUTION Of the Late Viscount STAFFORD* (London: Printed by D. M., 29 December, 1680).
[126] *A BALLAD UPON THE POPISH PLOT* (London, 1679 or 1680). Wing cites either Elizabeth Powis or John Gadbury as author of the ballad.

reached far and wide. “New Fire-balls in Pamphlets and Ballads are hurl’d, / To cajole the People, and amuse the World.”[127] Everyone is interested, and everyone wants to offer their two cents. The Turk has an unusual function in this ballad, present in a wide list ranging from Christians to fools, perhaps as a means of neutralizing the theatrical couplet from the previous ballad, set apart from the other stanzas and italicized, that compared Oates and the anti-Catholics to the Devil and Turk. In both ballads, the Turk acts as a foil - either to illustrate the malevolent nature of the anti-Catholics, or in order to suggest that the licentious press has hungrily leapt on the Popish Plot drama and offered unsubstantiated, perhaps even dangerous information to a whole host of England’s enemies, be they Jesuits, Jews, Turks, or mere rascals and knaves. Though “Some cry it is true, and some swear it is not,” one thing is true: giving the press unfettered access to publicize England’s moment of weakness was a risk in and of itself.

For an unambiguous illustration of just how closely linked the Turk was to Catholics at the time, one need only look at a couple of unique popular publications from 1679. *A SECOND CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE POPE and the TURK, Concerning the Propagation of the* Catholick Faith is a conversation in ballad form between the Pope and a Turk, in which the Turk rebukes the Pope’s friendly attempts at comradery, demonstrating the notion that not only would Catholics happily ally with Turks, the Turks find them too treacherous to be trusted. “Your kindness I ne’re understood, / Whatever you pretend:…” the Turk says, “To him to whom you ne’er did good, / How can you be a

[127] *The Second Part to the same Tune; OR, An Answer to the Lady of Qualities POPISH BALLAD of the POPISH PLOT* (London, 1679 or 1680).

friend?" The Pope continues in his attempts: "Why first I'le give you all those lands / That 'gainst me do rebel, / Go take them strait into your hands, / I've curse their Kings to Hell…" Upon promising to be the Turk's benefactor, offering him great power and earthly kingdoms, the Turk still does not renege. "You still unto me plagues will send / As you have done to others, / From Priests I must my self defend, / VVworse than aspiring *Brothers*: / VVhere you set foot no Prince is free, / But straight must be your slave, / Good sir, pray case to treat with me; / I other business have."[128] John Varney's pamphlet *For England's information, reformation, great joy, peace, and consolation; and for her great honour, and exaltation, and for the great shame, contempt and terror of the Turk, the Pope, and the Devil, and all the workers of evil,* on the other hand, champions those righteous Protestant supporters of King Charles, thanking "God who will have Inquisition made for the Blood of his Sevants that has been slain, by the *Turk,* the *Pope,* the *French King,* and the *King* of *Spain…*"[129] Of the twenty-three times the Turk is mentioned in the pamphlet as a paradigm for Protestant England's true enemy, not one of them discusses the Turk alone: he is each time mentioned alongside his enduring brothers in antagonism: "the Turk, the Pope, and the Devil," "the Turk, the Pope, the French King," "Jews, Turks, and Infidels."

The Turk as allegory was vital in popular print as the vestibule through which the English defined Englishness, and this is perhaps most succinctly illustrated in the popular

[128] *A SECOND CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE POPE and the TURK, Concerning the Propagation of the* Catholick Faith (London: Printed for N. M., 1679).
[129] John Varney, *For England's information, reformation, great joy, peace, and consolation; and for her great honour, and exaltation, and for the great shame, contempt and terror of the Turk, the Pope, and the Devil, and all the workers of evil* (London, 1679) 7.

broadsides and news pamphlets about coffee and coffee-houses in England that metonymize the Turk as that "Mahometan berry." The first coffee-house was opened in the early 1650s, Anthony à Wood noting that the first one in England was opened by Jacob, a Jew, at the Angel in the parish of St. Peter.[130] Early translations from Arabic sources were published that touted the health benefits of coffee, including a 1659 pamphlet translated by Edward Pococke that argued that coffee helped with the "drying of rheumes, and flegmatick coughes and distillations, and the opening of obstructions, and the provocation of urin."[131] Even more vocal, however, were the numerous publications that denounced the "Mahometan gruel" as an intoxicating threat to English religious culture. "For many writers," Matar argues, "coffee-drinking was dangerous because it prepared Englishmen for apostasy to Islam."[132] One 1665 anonymous pamphlet, *The Character of a Coffee-House*, criticized coffee as being a product of the lax religious toleration of the Interregnum, the same toleration that sixteen years prior had allowed for the publication of Alexander Ross's translation of the Qur'an. "When Coffee once as vended here, / The Alc'ron shortly did appear: / For (our Reformers were such Widgeons,) / New Liquors brought in new Religions."[133] Coffee, like the Qur'an, was "the vanguard of Islam into the heart of English society."[134]

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[130] An account of Wood's observation can be found in chapter five of Edward F. Robinson's *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England: With Some Account of the First Use of Coffee and a Bibliography of the Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013).
[131] Qtd. in Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 110. Matar's subsection on coffee in chapter three of this book explores the complicated cultural hold coffee would come to impose upon the English imagination in the latter half of the seventeenth century.
[132] Ibid., 112.
[133] *The CHARACTER OF A Coffee-House* (London, 1665).
[134] Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 112.

Broadside pamphlet literature emphasized the extant anxiety around an invasion of England by the Turks, suggesting that coffee was actively performing that invasion, infecting English bodies and threatening their Englishness from within. 1663's *a Cup of COFFEE: OR, Coffee in its Colours* illustrates this fear. "For Men and Christians to turn Turks, and think / t'excute the Crime because 'tis in their drink, / Is more then Magick, and does plainly tell / Coffee's extraction has its heats from Hell."[135] The threat came not just from the drink itself, but the coffee-houses in which it was consumed. "Coffee-drinking posed a cultural danger since coffee houses tempted customers away from the traditional English taverns and precipitated financial crises for brewers,"[136] and coffee-houses were quickly becoming popular places where people of all pedigrees could convene and discuss politics. "For 't has such strange magnetick force, / That it draws after 't great concourse / Of all degrees of persons, even / From high to low, from morn till even; / Especially the *sober Party*, / And News-mongers do drink 't most hearty."[137] So real was this threat, in fact, that in 1675 Charles II issued a proclamation for the suppression of coffee houses, "for that in such houses and by occasion of the meetings of such persons therein, divers false, Malitious and Scandalous Reports are devised and spread abroad, to the Defamation of His Majesties Government, and to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Realm."[138] Indeed, *A Cup of COFFEE's* statement that "in the power of this Turkish Spell / I'm faithless as a Jew or Infidel" applied as much to the

[135] *A Cup of COFFEE: OR, Coffee in its Colours* (London, 1663).
[136] Ibid., 114.
[137] *THE CHARACTER OF A Coffee-House*, 3-4.
[138] *By the King. A PROCLAMATION FOR THE Suppression of Coffee-Houses* (London: Printed by the Assigns of John Bill, and Christopher Barker, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1675).

influence of coffee-house politics as it did to coffee itself. The satirical 1667 broadside poem *NEWS from the COFFE-HOUSE* illustrates the rabblerousing that could happen in these sites, often involving exaggerated tales from exotic places that propagated dangerous lies. "You that delight in Wit and Mirth, / And long to hear such News…Go hear it at a *Coffe-House,* / *It cannot but be true*….Before the *Navyes* fall to Work, / They know who shall be Winner; / They there can tell ye what the *Turk* / Last Sunday had to Dinner." The poem continues, "The Drinking there of *Chocolat, /* Can make a *Fool* a *Sophie: /* 'Tis thought the *Turkish Mahomet /* Was first Inspir'd with *Coffe,* … / … Then let us to the *Coffe-House go, /* 'Tis Cheaper farr then Wine."[139]

As Matar states, "Fear of the Ottoman Empire and of islamicizing English life were transformed into enmity to coffee…" and coffee was seen to "weaken faith and lead to apostasy, to undermine English culture and to destroy the economy…"[140] 1672's *A Broad-side against COFFEE; Or, the Marriage of the Turk* perfectly illustrates the practical utility of equating the Turk with coffee and coffee with apostasy.

> COFFEE, a kind of *Turkish Renegade,*
> Has late a match with *Christian water* made;
> At first between them happen'd a Demur,
> Yet joyn'd they were, but not without great *stir*;
> For both so cold were, and so faintly met,
> The *Turkish Hymen* in his *Turbant* swet.

Coffee, the broadside continues, "so brown as berry does appear," and "his sails he did for *England* hoist." And England, the "melting Nymph" is bewitched by what is now

[139] *NEWS from the COFFE-HOUSE; In which is shewn their several sorts of Passions, Containing Newes from all our Neighbor* Nations (London: Printed b E. Crowch for Thomas Vere at the Cock in St. John's-street 1667).
[140] Matar, *Islam in Britain,* 117-18.

clearly an Othello character, the "Slave *Coffee*," who "loves, and kills, like the *Venetian Moor*." The English Desdemona water "is too good for thee," but "this canting *Coffee* has his Crew enrich, / And both the *Water* and the *Men* bewitcht." The implication is both clear and disturbing: coffee might suppress its true nature so successfully as to invade, rape, and kill innocent England. "From bawdy-houses differs thus your hap; / *They* give their *tails, you* give their *tongues* a *clap;* / *Mens humana novitatis avidissima.*"[141] *The human mind is greedy for novelty.* Fear of the Turk was perfectly allegorized in a fear of coffee, an invading agent that was as effective in reaching downward through English social standings to touch the lives of all men alike as were the numerous pamphlets and broadside ballads that denounced it.

While the mixture of intended readers between the variety of white-letter and black-letter ballads of the 1650s, 60s, and 70s blurred the lines between genre and audience, what remained a commonality among them was the utility of the Turk as a point of reference. A black-letter ballad whose audience was common continued the tradition of reflecting a frightening and abhorrent Other, and white-letter political ballads continued to parody that form for its own political purposes. The events Davenant dramatically portrayed in *The Siege of Rhodes* would be replayed once again on the geo-political stage when Ottoman forces would attempt to invade Vienna in September 1683. The invasion would, in turn, inspire a heretofore unseen level of saturation of the Turk in

[141] *A Broad-side against COFFEE; Or, the Marriage of the Turk* (London, printed for J. L., 1672).

English broadside ballad literature. The fateful events of September 1683 held English pamphleteers and printers in its grip, as the siege was perfectly positioned to illustrate the Royalist stance that rampant anti-Catholicism could be just as dangerous as unchecked Popery in England. The Turk, serving as allegorical collateral damage in a Tory crusade against anti-Catholic Whigs, would once again serve as the obvious and natural enemy against which true Englishness could be compared.

Turks, Tories, and the 1683 Battle of Vienna

The Turk's close relationship with Catholics in popular literature would not abate as the century drew on. But the public's taste for infectious anti-Catholicism dwindled as the true nature of Titus Oates's plot was revealed to be little more than fearmongering and zealotry, and so the function of the Turk as metaphor had to shift as well. The Popish Plots, the Rye House Plot, and the Exclusion Crisis inspired a storm of backlash against anti-Catholic bigotry in England. At the same time, hundreds of miles away on the mainland, the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy were embroiled in a siege of Vienna by Ottoman forces that would last for two months. Polish King John III Sobieski (in alliance with Emperor Leopold) led the Catholic coalition against the Ottomans in the summer of 1683 while Charles V, Duke of Lorrain, raided Turkish army encampments and Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha Pasha commanded the Ottoman army. The siege made frequent appearances in English news print. The *London Gazette* printed news of the impending war a year before the siege was lifted:

> We have letters from *Constantinople* of the first Instant, which give an account…That the Imperial Envoy, the Count of Caprara [Austrian Field Marshal under the Duke of Lorrain], was endeavouring to renew the Peace between the Emperor and the Port [Constantinople], but that the Grand-Visier demanded several places in *Hungary,* &c. which it was believed the Emperor would never consent to, so that it was not doubted but a War would ensue.[1]

[1] Recorded in The Gazette (*London Gazette*), issue 1756 (12-18 Sept., 1683).

The following year, the *Gazette* would also detail the events of the siege. "The Turks made six or seven very furious assaults the 5th and 6th Instant, which lasted 15 hours, and after a great slaughter of men, gained a point of the Counterscarp, but did not remain Masters of it long, being soon after beaten off by the Besieged, who destroyed a great many of the Turks by a Mine they sprung."[2] The siege was finally lifted after the Battle of Vienna on 11 and 12 of September 1683, and although the ensuing war would continue until the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the battle was a decisive European victory against Ottoman forces that would mark a turning point in Ottoman power in Europe as the Austrian Habsburgs would retake much of Hungary and Transylvania in the years following the battle. By September 1683, the rhetorical relationship between Catholics and Turks had decidedly reversed: the true enemy for political broadside ballads retelling the events of the invasion were not Catholics, but Catholic-fearing Whigs in England who would rather see a successful Turkish invasion than suffer the success of the Catholic Holy Roman Empire. The events of the siege, as Anders Ingram argues, "proved ripe for appropriation by polemical writers…commonly held opinions, associations accepted widely as truisms, or stock themes…resonated with the central political concerns of the period, allowing polemical writers to appropriate the events and personages of the siege of Vienna to allegorize English politics, or otherwise attack their opponents."[3] Whomever the domestic enemy happened to be, the Turk still functioned more than adequately as the

[2] Recorded in The Gazette (*London Gazette*), issue 1853 (20-23 Aug., 1683).
[3] Anders Ingram, "The Ottoman Siege of Vienna, English Ballads, and the Exclusion Crisis" *The Historical Journal* 57:1 (March 2014) 55.

comparative antithesis to all that was proper, moral, and Christian in the politically contentious years surrounding the Battle of Vienna.

In 1683, Puritan minister Roger Morrice kept abreast of events transpiring in Eastern Europe, as rumors that the Ottoman Empire would yet again attempt to invade Vienna reached England's shores. Morrice had been discussing the possibility of such an invasion as early as 1682, twenty months before the invasion took place. On February 25th of that year, Morrice wrote:

> What will be the issue of the Spanyards and others Princes mediation for a Peace between the Emperor and his tumultuous subjects in Hungary wee know not, but if it take place it will leave the Prince of the Empire at a perfect liberty to enter into a confederation, and make all attempts by France or others &c to draw the Turke down into Hungary in vaine.[4]

On May 1st of the same year, Morrice noted that "It is still endeavored to bring the Turk into Hungary this yeare, the hopes whereof gives great confidence to many. It [sic] the Turk do not come down Degranas endeavors for strengthening the Confederation will prove the more effectual."[5] Morrice's concern was with consolidation of Catholic power in Europe, the success of which was largely determined by both France's chosen alliances and the Ottoman Empire's desire to acquire European territory farther west. An invasion of Vienna by the Ottomans would disrupt the Catholic Confederacy with which Morrice

[4] Roger Morrice, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice (1677-1691)*. Ed. Mark Goldie. Vol. 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Inc., 2009) 309.
[5] Ibid., 332.

was so frequently concerned; the protection of Protestant interests in Europe would have been enormously aided by an Ottoman distraction from the East.

Morrice's tone changed abruptly as soon as news of the invasion and inevitable Ottoman loss reached England. His journal entries began to much more closely match general attitudes in England about the battle – an alignment with Christian allies on the mainland and against the Ottoman heretics. Those powers once referred to as "Confederates" became "Christians." Morrice states on September 20th of 1683, just one week after the invasion: "Since the writing hereof wee are credibly informed that the Grand Vizier had drawn all his 3 Campainas into that one at Vienna…his Horses fled in a little time; his Janisaries (his sole Strength) were universally killed by the Christians who pursued the Enemy and killed many more of them at passes over Rivers &c…"[6] Morrice's concerns with a Catholic confederacy immediately prior to the Battle of Vienna are reflective of the political and religious strife that came to define the final decade of Charles II's reign. But Morrice, an ardent anti-Papist who spent much of the first half of his entering book focusing on news surrounding the Popish Plots, would never again refer to "confederates" in the context of the Battle of Vienna, instead cheering on the Christian forces that defeated the Ottoman invaders.

Discourse on domestic politics was of course not limited to the diary entries of educated and politically-inclined non-conformists. The politics of late-Restoration England – including plots (imagined or otherwise) against the King's life by Whigs and

[6] Ibid., 375.

Tories alike and efforts by an opposition Parliament to exclude James from the line of succession – entered the public conversation at an unprecedented rate largely because of concurrent sweeping changes in printing laws in England. The Whig party, anti-Catholic and in support of the Exclusion Bill, dominated popular political discourse as the voice of the common people, prompting Charles to take action against their sedition through a series of laws and proclamations aimed at printing presses. But preventing the flood of Whig propaganda being produced, distributed, and discussed in London's coffee houses proved to be a daunting task; in order to reach the increasingly political populace in London, the Tories needed to enter the conversation at the Whig's level. A mass of Tory ballads hit booksellers after the Rye House Plot in 1683, some in active conversation with Whig ballads, speaking to the rapid succession with which printing was taking place. One need only look at John Selden's mid-century remarks on the influence of political broadside ballads, reprinted in a collection in 1689, to understand the power they had over the people: "Though some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits: as, take a straw and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that which way the wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a stone. Solid things do now show the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels."[7] Plays and manuscript texts lacked the unencumbered downward social mobility of broadside ballads, which reached the illiterate and destitute of London and beyond.

[7] John Selden, *Table Talk: Being the Discourses of John Selden, Esq. Being His Sense of Various Matters of Weight, and High Consequence; Relating Especially to RELIGION and STATE* (London: E. Smith, 1689) 76.

The Battle of Vienna's crucial timing at the center of heated political turmoil in England between opposing Whig and Tory factions made it a fortuitous metaphor at the heart of the Exclusion Crisis, a reimagining of English politics as being played out on the international stage. A number of news pamphlets and published letters detailed the events of the battle for English readers, but only the broadside ballads turned the event into a platform for domestic political discourse, rendering the events of the battle itself secondary to the primary goal of propagating anti-Whig sentiments. The Battle of Vienna proved a turning point in ballad literature, marking the first time in the genre's long history that one single historical event gave rise to so many individual ballads in so short a time, further closing the gap between popular literature and high politics. To the Tories' advantage, equating the Whigs with the Turks after the Battle of Vienna killed two birds with one stone: it painted the Whig party as just as devilish an enemy to England as a heretical Muslim (a scant couple of months on the heels of the Whig-led Rye House Plot), while simultaneously spurring improved opinions on Catholics, a necessary step in promoting the succession of James, the victorious European troops having being largely comprised of Catholic nations. Whigs were English Turks, and the Turk was a barbaric Saracen who reappeared in ballads whenever it was useful, often at the expense of accuracy.[8]

[8] Harris makes the same argument with regard to propagandistic broadsides during the Exclusion Crisis and their exploitation of "deep-seated hostility towards popery amongst the English population." The idea that the very nature of propaganda made it hard to distinguish between genuine popular opinion and propagandist tactics is just as applicable to the utility of the Turk. Tim Harris, *Popular Culture in England 1500-1850* (New York: St. Partin's Press, Inc., 1995) 7-8.

To suggest that all the printers who published Battle of Vienna ballads were hard-line Tories would be to ignore the paramount importance of catering to a consuming public regardless of political allegiances, although Nathaniel Thompson and James Dean notably were Tory propagandists. This exploration of the Battle of Vienna ballads as anti-Whig propaganda merely uses "Tory" to represent popularized royalist agendas (anti-Whig, anti-exclusionist, and wary of vituperative anti-Catholicism). Many of the printers mentioned in this chapter had no discernible political agendas, evidence that it was the Tory sentiments themselves that had found a route through the events of the battle into the widely distributed black-letter and politically influential white-letter markets, marking the 1680s as the zenith of the Turk's malleability as an expedient political tool in popular literature. Tories capitalized on the extant fear of the Turk among England's population and leveraged that against the image of the Whig as so virulently anti-Catholic they were practically pro-Turk. Matthew Birchwood argues that the notion that Islam and Protestantism were ideologically aligned was commonplace by the 1680s, and because of the debacles of the Popish Plot, the Rye House Plot, and the Exclusion crisis, that alliance became the subject of satire during the Battle of Vienna, coupling the Qur'an with the now discredited anti-Popish testimonies of Titus Oates. [9] Amidst the "persistent ambivalence and irresistible potency of the Islamic idea," Tories found a foothold in the moment of the battle.[10] Although a variety of readers were being catered to by the disparate ballad types, little to no distinction in the ballads' content is discernible,

[9] Matthew Birchwood, "News from Vienna: Titus Oates and the True Protestant Turks" in *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453-1699*, ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005) 64-76.
[10] Ibid., 71.

suggesting that the Tories had wholly cornered the Battle of Vienna as part of their message and utilized it across the entirety of the ballad market.

The ballad form itself did not transition wholesale to a political agenda; popular traditional black-letter ballads still served a lower audience than the emerging white-letter ballads, and even these by the 1680s started branching out from exclusively political content to all sorts of popular topics.[11] White-letter ballads were far less likely to be officially registered, their reputation for political barbs putting their printers and sellers at risk.[12] By and large, both the black-letter and the white-letter Battle of Vienna ballads adhere to their respective conventions. The white-letter ballads offer more allusions to specific events and people from which only a small knowledgeable audience would have been able to garner meaning. They are largely devoid of woodcuts, favoring instead musical notations or no image at all. The black-letter ballads were more heavy-handed in their moralizing of the events in Vienna. Black-letter ballads favored the broader Christian crusade narrative over the more specific Whig/Tory dichotomy, although both types employed both readings.[13] The Battle of Vienna ballads are particularly useful in illustrating the marketing demands for the broadside industry that was becoming increasingly politicized while maintaining its traditional reputation, because the siege was an event that could speak on different levels to different factions of English society.

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[11] Angela McShane, "Typography Matters; Branding Ballads and Gelding Curates in Stuart England" in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (New Castle, DE: Oak knoll Press, 2008) 27.
[12] Angela McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Biography* (London, Pickering & Chatto, 2011), xxvi, xxvii.
[13] Ibid., xxiii-xxv.

The issues from whence the opposing political parties emerged are important to explore briefly, as they speak to why the Battle of Vienna was the perfect story for Tory propagandists to latch onto. The Battle of Vienna at once represented anti-Catholicism and all the potential crises purported by the Exclusion bill that Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, introduced in 1679.[14] The years of the Interregnum did little to actually solve the ideological issues of England's monarchy, having merely been swept under the rug only to have them emerge wholesale again upon Charles's restoration. Whereas Parliamentary leaders in the 1630s and 40s feared that Charles I was a Catholic sympathizer whose allegiances might secretly be with the Pope, his son James Duke of York actively converted to the faith in secret in the late 1660s and stopped attending Anglican services in 1676.[15] The exclusion of James from the line of succession became the lynchpin issue for the nascent Whig party (a name derived from "whiggamor," used during the reign of Charles I to derisively refer to radical Scottish Covenanters), and Shaftesbury was enormously successful in rallying supporters for his cause. The Parliamentary elections of March 1679, inspired in large part by Titus Oates's bogus claims, resulted in a House of Commons largely in support of exclusion. Shaftesbury introduced the first Exclusion Bill that May, and Charles dismissed it outright and dissolved Parliament in the hopes of also dissolving public interest in such popular

[14] For his part, Shaftesbury's support of James's exclusion was not purely anti-Catholic. As J. R. Jones argues, "He appreciated that the politicies, principles, and sympathies of Charles and his Court directly endangered the religion and liberties of the nation, and that these would never be secure until the influence of the Court and Crown was drastically reduced and power and office permanently entrusted to men who possessed the confidence and support of Parliament and the nation." *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) 17.
[15] Maureen Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters: The Stuart Princesses who Stole Their Father's Crown* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2002) 27.

passions. His efforts were for naught, as when Parliament was recalled in October 1680, the Whigs were stronger than ever. Exclusion was reintroduced, and passed easily through the House of Commons but rejected by the Lords. The Exclusion Bill would be reintroduced yet again after another successful election for the Whigs, but "unknown to the Whigs the turning-point in the crisis had already been passed….the King preferred to become the client of France rather than the dependent of his own subjects."[16] By the time the early events of the Battle of Vienna began bubbling in eastern Europe, the Whigs were in crisis: their leader Shaftesbury had fled to the United Provinces, the Rye House Plot of June 1683 wholly discredited them, and loyal party members were tried and executed for treason.

Unlike the Tories, the auxiliary support party for the Crown born of opposition to the Exclusion Bill, the Whigs were a party "united largely by negative propositions, by what its members hated, feared, and opposed."[17] Bound together by the Exclusion cause, the base support for which rested on anti-Catholic sentiments, the Whigs found themselves similarly united writ large in propaganda ballads as so blindingly anti-Catholic as to be pro-Turk. It was an auspicious comparison for Tories at precisely the right time, as the Tories had always "relied on official countenance rather than popular support. They despised the ordinary supporters of the Whigs as the 'rascality and meanest of the people,' whereas the Tories were claimed to be 'the substantiallest and ablest citizens.'"[18] Tories despised the popularity of the Whigs, and jumped at the opportunity

[16] Jones, 8.
[17] Ibid., 9.
[18] Ibid., 202.

to outplay them at their own popular print game, turning common rage in their favor (the inertia of which was propelled by the dark, weighty cloud of the Ottoman Empire looming in Catholic Europe) at precisely the same time their power and influence were waning in England. It was, ironically, precisely the one-track mindedness with which the Whigs pursued the issue of Exclusion that made them so easily derided as supporters of the Ottoman cause in Tory-leaning broadside ballads.

Not since the press freedom of the 1640s had there been such a vast collection of cheap popular literature commenting on domestic events. O. W. Furley estimates that along with their Tory responses, Whig pamphlet literature on the issue of exclusion "form[s] a list of nearly two hundred titles, not as vast a collection as the Civil war produced, but one to compare favorably with the volume of pamphlets occasioned by the Restoration and Revolution."[19] The obvious difference being that the Restoration government and public alike had now served as witness to the monstrous power a relatively free press can wield, heavy as an axe on the neck of an executed monarch.

Charles was all too aware of the volatile power of the press. The first piece of legislation passed upon his coronation was *An act for safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts* (1661), which established that "the growth and increase of the late troubles and disorders, did in a very great measure proceed from a multitude of seditious sermons,

[19] O. W. Furley, "The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign, 1679-81" *Cambridge Historical Journal* 13 (1957) 19.

pamphlets and speeches, daily preached, printed and published, with a transcendent boldness, defaming the person and government of your Majesty and your royal father, wherein men were too much encouraged, and (above all) from a willful mistake of the supream and lawful authority."[20] The following year the Licensing of the Press act was passed and established, among other things, that printing presses could not be set up without notifying the Stationers' Register and that with a warrant from the King or a secretary of state, search and seizures could be performed for potentially unlicensed printing presses.[21] The act expired in 1679, severely crippling the government's power to prevent the press from saturating the public sphere with politically charged texts. The expiration left Charles to battle seditious publications with various formal proclamations against unlicensed printing. In the nine month period between August 1679 and May 1680, Charles issued one ordinance revising the by-laws of the Stationer's Company, one proclamation "For the Suppressing of Seditious and Treasonable Books and Pamphlets," and another proclamation "For Suppressing the Printing and Publishing Unlicensed News-Books and Pamphlets of News." The government used these proclamations to bring charges of seditious libel frequently and fiercely: Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation* notes over thirty entries regarding seditious or blasphemous publications between the fall of 1679 and the fall of 1681.[22]

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[20] "An act for safety and preservation of his Majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts," 13 Caroli II.c.1 (1661), in *The Statutes at Large, From magna Charta to the Eleventh Parliament of Gt. Brit., Anno 1761,* ed. Danby Pickering (Cambridge: 1762-1869) 8:2.
[21] "An act for safety and preservation of his Magesty's person," in *The Statutes at Large,* 8:137-38.
[22] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714,* Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857). Early in the six-volume collection during which Luttrell would note dozens and dozens of cases of sedition, he simply states (in August of 1679) that "[a]bout this time many libells and seditious books fly about" (19).

Consequently, in the years leading up to the Battle of Vienna, vulgar literatures such as broadside ballads were gradually being viewed by those with a stake in the control of the press as just as potentially libelous and dangerous as pamphlets and books. All the more so as authorship becomes increasingly important to prosecution for libel under Charles II, as ballads were almost always printed anonymously.[23] The development of a heightened interest in political conversation among the general population of England meant that now more than ever, ballads – the most easily consumable and memorizable printed text – could share in the raucous din of opinionated voices. Harold Weber argues that in Nathaniel Thompson's *Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs,* printed in 1684, "his astonishing representation of the orphic power of song, the 'joyning Choristers' gadding about the streets, suggests the way in which humble ballads, printed and sung, shared between readers and listeners, could play a role in the larger political processes and changes initiated by the conflict between Whig and Tory."[24]

One such example is the trial of Stephen College, which took place on August 17, 1681, on the charge of plotting to seize the king when parliament met at Oxford. College was a joiner by trade, and referred to as a "Handycraft's Man" by Roger L'Estrange, Charles's chief censor and surveyor of printing and printing presses since 1663, who made it a point to highlight College's social standing in his *Notes Upon Stephen* College:

> There are many instances of his Pragmatical meddling Humor, that the recital of them would cost more Paper than the thing is worth. A Gentleman in discourse

[23] For a discussion of the increased importance of authorship under the reign of Charles II, see chapter 4 of Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996) 131-171.
[24] Ibid., 170.

> with *College* in the *Castle at Oxford* was telling him (after many professions of his Innocency) *Mr.* College (says he) *You know I have myself at* Cornbury *heard you many times talk undutifully of the Government. Now methinks, you that are but a Mechanick should not presume to meddle with things so much above ye.*[25]

Even though L'Estrange expresses discomfort at the idea of a mere "mechanick" acting as conduit between the leaders of the Whig party and the common man, he also assigns the gravest of importance to the power of a ballad supposedly written by College, *A Raree Show*, in 1681:

> This Prospect and Confidence [at securing a Whig election] does most notoriously appear in the contrivance of the *Raree-Show,* which in truth looks liker a Song of *Triumph,* as for a thing *already* done, then a bare *Project* and *Exhortation* toward the doing of it: Insomuch that they have in this Ballad delineated the very *Scheme* of their Intentions. It is a thing very remarkable too, that the same Pulse beats still in all their Pamphlets of Appeal to the Multitude; which speaks them clearly to be animated with the same souls, and directed to the same end….What is it, but under the Notion of *Petitions* and *Addresses,* in the name of the People of *England,* a certain *Compendium* of Instructions toward the Forming and carrying on of a *Conspiracy?*[26]

[25] Roger L'Estrange, *Notes Upon Stephen College. Grounded Principally upon his own Declarations and Confessions, And freely submitted to Publique Censure*, 2nd ed. (London, 1681) 28.
[26] Ibid., 45.

With lines like "Hal-loo, the Hunts begun, with a hey, with a hey, / Like Father, Like Son, with a ho," and "So, so, the Gyant's down, / Let's *Masters* out of *Pound,*" it is little wonder L'Estrange and his fellow prosecutors categorized *A Ra-ree Show* right alongside other potentially libelous documents written by College.[27] Ballad writers that had once been referred to in the company of peddlers as "false prophets"[28] by John Boys, Dean of Canterbury, not fifty years prior, start having demanded of them a level of authorial responsibility heretofore unseen thanks to their unprecedented involvement in local politics. But such authorial responsibility emerged for a genre that was largely devoid of authors - excepting the rare occasions authorship could be proven, such as in College's case – making ballads even more dangerous than other literatures, as the source of their sedition was much harder to locate and prosecute.

Prosecution was one way to wrest the power of voice away from the vocal pro-Whig opposition, but playing the game proved equally as successful, and Tory propagandists did not shy away from utilizing the very tactics they decried in their Whig opponents, including the publication of broadside ballads. On the heels of the Commonwealth, supporters of the crown feared that the Whigs had "taught the Multitude Rebellion was but Reason," and that their pressure for exclusion amounted to treason.[29] The Tory printing movement was largely spearheaded by L'Estrange and Thompson;

[27] Stephen College, *A Ra-ree Show* (London, 1681).
[28] John Boys, *An exposition of the dominical epistles and gospels used in our English liturgie throughout the whole yeare together with a reason why the church did chusethe same* (London, 1610) 42.
[29] "Ignoramus: An Excellent New Song" (London, 1681).

both men spoke about the importance of counteracting the flood of Whig propaganda. L'Estrange argued that "'Tis the Press that has made 'um Mad, and the Press must set 'um Right again. The Distemper is Epidemical; and there's no way in the world, but by Printing, to convey the Remedy to the Disease."[30] Thompson noted his pride at having an active role in "reduc[ing] the deluded multitude" through his printing of anti-Whig texts, whose readers he calls the "misinform'd rabble."[31] Although never explicitly pro-Catholic or even Catholic sympathetic in print, Royalists still made their allegiance to the crown known by commissioning ballads in support of the right to succession of the Duke of York. In the months approaching the invasion of Vienna, the Crown's fear of Whig dissent became all the more concentrated with the emergence of not a Catholic plot but a Protestant one, the Rye House Plot, in the summer of 1683. A collection of Whig leaders including the Earl of Essex (once in the confidence of Charles, now supporting Shaftesbury and the second Exclusion Bill) ended up in the tower on charges of planning the assassination of both the King and the Duke if the effort to keep James from becoming king were unsuccessful. In a declaration made on July 28th of 1683, Charles expressed exasperation at such virulent anti-Catholicism, despite his assurances at the maintenance of Protestantism in England, by a party "misrepresenting our actions to the people":

> It hath been our observation, that for several years last past a malevolent party hath made it their business to promote sedition by false news, libelous pamphlets,

[30] Roger L'Estrange, *The Observator. In Question and Answer,* no.1 (London: Printed for H. Brome at the Gun in S. Pauls Church-yard, 13 April 1681).
[31] Nathaniel Thompson, *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* (London: Printed by N.T. at the entrance into the Old Spring Garden near Charing-Cross, 1684) A2 recto.

> and other wicked arts, whereby they endeavoured not only to render our Government odious, and our most faithful subjects suspected to the people, but even to incite them to a dislike and hatred of our royal person. Whereupon it was evident to us that the heads of this party could have no other aim but the ruin of us and our Government….[S]ome…were conspiring to assassinate our royal person and our dearest brother…In case it had pleased God to permit these wicked designs to have taken effect ,there could have been nothing in prospect but confusion.[32]

Fears about Popish treason were gradually replaced by the alternative: the treason of those who feared a Catholic crown. Essex was so distraught at having been implicated in the Rye House Plot that he cut his own throat while in his cell in the Tower, gruesomely described in John Evelyn's diary. "…[M]y Lord asking for a razor, shut himself into a closet, and perpetrated the horrid act," Evelyn stated in his entry on July 13th.[33] Suspicions that Essex was murdered by a Catholic immediately surfaced,[34] and Evelyn notes the strangeness of Essex's wound. "Yet some wondered by how it was possible he should do it in the manner he was found….but more, that having passed the jugulars he should have strength to proceed so far, that an executioner could hardly have done more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it."[35] Essex's suicide was a

[32] Arthur Bryant, ed., *The Letters, Speeches, and Declarations of Charles II* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumberland Press Ltd.: 1935) 324-25.
[33] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.) 183.
[34] An inquiry by Bishop Burnet ultimately concludes that Essex in fact committed suicide, the surgeon explaining that "it was impossible the wound could be as it was, if given by any hand but his own." Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time, vol. 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1683) 364.
[35] Evelyn, 183.

distressing and messy indicator of the consequences of potent and unchecked anti-Catholicism. Tory-supporting ballad printers needn't overtly espouse a pro-Catholic argument to justify supporting political (and religious) unity, which manifested in the form of support for the future King James. The alarming events surrounding the plot were printed about simultaneously with events of the battle in Vienna. The *London Gazette* printed addresses to the King pertaining to "the late Horrid Conspiracy against Your Majesties most Sacred Person…Crimes so foul and black, that even the Guilty…are ashamed to own" (Whitehall, 29 September) in the very same issue as news that Spain sent funds to the Emperor "for the assisting him in the War against the Turks" (Madrid, 16 September) and news that there are "Letters from *Germany* which give an account that the Christians have obtained a second Victory against the Turk…had totally defeated the remainder of their Army, and taken two Millions in Gold, and a great many of their heaviest Cannon….The Turks it's said lost more Men in this second Engagement, than in the Battel of *Vienna*." (Paris, 6 October).[36]

Nathaniel Thompson was one printer who, although a fiercely loyal Tory, frequently found himself the subject of inquiry for libelous publications and accused of Popery. From 1680 to 1683 he printed the Tory newspaper *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* (known as *The True Domestick Intelligence* from 1679 to 1680), and in both 1680 and 1684 found himself imprisoned, the former for being privy to an apprentices conspiracy to wage war against the King, and again for printing *The*

[36] *London Gazette,* 1864 (27 Sept. – 1 Oct. 1683).

Prodigal Son Returned Home,[37] a text "which denies the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs."[38] In 1681 he printed the ballad *Old Jemmy: An Excellent New Ballad* defending James's right to the throne. "Maliciously they Vote, / To work Old *Jemmy's* Ruin," the ballad states, referring to the Exclusion Bill led by Shaftesbury, "And zealously promote / A Bill for his undoing. / Both Lords and Commons most agree / To pull His Highness down; / But ('spight of all their Policy) / Old *Jemmy's* Heir to th' Crown." "The *Whigs* and Zealots Plot," the ballad continues, "To banish him the Nation, / But the Renowned *Scot* Hath wrought his Restauration."[39] Himself a Catholic or no, Thompson vehemently defended the right of primogeniture of the King's converted Catholic brother.

The royal succession was a contentious enough topic in the 1680s that booksellers showed little political loyalty in the matter, favoring only what the public would pay for. The "Young Jemmy" family of ballads is a troublesome body of ballads, because the 1681 black-letter version attributed to Aphra Behn, herself a Tory, and Nat Thompson's aforementioned *Old Jemmy* are the only ones that argue *against* the Duke of Monmouth's right to succession.[40] He was the eldest illegitimate son of Charles II and his Protestantism curried favour from Whigs looking for alternative candidates to Charles's brother James. Behn's was a broader fictional narrative, relating the story of a "Princely

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[37] Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922) 287.
[38] *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783,* compiled by T. B. Howell, Esq. (London: Printed by T. C. Howard, 1816) 128.
[39] *Old Jemmy: An Excellent New Ballad* (London: Printed by Nath. Thompson, 1681).
[40] Mary Ann O'Donnell, *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1986) 228.

shepherd" living in Classical Arcadia, which perhaps explains why it successfully transitioned to black-letter for a traditional audience. Whether by way of parody or mere convenient flip-flopping of her political narrative, the other "Young Jemmy" ballads, the black-letter *Englands Darling, OR Great Brittains Joy and hope on that Noble PRINCE JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH*,[41] and the white-letter *Young Jemmy*[42], are *for* the succession of Monmouth. These ballads speak to the secondary importance of political allegiances for sellers and printers when an opposing side may prove financially advantageous.[43] Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, and Passenger published ballads from all sides of the exclusion debate. *Englands Darling, OR Great Brittains Joy and hope on that Noble PRINCE JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH* in support of the Duke of Monmouth in 1681, and *Win at First, Lose at Last: or, A New Game at CARDS. Wherein the King recovered his Crown, and Traytors lost their Heads* in 1682 and *A health to the Royal Family, Or, the Tories Delight* in support of the crown in 1683.

Booksellers sometimes pitted Tory against Whig in active and frequent conversation with one another. In 1682 Nathaniel Thompson sold the ballad *The WHIG's Exaltation; A Pleasant New Song of 82*. It was set to "an Old Tune of 41" to inspire memories of the chaos of Charles I and the Long Parliament immediately preceding the civil war.[44] The ballad, written in the voice of a Whig, speaks of excluding "the Lawful

[41] *Englands Darling, OR Great Brittains Joy and hope on that Noble PRINCE JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH* (London: Printed for J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passenger, 1681-1684).
[42] *Young Jemmy. An Excellent New Ballad.* (London: Printed for Alexander Banks, 1681).
[43] See the aforementioned McShane, "'England's Darling' or 'Senseless Loon': Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth" 140-43.
[44] Philip Brooksby sold *The Whig Rampant: OR, EXALTATION* in the same year, which has many stanzas identical to the ballad printed for Thompson. It is unknown which of these men began selling their ballad

Heir / By Act of Parliament." "We'll cut his Royal Highness down, / e'en shorter by the Knee, / That he shall never reach the Throne, / Then Hey Boys up go We." It makes reference to the Titus Oates fiasco, stating "We'l Smite the Idol in Guild-Hall, / And Then (as we were wont,) / We'l cry it was a Popish Plot, / And Swear those Rogues have don't."[45] Not to be sneered at unanswered, a seller named T. H. sold *The Tories Confession, Or, A merry song in Answer to The WHIGS Exaltation*. Set to the very same tune, the rebuttal is in the voice of a "Tory Rogue." "The Name of Protestant we hate, / the Whigs they know it well....When all these zealous Whigs are down, / we'l drink and fall a roaring, / And then set up the Tripple Crown, / 'twill Saint us all for whoreing."[46] Adding to the conversation, Wright, Clarke, Thackrey, Passinger, and Coles printed *The Popish Tory's Confession; or, An Answer to The Whig's Exaltation*. Set to the same tune as the previous two, this ballad argues that the "confession" offered in the previous ballad was actually a Papist calling himself a Tory, and thus not a true Tory. "No honest man, who king and state does love, / Will of a name so odious prove… / … Which shows it is of a right Popish breed, / As in their own confession you may read."[47]

James Dean and John Deacon, the only other two London booksellers to publish ballads on the Battle of Vienna, printed feverishly after the Rye House Plot of 1683, each of them producing first person ballads from the perspective of convicted Whig plotters.

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first. Brooksby and Thompson would also print nearly identical Battle of Vienna ballads the following year, on which I will speak more later.

[45] *The WHIG's Exaltation; A Pleasant New Song of 82* (London, 1682).

[46] *The Tories Confession, Or, A merry song in Answer to The WHIGS Exaltation* (London: Printed for T. H., 1682).

[47] Segments of *The Popish Tory's Confession* found in William Chappell, *Old English Popular Music,* vol. 1. (London: Chappell & Co. and Macmillan & Co., 1893) 207-08.

Dean produced ballads on Thomas Armstrong, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, all convicted and executed that year. He also sold *The Loyal Conquest Or, Destruction of Treason, A SONG* the following year, in which he decries "Our Plotting Parliament of late / Who had our King surrounded."[48] John Deacon also printed on Algernon Sidney and Thomas Armstrong, employing the same satirical first person voice of the condemned, as well as the ballad *The Couragious Loyalists* in 1683 ("Let the Whiggs lament, / and whiningly complain, / We with one consent, / drink to the Royal Train: / Heavens bless Great Charles, / And the Duke of York…"[49]). Between the two of them, Dean and Deacon produced over thirty anti-Whig ballads in 1683 and 1684 alone. Unlike Deacon, who did not make his first entry in the Term Catalogues until 1682, Dean had a reputation as an active Tory voice as early as the Popish Plot, producing *The Downfall of the Whiggs: Or, Their Lamentation for Fear of A Loyal Parliament* in 1679. Referencing Charles's tireless anti-Whig censor, the ballad states, "How durst they make L'Estrange a Member! / Our Mortal Foe, and bold Offender?"

A wave of Tory ballads hit England in the 1680s in response to Whig attempts to print propaganda for England's common man. Many of the ballads favored speaking from a satirical first-person voice, mocking the Whigs as a party so blindly concerned with a Popish Plot of his own devising that he willingly commits treason. Brooksby printed on the execution of plotters after the Popish Plot, as did Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, and Passinger.[50] But by the 1680s it became clear to the Tory Royalists that

[48] *The Loyal Conquest Or, Destruction of Treason, A SONG* (London: Printed for J. Dean, 1683).
[49] *The Couragious Loyalists, Or A Health to the Royal Family* (London: 1682).
[50] For example, *London's Drollery: OR, The Love and Kindness between The POP and the DEVIL. Manifested by some True Protestants, who utterly Defie the Pope and his Romish Faction; as it was to be*

the Whigs themselves, and their fear of a Catholic monarchy, were more of a threat to the crown than the Catholics. The Rye House Plot was just the sort of event the Tories could point to as evidence of the dangers of anti-Catholic rhetoric. It is perhaps then no coincidence that Tory booksellers and printers immediately took advantage of the Battle of Vienna, occurring mere months after the Rye House Plot, as a metaphor for political strife at home, and the Turk as analogous with the Whig.

It is clear, then, that the Battle of Vienna was not a singular event that suddenly revealed the advantageousness of equating Whig with Turk in ballads, although it was certainly the most obvious and notorious avenue through which to do so. Rather, the battle ballads can be seen as comingling with extant anti-Whig sentiment in the midst of the Exclusion Crisis that was and would continue to draw such a parallel anyway, irrespective of the battle. "The timing of these events was important;" Ingram states. "[B]y September 1683 the Whig challenge to royal authority had been defeated, albeit only for the duration of the reign of Charles II, and a loyalist reaction was at its height. The siege of Vienna provided English writers with a convenient opportunity to engage in topical political polemic."[51] To be certain, it was *particular* English writers engaging in *specific* polemic exercises in ways that might not otherwise have been made readily

seen in London, November the 17th 1680 (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarkee, W. Thackeray, and T. Pass[enger], 1680); *A Looking-glass for all true Protestants: Or, A True Declaration of these Troublesome Times. The Papists they have acted such a Plot, That in England it will never be forgot* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarkee, 1679); *The Plotter Executed. OR, The Examination, Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution, of Edward Coleman, Esquire* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball, near the Hospital-gate, in West-smith-field, 1678).

[51] Ingram, 54.

available or apparent had the siege of Vienna not happened when it did. The events at Vienna offered specificity of narrative to a body of popular literatures in which the Tories had already assigned the Turk to the Whig, at least for the time being. Aphra Behn's aforementioned *Young Jemmy*,[52] sold by Phillip Brooksby, states at the end of the first stanza, 'Young *Jemmy* is a Lad / That's Royally defended; With every Virtue clad, / By every Tongue commended: / A true and faithful *English* heart; / *Great Brittain's* Joy and Hope, / And bravely will maintain their Part, / In spight of *Turk* and *Pope'.*[53] Similarly, J. Dean 1684 ballad pitted Turk against Tory without mention of the Battle of Vienna. *A Dialogue between Bowman the TORY, and PRANCE the Runagado* is outright about a Tory chastising an English renegade who swears by Mahomet. He befriends treasonous Whigs, equates himself with Titus Oates, both of whose 'Intreagues do Falter,' and insists he'll see a Tory hanged for loyalty before his neck finds a noose.[54] While not explicitly conflating the Turk and the Whig, the inclusion of the Turk and Muslim in these ballads as potentially detrimental to James's right to succession - painting them as friendly with Whiggish conspirators – aligned the Turk with Exclusionist Whigs. This white-letter ballad makes a number of references that necessitated specific knowledge of political players in England, and was thus clearly intended to contribute to party-specific political manipulation as opposed to reflecting popular opinion. The Battle of Vienna allowed for both such categories of ballad. King Charles was undoubtedly interested in the outcome

[52] Scholars confidently attribute this anonymous ballad to Behn for a number of reasons, including that the first four stanzas were later published in her own *Poems Upon Several Occasions* in 1684.
[53] *Young Jemmy. An Excellent New Ballad* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, 1681).
[54] *A Dialogue between Bowman the TORY, and PRANCE the Runagado, A NEW SONG* (London: Printed for J. Dean in Cranborn-Street, near Newport-House, in Leicester-Fields, 1684).

of the battle: a Catholic victory could further turn the political tide against overt anti-Catholicism as the Rye House Plot had done that same year. That the battle was taking place on foreign soil opened up the market during a period in which the Crown was attempting to stamp out seditious publications; it was safe for writers of pamphlets and ballads to use the Battle of Vienna as metaphor to cater to the crown and the public alike.

Tory ballad writers and printers were incorporating the Battle of Vienna into their extant anti-Whig rhetoric, and Whig printers were notably not. The Tory ideologies had appropriated the metaphor as strictly their own. The Whigs would have been remiss to adopt a pro-Catholic sentiment implied in being vocally anti-Turk in the wake of the Battle of Vienna. After all, as evidenced by Morrice's entries, Protestant fears about the Ottomans not successfully defeating Catholic forces did exist in England. Once Catholic forces in Europe had successfully curbed an Ottoman invasion of Vienna, Tory sympathizers could easily monopolize the battle as a means of highlighting the dangerous anti-Catholicism of the Whigs.

What the black-letter and white-letter ballads share is the benefit of hindsight: pamphlet accounts were printed that highlighted specific movements in the battle and subsequent skirmishes,[55] but many, especially the ballads, paid particular favor to the

[55] For example, *A BRIEF Relation of the Siege of VIENNA, And the Victory of the CHRISTIANS against the TURKS at BARKAN* (London, 1683); *A Particular ACCOUNT Of the Suddain and Unexpected Siege of Vienna* (London: printed for John Smith, 1683); *A Relation Extraordinary Contained in a Letter from Lintz, Concerning another great Victory over the Turks* (London: printed by Nathaniel Thompson, dated January 19, 1684); *A True and Exact RELATION Of the Raising of the SIEGE of VIENNA And the VICTORY obtained over the Ottoman Army, The 12th of SEPTEMBER 1683* (London, printed for Samuel Crouch at the Corner of Popes-Head Alley next Cornhill, 1683); *A True Account of the Heroick Actions and Enterprises of the Confederate Princes Against the Turks and Hungarian Rebels* (London: printed for William Thackery, Thomas Passenger, and Thomas Sawbridge, 1686). This text accounts for the end of the

ends over the means. One such end highlighted by ballads and pamphlets alike was the loss of Turkish wealth after the Christian victory; popularized images of the Sultan's Harem had injected into the English imagination a highly stylized picture of the opulent Turk.[56] In September 1683 an English officer identified as B. W. sent a letter to his friend in London from Vienna, relaying recent events from the battle in relative detail. He notes that the Holy Roman Empire, in conjunction with the King of Poland, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, and "others of the Princes" numbered 80,000 strong. A small army compared to the Turks who, according to the letter, had no fewer than 100,000 men killed in the battle, rumour having it that barely one hundred escaped home with their lives. He assigned particular importance, however, to the specifics of the battle's aftermath – namely, pilfered booty. Seven hundred Turkish cannons, 60,000 tents, and "innumerable taken prisnors." Also found in the Grand Vizier's camp was "2 Millions of Dollors, and his Tent computed to be worth 40,000 *l.*"[57]

Likewise, Francis Taaffe's series of letters to his brother Earl of Carlingford in London detailed the events of the battle from as early as 24 July 1683 to early January 1684 and were reprinted in broadsheet form. In no fewer than three of the seven letters,

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Siege of Vienna, including the death of the Grand Vizier, and the subsequent campaigns at Newheusel and Gran.

[56] Ottaviano Bon's account of the Seraglio in Istanbul, published and claimed by Robert Withers in 1625 and updated by John Greaves in 1650 was the most detailed account of the lavish lifestyle surrounding the Sultan, but was by no means the only one to draw attention to it. Paul Rycaut's *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire,* the popularity of which warranted no fewer than ten reprintings between 1665 and 1688, expounded on the many ways in which those men working for and around the Sultan could become very rich very quickly. He prefaced this discussion by quipping that "a Turk is ingenious to get Wealth, and hasty to grow rich" (Rycaut, *The History Of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668) 94).

[57] B. W., *A True Copy of a Letter Sent from Vienna, September the 2nd 1683* (London, Printed for John Cox, 1683).

Taaffe made reference to the abundance of treasure the Christian soldiers were collecting. On the September 12th, the night of the initial invasion, Taaffe penned a letter in which he stated that "they have left us their whole Camp in general, with their Tents, Bagg and Baggadg, and time will tell us more particulars."[58] On September 22nd he tells that all of the enemy's tents had been taken, pointing out how honourably the soldiers behaved themselves amidst so much treasure, making absolutely sure victory was ensured before touching any of it.[59] An October 10th letter revealed that the Grand Vizier's captured wealth valued somewhere around one hundred thousand crowns; simply by rummaging around in the tents, five to six thousand ducats were discovered. The prefatory note to the reader in Taaffe's letters to his brother makes an assertion for trusting this text over others, claiming that he is providing "a more faithful and distinct Account of those Successes of the Christian Arms against the Turks, than hath yet been published; an Account not collected from Fame, or Transcribed out of *Mercuries* and *Gazetts*, but Original Letters themselves, which have been already seen and approv'd off, by his MAJESTY and his ROYAL HIGHNESS."[60] Not only is this account trustworthy because of its first-hand nature, it has also even been given the stamp of approval by Charles II himself. Francis Taaffe expressed excitement that the King and the future King James were satisfied with the content of his letters, apparently relayed to them by the

[58] Francis Taaffe, *Count Taaffe's letters from the imperial camp to his brother Earl of Carlingford here in London giving an account of the most considerable actions, both before, and at, the raising of the siege at Vienna, together with several remarkable passages afterward, in the victorious champagne against the Turks in Hungary: with an addition of two other letters from a young English nobleman, an volunteer in the imperial army* (London, Printed for T. B., and are to be sold by William Abbington, near the Wonder Tavern on Ludgate-Hill, 1684) 15.
[59] Ibid., 17.
[60] Ibid., i.

Earl. He is pleased "because they are two Persons whom I Infinitely Love, and Reverence as I ought, and whom I very well know to be of most discerning Judgments; I confess I am proud to think that I have some part in their good Opinions."[61]

Another text of the broadsheet variety, *A Description of VIENNA, in its Ancient and Present State*, condenses Vienna's history and the events of the battle into a thick block of text beneath a map of contemporary Vienna surrounded by Turkish tents. In each corner are woodcuts depicting important persons such as the King of Poland, the Duke of Lorrain, the Sultan, and the Grand Vizier. Visually, although printed in the same format as ballads, it is clearly meant to suggest a very different purpose - the map and specific, rather than generic, images and dense text lend it a sincerity and trustworthiness.

[61] Ibid., 31.

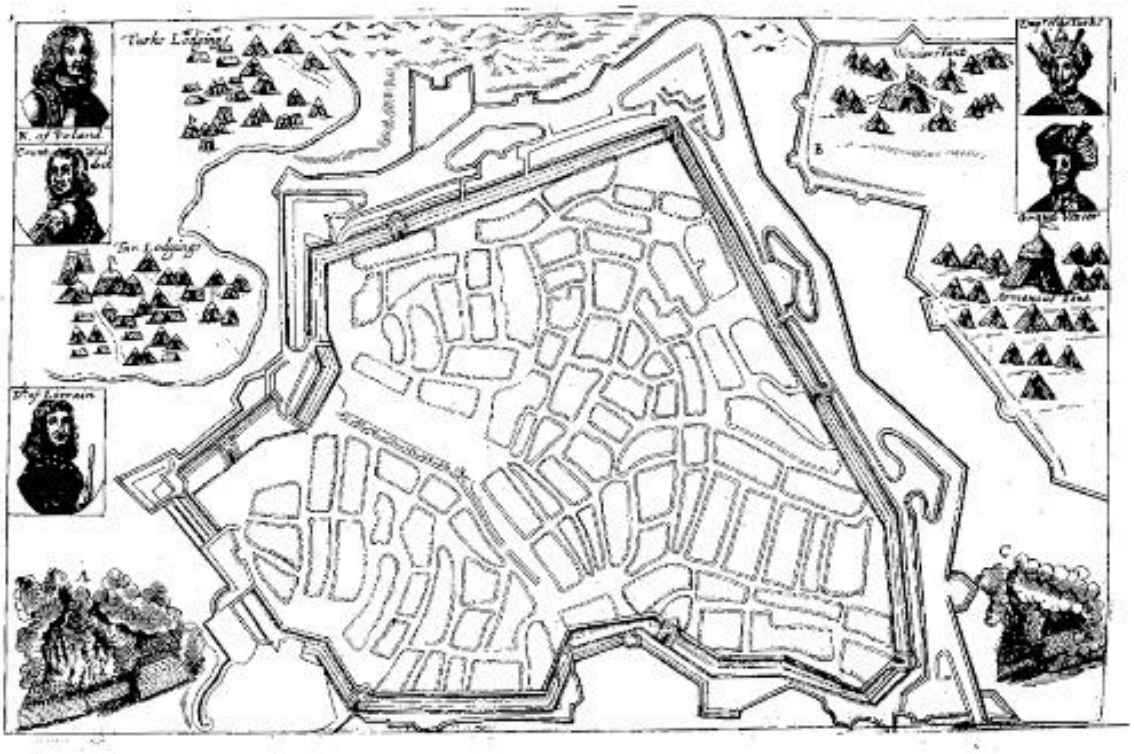

Figure 5

This text, much like the printed letters, served to give as much detail as possible about the event. By its telling, the siege was not nearly as cut and dry as the ballads suggest. The invasion of 1683 is cited as the most recent among previous attempts by Suleiman to improve upon the Ottoman Empire; the completion of an aqueduct system in İstanbul and to repair bridges in the bays of the Sea of Marmara were also listed next to "be Master of Vienna." The tone fails to demonize the action, and in fact suggests an admirable nod toward empire building. The description also offers a rather suspenseful back-and-forth that more accurately depicts the uncertainty of a European win, the Turks at times making fierce assaults and springing mines, blowing apart barricaded gates around the city. Indeed, although printed as cheaply and in the same format as the ballads, pathos-

laden language is severely lacking in this news pamphlet. The Turkish troops are at worst referred to as "haughty Mahumetan," and the only other reference to religion is in the title, which states that Turkish troops were defeated by the Christians. It ends by telling its readers that "the *Grand Vizier* fled with his Horse, leaving all his Foot, to the number of 25,000. to be cut in pieces, together with all his Artillery, Baggage, and Treasure, with the Spoil of his own Pavilion, to reward the Courage of the Victor."[62]

In the same year, the black-letter ballad *The Christian Conquest* was printed for Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, and Passenger. The ballad cites "three score thousand Tents" left behind when the Turks retreated, as well as provisions worth "two millions of Gold" - identical numbers to those presented in B. W.'s letter. The loss of tents and money was included in the complete title of *The Christian Conquest*,[63] as well as in the title to *The Christians new Victory Over the Turks in Hungaria near the Drave* printed by Tory bookseller Philip Brooksby, positioning the Turks' material losses as one of the most important facts of the battle.

The reports of European armies, with the support of a few brave English soldiers, "plunder[ing] the barbarous *Visiers* wealth," as stated in the ballad *A Carrouse to the Emperor, the Royal Pole,* also printed by Brooksby, not only provided tangible proof of a

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[62] *A Description of VIENNA, in its Ancient and Present State, With an exact and compleat Account of the SIEGE thereof: Began by the Ottoman Emperour on the 16th of July 1683, and Continued until the [sic] of September following; at which time the Siege was Rais'd, and a Total Defeat given to the Turkish Army, by the Christians* (London: Printed for Randolph Taylor, 1683).

[63] *The Christian Conquest. Being an Accont of the great overthrow of the Turks before the Imperial City of Vienna, in Germany, who, by Gods Blessing and the happy Conduct of the King of Poland, the Duke of Lorain, &c were totally roused; having lost near One Hundred thousand Men in the Field, Sixty thousand Tents, and Two Millions of Money in the Grand Visiers Tent. &c* (London, Printed for J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackery, and J. Pessinger, 1683).

Christian win in the East, but further suggested an active wrenching away of power from the Ottoman Empire.[64] The loss would indeed prove historically to be a major milestone in the military narrative of the Empire, and such immense loss on the battlefield at the hands of Christians severely damaged the inflated image in England of the Turk's lifestyle as sumptuous. Almost all of the Battle of Vienna ballads, regardless of type, make some mention of wealth accrued from the Turks. *The Bloody Siege of VIENNA*, a white-letter ballad printed by J. Dean stated to have been written by "an English Gentlemen Volunteer, that was at the Garrison during the Siege," describes "Their Gold and Jewels, Tents and Guns," that "fell all into the Christian Hands."[65] It even goes so far as to suggest that such wealth did not belong to them in the first place when it states that "the *Algerines* are all confin'd / To pay for all their Thieving Arts."[66]

For Londoners consuming ballads, the defeat of the haughty Turkish troops was nothing less than the culmination of the Holy Wars, resumed and won after a four-century hiatus that is then re-presented in England in a new context and with a new enemy on the home front. Thomas Mills' *The History of the Holy War,* published in 1685, illustrates with what fervour the English immediately began assigning historical and religious importance to the events in Vienna. Mills' book recounts the history of the

[64] *A CARROUSE to the Emperor, the Royal Pole, And the much-wrong'd DUKE of LORRAIN* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, 1683).
[65] *The bloody siege of VIENNA a song. Wherein the Turks have lost one hundred and sixty thousand men; being the greatest victory that ever was obtained over the Turks, since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Written by an English gentleman volunteer, that was at the garrison during the seige* (London: Printed for J. Dean, 1688).
[66] Angela McShane states that *The Christians new Victory Over the TURKS in Hungaria near the Drave,* printed in 1685, was a copy of *The Bloody Siege of Vienna.* It is unclear to me what this assertion is based on, beyond similarity of subject matter, because the ballads are entirely different in content. McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads,* 361-62.

Crusades beginning in 1095, and the eleventh chapter of the book tells the story of the Battle of Vienna. Mills states, "The *Holy War* hath, for any thing I can find to the contrary, been wholly laid asleep till revived again by the present Emperour of *Germany,* and *John Sobieski,* King of *Poland,* in the Year 1683."[67] The purpose of Mills' final chapter is two-fold – first, to narrate the events of the battle; and second, to draw direct parallels between it and the previous Holy Wars, justifying his connection between them. He argues that the Battle of Vienna justly deserves the name "Holy" for three reasons: First, because the war was a quarrel between Christians and Turks, whose aim was to check the spread of the "Mahometan Superstition." Second, because both were undertaken in order to free Christians from the yoke of infidelity. And third, because both had the blessing and financial backing of the Pope. The stars even seemed to be prophesying the battle and subsequent Christian victory, albeit conveniently after the fact. A "Learned Pen," examining Dutch prophecies, states that the Turks having suffered great defeats in Hungary was foretold.[68] John Merrifield, a student of Astrology, wrote that the Grand Signior's heart was lifted with pride when the Mid-heaven was directed to the conjunction of Venus, but then quickly abated in 1683 when the Sun, Moon, and Ascendant were directed to the square of Mars.[69] Indeed, John Gadbury found it necessary to issue a qualifying statement during the build-up to the September battle,

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[67] Thomas Mills, *The History of the Holy War, Began Anno 1095, by the Christian Princes of Europe against The Turks, for the Recovery of the Holy Land, and Continued to the Year 1294* (London: Printed for Thomas. Malthus, 1685) 85. Page 85 of this text is misprinted as 84, and 86 as 85.
[68] Learned Pen, *Catastrophe Mundi: or, Merlin Reviv'd, In a Discourse of Prophecies & Predictions And their Remarkable Accomplishment* (London: Printed by John How, 1683) 19.
[69] John Merrifield, *Catastasis Mundi: or the True State, Vigor, and growing Greatness of Christendom, Under the Influences of the Last triple Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Leo, the late Comet, &c.* (London: Printed for Rowland Reynolds, 1683) 6.

clarifying that predictions he had made in 1678 in his *Ephemeris* regarding the possibility of Turkish power moving into Europe had somehow prophesized the events of 1683. "But my Book falling into some peoples hands, who, either out of prejudice to Me, have thus interpreted me, or not understanding me aright, have nois'd me to have been the Prædictor or Prophesier of these amazing and amusing matters."[70]

The ballads moralize much more generally than the histories or prophecies, however. That they rely on collective qualities assigned to both sides of the battle – the Europeans as brave, the Turks as once confident turned frightened. Given the prophetic religious lines by which the battle was divided, these characteristics are in turn assigned to Christians and Muslims as a whole. *The Christians new Victory Over the TURKS in Hungaria near the Drave* specifically cites English volunteers in the battle, wishing even that King James II would fill the Thames with English ships and set off to turn Turkey into flames.[71] *The Christians new Victory* faults the Turks' faith in a false prophet for their loss. "In Mahomet they vainly plac'd / Their trust, in vain his Shrines embrac'd, / He lets 'em still be slain and chas'd / By Caesar's Royal Legions." Thankfully the Christians had God on their side, and therefore could "Charge, as Men that know no fears" and "strike the foe with Terror and Death…Their bodies strew'd about the heath, /

[70] John Gadbury, *John Gadbury (Student in ASTROLOGY) HIS Past and Present Opinion of the OTTOMAN or Turkish Power: Together with what he hath wrote concerning the GREAT and PUISSANT FRENCH-KING"* (London: Printed by Nathaniel Thompson, 1683). He attempted to allay fears by insisting that "The Grand Ottoman Power will…in shot time retreat, or else be forced back," suggesting that the pamphlet was written during the siege and prior to the Confederate victory.

[71] *The Christians new Victory Over the TURKS in Hungaria near the Drave. In this Famous Battle the Christians kill'd near Twenty Thousand, took 120 Guns, the Grand Vizier's Tents and Baggage, to an inestimable value, of Gold, Silver and Jewels: a greater Victory was hardly ever known in Europe* (London: Printed for Phillip Brooksby, 1685).

Make savoury meat for the Crows…" The Turkish Bashaw ran from the valiant Christian forces. According to *The Christian Conquest*, "The Christians did fight / In a Cause that was right" and "Sure *Mahomet* was fast asleep" while the battle raged on. In some cases it seemed rather to be ignorance as opposed to deliberate heresy that inspired the Turks to follow a prophet who then turned a blind eye. *Vienna's Triumph; WITH THE Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the TURKS,* a white-letter ballad that coupled local politics with grander theological stakes as heavily as its fellow black-letter ballads, offers such an image: "Their Mahomet's aid / they in vain did implore, / And they swear they'l not trust / the dull God any more."[72] The implications of such a line are particularly poignant, as they suggest not only that the Turks lost the battle, but that such a loss inspired them to abandon their false religion.

Brooksby's black-letter *A Carrouse to the Emperor* was reprinted almost verbatim in 1688 in white-letter type as *An Excellent New Song on the Late Victories over the TURKS* by Nathaniel Thompson. Both ballads blame Mahomet's rule of sobriety as one factor in the soldier's loss. The latter describes Mahomet as a "sober dog," and the former as a "Coffee-drinking drousie rogue." Both mention that Mahomet is remiss to disallow drinking alcohol, considering how in vogue the "use of the grape" is.[73] Such fascination with what the Turks drank is not found in contemporaneous texts about the battle, but it is a trope that printed ballads before the event often visited.[74] Boiling down religious differences to one's choice of beverage points to the ballads desire for

[72] *Vienna's Triumph; WITH THE Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the TURKS* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, 1683).
[73] *An Excellent new song on the late victories over the Turks to a very pleasant new tune* (London, 1684).
[74] See previous chapter's section on coffee.

emotional punch over factual credibility. But metonymically replacing Christianity and Islam with alcohol and coffee as items not just consumed and held within oneself, but also as determining factors in one's ability to win wars, aids in solidifying for those readers with a less nuanced relationship with the Empire the seemingly insurmountable divide between east and west.[75] The brave, valiant Christians are morally just, inflicting violence upon the Turks only as retribution for their unwarranted barbarism. In *The Bloody Siege of VIENNA,* next to grandiose classical allusions imparting timeless importance,[76] the barbaric Turks "never spared Sex nor age," and as such deserved what was coming to them: "To th' Knees in Blood, Run, Run that cou'd / The Christians then had done their work", "Like Fiends before the approaching sun, / The *Turks* before the *Christians* run," the ballad cries, and running, according to the ballad, was definitely the safest course of action. "Kill, Kill, was all the Language there: / Their Trenches fill'd with slaughtered *Turks,* Their Camp infected by the smell…" It was a powerful image in the minds of England's commoners: miles and miles of abandoned tents, treasures, and horses, among which lay a sea of dead, stinking corpses, all slain at the hands of the

[75] McShane explores the politicization of alcohol in her chapter "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689" in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004). English broadside ballads already had established politics surrounding drinking that applied as much to the domestic party divide as it did the Christian/Muslim one. She notes that "What a Whig needed, Tory ballads argued, was several drinks and the immediate improvement in his spirits would soon convince him to be loyal too" (79). The Whigs, as much as the Turks, could benefit from a drink or two.

[76] McShane discusses the use of classical cultural models as a means of creating "the persona of the military man" that came from elite sources. "Hardly, one might think, then natural stuff of popular culture, but classicism played a fundamental part in all balladry as a rhetorical form that deliberately sought to engage the affections, the passions and the will of the hearer." White and black-letter alike, allusions to Alexander the Great, Mars, Jove, Troy, Adonis, and Bacchus peppered the Battle of Vienna ballads. "Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads" *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 2011) 137.

Christians. It was swift and overdue justice for the heretics against whom the English and their allies had crusaded centuries ago.

As a means of overtly connecting overseas events with domestic politics, most of the battle ballads specifically mention Whigs, claiming the party mourns the Ottoman loss because it meant Catholic victory. The end *of An Excellent New Song On the late Victories over the TURKS* references "the most Christian Turk's at home" watching the fate of Christendom from England. The ballad then calls for "English CESAR" to advance into Catholic France, accusing anyone who refuses to follow of being a Whig.[77] *The Bloody Siege of VIENNA* too makes reference to English Whigs, comparing their desire for exclusion to that of traitorous "German Whiggs" that have been the provocation of "that Bloody *Sceen.*" Similarly, a propaganda pamphlet printed by George Croom called *Great News from Count Teckely* was published in 1684,[78] at the same establishment in which B. W.'s letter from Vienna was printed, just one year prior. The account suggests it is "of some Passages 'twixt a True Protestant English Volunteer, and a Teckelytish MAHUMETAN in the Turkish Camp" and insists on its credibility by

[77] Louis XIV of France was also accused of being an Ottoman sympathizer. He was rumoured to have given financial backing to the Ottomans for the invasion, as a distraction to the east would have aided in France's attempts to hold onto Holy Roman Empire territories. Indeed, a ballad about Louis was published in 1689, entitled *The Great Bastard*, written in first person in which he states, "With Mahomet, I am Brother sworn, / 'Gainst Christendom and Popery,: / A Tyrant great, as e'r was born, / Religion I thought Foppery." He is referred to as a "Most Christian Turk" like the Whigs in England.

[78] "Count Teckley" refers to Imre Thököly, Hungarian noble and vassal king of Upper Hungary who aided the Ottoman forces besieging Vienna. Thököly's name would reappear in a number of ballads in the 1680s as representative of Protestant zealotry allied with Ottoman Muslim forces. So close were his ties to the Ottoman Empire that he was excluded by name from the amnesty promised to other Hungarian rebels in the aforementioned 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz.

stating that it was "sent over by the Counts Secretary to a Brother in London."[79] The "True Protestant" is meant to be taken tongue-in-cheek, as the account depicts a virulently anti-Catholic English Protestant who would rather ally with a converted Muslim than Catholic forces. Below the title reads, in Latin: "En! Psuedo-Protestantium flagellum." The "pseudo-Protestant scourge" turns his nose up at Christianity, calling it a "dull, sneaking Institution; a pitiful, mean piece of Morality that Heathens would be ashamed of. It gives no Incouragement to good substantial Debauchery; no rewards to Treason and Rebellion..." Teckely's man suggests that "you had no liberty of Conscience in your country; and who wou'd be subject to the severity of such a stingy Government?" The Englishman agrees, insisting that such restrictions of conscience were the reason he "come a Volunteer to the Army; and I'le Stand and Fall by the new Grand Vizier, under whom I have listed my self."[80]

The suggestion is that the "stingy Government" and persecution of Whigs in England directly caused this English turncoat to enlist with Ottoman forces. But the tract cannot be read as a Whiggish complaint that the English government is forcing loyal Protestants toward extreme measures because the text suggests the Whig had in no uncertain terms asked for persecution: the English Protestant Whig is clearly crazed, fanatical, and uncompromising in his anti-Catholicism in a way that not only aligns him with the Turks, but is a direct threat to the Stuart crown. "Every step they [true Protestants] take is towards, or in favour of a Rebellion....as long as there's a Conventicle

[79] *Great News from Count Teckely, OR, An Account of some Passages 'twist a True Protestant English Volunteer, and a Teckelytish MAHUMETAN in the Turkish Camp. Sent over by the Counts Secretary to a Brother in London* (London: Printed by George Croom, 1684).
[80] Ibid., 1.

in the Kingdom, we shall never be without a Republican Atheist, or a true Protestant Mahometan."[81]

By and large, the ballads that compare Whig with Turk do so by suggesting not only that the Whigs were despondent at the defeat of the Turks, but also that Charles's defeat of Whiggish traitors in England both mirrored and, through divine providence, triggered that defeat. *Vienna's Triumph; WITH THE Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the TURKS* sold by Deacon in 1683, begins much like the others do, as a retelling of the battle between a David and a Goliath, but turns abruptly in the fifth and sixth stanzas to the treachery of the Whigs: "The Pope to avoid, / they'l do what they can, / And instead of an Image, / they'l Worship a Man: / To the *Turks* they no Martyrs / But Converts would be, / But in time we may see / Them all dye by the Tree."[82] Although the Whig stanzas only make up the final third of the ballad, the trajectory of the song holistically suggests that the Whigs are simply another in a long line of important players in the story of the battle. After the summary of the first stanza, the second calls on the English to give praise because "Thus [sic] who fight against Heaven, / do fight but in vain" (A list comprised, we learn four stanzas later, not just of Turks but also of Whigs). The third and fourth stanzas speak to the roles of the Grand Vizier and the Duke of Lorrain respectively. Even visually, the italics of the first lines of the second through fifth stanzas reveal who the reader should take away as the most important parties: The English, the Grand Vizier, The Duke of Lorrain, and the Whigs. Dean's 1683 *The*

[81] Ibid., 2.
[82] *Vienna's Triumph; WITH THE Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the TURKS* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, 1683).

Granadiers Loyal calls on "flat-fac'd *Oats* like *Sodom* burn, / *Mahomets* Saint, and Christians scorn: / While Rebels here in Mourning lurk, / Because the *Christians* Bang'd the *Turk.*"[83] *On the Relief of VIENNA, A HYMN for the True-Protestants* refers with biting satire to those "*precious Rogues*" who would "Rather than not Rebel / Against their Lawful Prince, and God, / They'll joyn the *Devil of Hell.*" Luckily God has "found an Arm / To do the Royal Work, / and vindicate Himself, against/ *True-Protestant* and *Turk.*" The hymn goes on to bless Charles II and James, as well as the King of Poland and every Christian King, and "Hang the Dogs / Who do not love the Thing."[84]

The ROYAL GENERAL Or the Camp at Putney Heath sold by Dean in 1684 champions Charles II and the forces he reviewed on Putney Heath, a district in southwest London, in 1684. It uses the first stanza to explicitly draw connections between England, the Christian victory at Vienna, and the Whigs:

> Now the great *Monarch* of *England's* bright Splendor,
> doth shine over *Europe* like *Jove* in his *Throne*
> Makes *France* to the *Empire*, & *Spanierd* surrender,
> The peace and the plenty of what is their own;
> The *Turk* and the *Teiklites* thereby are o're powered
> And crusht *by the conduct of Christians strong Arms,*
> Such successful blessing the heavens have showered,
> The *Turks* and the *Tartars* are lost in the *Storms.*

The ballad goes on in the next stanza to say that "Great *Charles* and his *Highness* they bravely have Conquer'd / Our pretended *Protestant Turks* of the Race," and calls on

[83] *The Granadiers Loyal Heath. A Song* (London: printed for J. Dean, in Cranborn-Street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1683).
[84] *On the Relief of VIENNA, A HYMN for the True-Protestants* (London: printed for C. W., 1683).

"brave daring *Tories*" to celebrate the victory.[85] The progression of images – Charles, who "doth shine over Europe like Jove in this Throne," thereby overpowering the Turkish troops – gives some level of credit to King Charles for the victory at Vienna, despite his non-involvement. Credit due because he managed to defeat the Protestant Turks at home, the effect of which had some holistic spiritual impact on the war almost a thousand miles away, the English being therefore in part responsible for the Christian victory. "All that in war-like Disciplin delighteth, / Pray for the success of the Christians Arms, / And for all that contribut's to pay *those that fight- /* In the Holy Wars & their Duty performs…," the ballad's last stanza reads. The Battle of Vienna and the Crown's campaign against the English Whigs: two Holy Wars for which good Christians should pray for success. Likewise, another ballad that rounds out the pro-English/Anti-Whig Vienna ballads printed by James Dean in the years following the battle, celebrates a display of English troops, this time at Hounsley-Heath[86], "with a Paralel of the Destruction of our *English Turks* in the *West,* and the *Mahomitans* in Hungary" two years after the Ottoman loss at Vienna. "With Horse and Foot, the Gun and Drum, / And Christian Shouts they Run they Run, / Like our *west*-Country *Turks* at home, / in *Hungary* they're Confounded."[87] With their lofty allusions to Mars and Caesar, these commemorative ballads triumphing the English army found a logical parallel in the defeat of "our pretended *Protestant Turks*"[88]

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[85] *The ROYAL GENERAL Or the Camp at PUTNEY HEATH* (London: Printed for J. Dean, Bookseller in Cranborn-Street near Newport-House in Leicesterfields, 1684).
[86] A modern-day nature reserve in the London borough of Hounslow.
[87] *A Song upon the Randizvous on Hounsley-Heath, With a Paralel of the Destruction of our English Turks in the West and the Mahomitans in Hungary: How the Christian Army, Compos'd of Forty Thousand Men, took New-Hassel, relieved Grand, Defeated the Turks Army of sixty Thousand Men in two days time* (London: Printed for James Dean, between the Royal Grove, and the Helmet in Drury-Lane, 1685).
[88] *The Royal General Or the Camp at Putney Heath.*

and the Turkish forces in the East. *Randizvous* also posits that cause-and-effect relationship, foretold by fate, much like *The Royal General*. "Our Comet or the Blazing-Star, / At *Staffords*[89] Death was seen so far; / It plainly poynted out this year, / 'Gainst Whiggish Calculation…. / The Turks cut off, the whigs are dead; / Some Jayl'd, some hang'd, the rest run mad; / Because the Turks are routed."

A rather racy example of how the Turk was satirized in order to diminish a domestic enemy can be found in the 1684 ballad sold by Dean, *A New MIRACLE OR Dr. Nomans safe Return From the Grand Turks Court at Constantinople*. Just one year after the Battle of Vienna, what is perhaps the most blatantly antagonistic and derisive ballad about the Turks was printed on the recto side of another satirical first person ballad, this time from the perspective of Langley Curtis, who was on trial for printing seditious documents. The Curtis ballad has the narrator lamenting the loss of many friends of the Whigs, including the Turk (whom they presumably lost when the Ottomans were defeated). *Dr. Noman* is a treasure trove of Ottoman stereotypes used in a ballad so crass and absurd that the "Turk" is reduced to naught but a cartoonish hyper-sexualized buffoon. The ballad states that Dr. Noman, left on a ship for Constantinople "yesterday morning," arrived before noon, spoke at length with the Sultan even though neither of them shared a language, and got in trouble for "falling foul on the Turks Boys" and for having sex with all the "Turks whores." He escaped through forty keyholes to his freedom, and arrived back in London the same night.

[The Sultan] asked what was my Education,

[89] Stafford refers to Sir Thomas Armstrong, MP for Stafford who was indicted for treason following the Rye House Plot and executed in 1684.

I told him, to Swear and to Lye
And Bugger all Bums in his Nation,
And himself sometimes by the bye.

He began to stare and look madder,
And turn'd me amongst my Bums,
I bang'd them about with my Ruder
Till they broke in amongst his Nuns.
I fell o'th'bones of his Boys,
My Bums full tilt at his Whores,
The Lamps blown out and Flamboies,
And we at it upon the Flores.[90]

Dr. Noman is undoubtedly Titus Oates. When he told the Sultan that he "was no Pope," the Court "fell into a Laughter / And swore my Brain was too short." Even more telling, however, is the bookseller himself. This first person hyperbolic story was printed on the recto side of the first person story of Whig Langley Curtis's impending execution for treason, allowing the Turk and the Whig to share the same physical space on the ballad page. This English "No-Man" arrived at the Ottoman court, swore he was not a Catholic but admitted wholeheartedly that he wanted to "bugger" every man in the nation. He proceeded to do so, and the women as well, fitting with the hedonistic picture of the Sultan's court that existed in popular depictions. Upon his return to England he swore by Mohammad that his entire tale was true. This brilliant and clever ballad conflated anti-Catholic sentiments with lying and buggery, and a Tory bookseller sold it on his shelves. That Oates was a man so often derisively compared to the Turk could suffice as evidence

[90] *A New MIRACLE or Dr. Nomans safe Return From the Grand Turks Court at Constantinople* (London: Printed for J. Dean, Bookseller in Cranborn-street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1684).

enough, but Dean also printed *Dr. Oats Last Farewell to England* two months prior, a ballad in which Oates boards a ship headed for "*Stom-bola;* where he's a going to be *Mufty* to the grand *Turk."* "For Peaching, and Teaching; / For Blasphemy and Preaching, / I like a Rogue must Run away, / And Damn'd for over Reaching,"[91] the end of the ballad reads, serving as prequel to his failed interaction with the Sultan in *Dr. Noman.*

The Honour of a London Prentice, a black-letter printed at least three times from the 1680s to the 1690s, tells a similarly exaggerated tale, at the heart of which is a lowly Englishman besting and humiliating the Turkish Sultan. The ballad sings of a young apprentice to a London merchant who liked his work so much that he sent him to be his factor in Turkey for three years. It is accompanied by a woodcut of three images: the first, a fierce battle on horseback. The second of one man standing triumphantly over another man who is lying on the ground, the difference between them made obvious by dress – the man standing is English, and the man on the ground in flowing robes and a turban is Turkish. The third image is of the apprentice himself with his hands down the throats of two lions.

[91] *Dr. Oats last Farewell to England* (London: Printed for J. Dean in Cranborn-street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1683).

Figure 6

According to the ballad, after a year in service, the apprentice encountered some foolhardy Turkish knights that denied that Queen Elizabeth was "the Pearl of Princely Majesty" and so "one day the apprentice made to bleed" the band of knights. This angered the "King of that same Countrey" and he sent his son to fight the apprentice. The strong and brave English apprentice killed the Sultan's son with naught but a box to the ears, so the vengeful Sultan sent two hungry lions to kill him. The apprentice successfully ripped the hearts of lions straight out of their throats, showing that "A London Prentice still, / shall prove as good a man, / As any of your Turkish Knights." To make a comparison between a lowly apprentice and a Turkish knight and declaring the apprentice to be the better man was insult indeed. These events filled the Sultan with such fear that

he asked the apprentice if he was "some Angel / sent down from heaven above." The apprentice forgave the cowering Sultan, who "lift*ed+ up his eyes to heaven, / And for his foul offences, / did crave to be forgiven." The Sultan gave the apprentice his daughter and many riches, capping the adventurous story with a happy ending in merely a page. This rancorous Turkish Sultan, whose Knights dare insult the Queen of England, whose son willingly executes people at his will, and who keeps starved lions waiting in the wings for brave Englishmen to fill their maws, is anything but sympathetic. It is only after he has been defeated utterly that he cowers in pitiful surrender and immediately forsakes his faith to ask for forgiveness for his foul offenses. Turk's lifting "of his eyes to heaven" suggests the Sultan's offense was not tyring to have the apprentice killed, but rather that he is Muslim.[92]

Although both types of ballads heavily moralized the religious holy war trope of the ballads, the white-letter ballads utilized the Whig-Turk structure far more than did the black-letter ones, catering to a more politically conscious audience. *A Carrouse to the Emperor, the Royal Pole*'s last stanza reads

> Infidels are now o'recome,
> the Most Christian Turk at home,
> Watchd the fate of Christendom,
> but al his hopes are hollow,
> Since the Poles have led the dance,
> If Englands Monarch will advance,

[92] *The Honour of a London Prentice. Wherein is declared his matchless Manhood, and brave Adventures, done by him in Turkey, and by what means he Married the Kings daughter of the same Country* (London: Printed for W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1686-1688).

And if he'l send a fleet to Fra---
he's a Whigg that will not follow.

This, no doubt, is why it was reprinted as a white-letter ballad the following year, the aforementioned identical *An Excellent New Song on the late Victories over the TURKS*, which largely keeps the stanza, having only changed "Englands Monarch" to "English CESAR." The final locally politicized stanza of the black-letter ballad offered opportunity for social cross-over into the white-letter form.

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The 1683 Battle of Vienna so captivated the English that it consolidated the broad spectrum of the ballad market and for a time wholly rendered the Turk as Whig. For the first time in England's long history with the Empire, an event so captivated the country that ballad after ballad was printed about one particular event. A century of ballads that were sometimes written about the Turk, but were more often than not simply employing the term to conjure a fear, culminated in a body of popular ballads in which the Turk performs his most precise function to date. No Battle of Vienna ballad exists in which Turks are equated with Royalists, Catholics, or Tories. Such active appropriation of an event and a people as a means of dispersing a political opinion affirms what more than a century of textual representations of the Turk in England generally reveal: that facts about the Islamic empire were important only in so far is they served a broader national narrative. Ballads took advantage of an image that had been implanted in the English consciousness long before the Battle of Vienna, deliberately propagating a derivative Turk. The Turk of the ballads on the Battle of Vienna was tweaked to fill an allegorical

gap whenever a generic enemy was necessary. Undoubtedly there are reflections of Ottoman Turks, with whom English subjects up and down the social spectrum were still interacting and navigating relationships, in these English Turks; but they are mere shadows, meant to cloak a figure that, by 1683, spoke more to political and religious anxieties at home than to any real fear of an Ottoman invasion of England.

By turning an invasion fuelled by a desire for empire into a metaphor for turmoil at home, the English effectively made the Battle of Vienna a war they were very much fighting on two levels: the political and the religious. Citing "English volunteers" fighting in the war, such as in *The Christians new Victory over the TURKS*, men that know no fear and "strike the foe with Terror and Death," transforms the victorious army from Catholic and European into Christian and English, who successfully suppressed the Whiggish Turks. To look to Europe is to see a mimetic representation of a battle fought on English soil, those loyal to the Christian cause and those against it, traditionalists versus traitors. The Tory attempt at countering the Whigs' successes in mass printing in the early 1680s was bolstered by the events in Vienna, and the opportune metaphor was amplified by the already clearly-defined enemy Turk. The Battle of Vienna firmly and irreversibly defined what it meant to be a "Turk" for the wide audience consuming seventeenth century popular literature.

Conclusion: The Coronation of James II, the Glorious Revolution, and the Antithesis Turk

Despite support from Whigs in Parliament, James Duke of Monmouth's rebellion failed. Charles II's brother was crowned King James II on 6 July 1685, and Monmouth was executed for treason nine days later. Three loyalist ballads printed around that time capitalized on the Whig-Turk connection belabored in ballad literature following the siege of Vienna. The white-letter ballad *A NEW SONG UPON THE CORONATION of King James II* celebrates James's coronation, stating that "The *Whigs* turn'd *Trimmers* can Hang us no more." The ballad goes on to praise all the soldier's in England's great army under James, who impatiently await their next opportunity to battle the Turks and Christian turncoats on the mainland:

> So great a Monarch was never before;
> His Royal Protection all princes implore;
> And every Soldier in all his Guards,
> A Commissioners office can well discharge,
> And thinks each Minute an Age too long,
> Till they are engag'd amongst the Throng
> O' th' *Turks* and *Teicklets*[1] both proud and strong,
> That 'th Empire may flourish like our Kingdom.[2]

The end of the white-letter ballad calls for a lifting of libations, voices, and gunfire to the crowning of the new King. But a black-letter ballad printed at the same time, *LONDONS*

[1] Recall from the previous chapter connotations of Protestant zealots in league with the Turks and often associated with Imre Thököly.
[2] *A NEW SONG UPON THE CORONATION of King James II* (London: Printed for James Dean in Cranborn-Street near Newport-House in Leicester-Fields, 1685).

LOYALTY: OR, A New SONG on the Royal Coronation uses its final stanza to remind its common listenership that one should take James's coronation as a moral reminder that hard work, religious piety, and a submission to one's fate are the truest ways to dedicate oneself to the new King:

> Fear the Lord, Honour the King,
> Submit to Fate (in every thing)
> Do thy Business and Sing,
> And never think on sorrow:
> In private eat thy Honey-Comb,
> Kiss thy Wife, and keep at home,
> Never think on what's to come,
> For none hath seen to Morrow.

The black-letter ballad also calls upon the Turk, but rather than referring to him as "proud" and "strong," it seems he's the same bumbling fearful Turk of the black-letter Vienna ballads. "Now the Turk dare not presume, / To think to Conquer *Christendom,* / OR Tyrannize for time to come / to be the Worlds Commander."[3] Of Monmouth's execution the Protestant "Tecklites" are summoned once again in the white-letter ballad *Monmouth's Downfal; OR, THE ROYAL VICTORY*: with the fall of the pretender Monmouth and the ascension of James, "Rampant Zeal's for ever tamed, / The *Tecklite* Reformation shamm'd, / The Presbyter-*Turk,* and Devil damn'd, / And the long charm all ended."[4]

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[3] *LONDONS LOYALTY: OR, A New SONG on the Royal Coronation* (London: Printed for C. Dennison, 1685).
[4] *Monmouth's Downfal; OR, THE ROYAL VICTORY* (London: Printed for Nicholas Woolfe, at the Leopard in Newgate-street, 1685).

By now it should be clear that ballads freely and often performed a full about-face when it came to what the Turk should represent, and the rise of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution shows with what ease ballad literatures, both white-letter and black-letter, pivoted seamlessly back to the pre-Rye House Plot politics of the late 1670s and early 1680s to tie the Turk not to the anti-Catholics, but once again to the Catholics themselves. As with any royal coronation, a vast body of broadside ballads were published to celebrate the ascension of a new and glorious King (and, this time, Queen). Five of those ballads reference the Turk, once again performing the tried and true move of equating him with Catholics, heavily including the French and King Louis XIV. *An Excellent New SONG Call'd, THE Orange Flag Display'd* (1688) states that with the coming of the Prince of Orange "the *Papists* cease to Rant," and asks that "Next let us hope with us he'll joyn, / And humbly beg the help Divine / To Bawke the most *Christian Turks* Design, / Who wants to be Corrected." The "Christian Turk" is no longer the Whig of the early years of the decade; he is, once again, the Catholic. *The Subjects Satisfaction Being a New SONG of the Proclaiming King William and Queen Mary* (1689) expresses joy at the coronation of "A Protestant King and a Queen," decries the "Romans false rumours," and offers "A fig for the French and the Turk, / now we have a Protestant King."[5] *A Full Description of these Times, or The Prince of ORANGE's March from EXETER to LONDON* (1689) also calls for "a fig for the Devil the Pope and the Turk."[6]

[5] *The Subjects Satisfaction Being a New SONG of the Proclaiming King William and Queen Mary the 13th. of this Instant February to the great Joy and Comfort of the whole Kingdom* (London: Printed for J. Deacon at the Angel in Guiltspur-street, 1689).
[6] *A Full Description of these Times, or The Prince of ORANGE's March from EXETER to LONDON; And Father PETERS and the rest of the Jesuites put to flight* (London: Printed for A. B., 1689).

Great Britains Delight, OR, A Health to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange (1689) celebrates the coming of the Prince as having inspired the nation to "sharpen our Swords." "We'l fight in our Nations defence; / For we would not fear / The Great Turk nor Monsieur, / While we have a brave Protestant Prince."[7] Interestingly, this ballad specifically equates the Turk to Monsieur, King Louis's brother Philippe Duke of Orléans who was notoriously effeminate and preferentially homosexual, re-drawing a not-so-subtle connection between the Ottoman court and buggery.

Over the span of a single decade, the Turk of English broadside ballad literature would stand in for Catholics, anti-Catholics, the French, Presbyters, Jesuits, Jews, and the Devil himself. So rapidly was the Turk's metonymic referent changed that it could be argued he was each and every one of them simultaneously. The mysterious enemy Turk of the early part of the seventeenth century - a dangerous force one should avoid by avoiding piracy and holding fast to one's faith should one be found in the throes of captivity – was now not mysterious at all. He was *the* enemy, *any* enemy. And any Englishman might well also be a Turk, depending not just on his political allegiances but also on the particular politics of any one of the dozens of ballads that habitually and persistently drew "Turk" from the font of metaphor. Even as a hearty (if fraught) mercantile relationship continued between the English and the Ottomans, the Ottomans increasingly offering preferential trade agreements in return for diplomatic alliances,[8] the image of the Turk in popular ballad literature would continue to insist upon the depiction

[7] *Great Britains Delight, OR, A Health to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange* (London, 1689).
[8] See part 3, chapter 6 of Fatma Müge Göçek's *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 97-102.

of a two-dimensional enemy. Indeed, it is made clear by exploring the depth of broadside ballads that call upon the Turk throughout the seventeenth century that by and large their purpose was not to represent the Turk at all. Rather, it was to represent a wide variety of enemies of the English by using a term that was largely accessible by the majority of English subjects. The very definition of "English" was questioned time and time again as England weathered the most contentious century in its history, but one truth determinedly remained: the enemies of the English were all Turks, and by extension proper English people were not. Broadside ballads throughout the century helped introduce, define, and refine the term "Turk" as antithetical to "English." The fascination with Muslim Turks in England persisted throughout the seventeenth century in no small part because of their unremitting presence in popular ballads.

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Authors and dates that were not listed on the broadsheet are taken from the English Short Title Catalogue.

Algier Slaves Releasment: OR, The Unchangeable Boat-Swain. London: Printed for J. Deacon at the Rain-Bow near Davids-Inn, in Holborn, 1685. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 4.188, EBBA 21850.

ARSY VERSY: OR, The Second Martyrdom of the RUMP. London: Thomason copy dated March 23. 1659. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34936.

A BALLAD UPON THE POPISH PLOT. London, 1679 or 1680. Wing cites either Elizabeth Powis or John Gadbury as author. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.454/1(1), EBBA 32878.

Birkenhead, John, Sir. *A New BALLAD Of a famous German PRINCE and a renowned English DUKE, who on ST.* James's *day One thousand 666 fought with a* Beast with Seven Heads, *call'd* Provinces; *not by Land, but by Water; not to be said, but sung; not in high English nor* Low Dutch; *but to a new French Tune, call'd* Monsieur Ragou, or, The Dancing Hobby-horses. London: Printed by James Cotterel, 1666. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.1115, EBBA 33776.

The bloody siege of VIENNA a song. Wherein the Turks have lost one hundred and sixty thousand men; being the greatest victory that ever was obtained over the Turks, since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Written by an English gentleman volunteer, that was at the garrison during the seige. London: Printed for J. Dean, 1688. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34767.

A Broad-side against COFFEE; Or, the Marriage of the Turk. London, printed for J. L., 1672. British Library Tract Supplement A1:1[379], Early English Books Online.

Chipps of the Old Block; OR, HERCULES CLEANSING THE AUGÆAN STABLE. Printed at the Hague, for S. Browne, 1659. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 35001.

The Christian Conquest. Being an Accont of the great overthrow of the Turks before the Imperial City of Vienna, in Germany, who, by Gods Blessing and the happy Conduct of the King of Poland, the Duke of Lorain, &c were totally roused; having lost near One Hundred thousand Men in the Field, Sixty thousand Tents, and Two Millions of Money in the Grand Visiers Tent. &c. London, Printed for J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackery, and J. Pessinger, 1683. British Library Roxburghe C.20.f.10.34, EBBA 31145.

The Cities thankes to Southwarke, *for giving the Army entrance.* London, 1647. British Library Thomason 246:669.f.11[71], Early English Books Online.

College, Stephen. *A Ra-ree Show*. London, Printed for B. T. and Sold at his Shop [in] Pauls Church-yard, 1681. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 35031.

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Crimsal, Richard. *The praise of* London: *OR, A delicate new Ditty, which doth invite you to faire* London *City.* London: Printed for F. C., 1632. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 1.188-189, EBBA 20084.

Crouch, Humphrey. *A GODLY EXHORTATION TO THIS DISTRESSED NATION. Shewing the true cause of this unnatural Civill War amongst us.* London: printed for Richard Harper, 1642. British Library Thomason 245:669.f.6[87], Early English Books Online.

The Cryes of Westminster. *Or the* Parliament Pedlar, *with his whole Pack of Knavery opened, and set to sale.* London, 1648. Huntington Library HEH 180183, EBBA 32418.

A Cup of COFFEE: OR, Coffee in its Colours. London, 1663. Harvard University Library Wing 1548:04, Early English Books Online.

Dean, John. *The Loyal Conquest Or, Destruction of Treason, A SONG*. London: Printed for J. Dean, 1683. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34826.

A Dialogue between Bowman the TORY, and PRANCE the Runagado, A NEW SONG. London: Printed for J. Dean in Cranborn-Street, near Newport-House, in Leicester-Fields, 1684. Huntington Library HEH 88883, EBBA 32188.

Dr. Oats last Farewell to England. London: Printed for J. Dean in Cranborn-street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1683. Houghton Library EB65 A100 683d, EBBA 34532.

D'Urfey, Thomas. *A CARROUSE to the Emperor, the Royal Pole, And the much-wrong'd DUKE of LORRAIN*. London: Printed for P. Brooksby, 1683. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.48, EBBA 33045.

AN ELEGIE, On the Death of the Right Honourable and most Noble Heroe, ROBERT BLAKE, Late Generall of the English Fleet at Sea. London: Printed for Tho. Vere and W. Gilbertson, 1657. Harvard University Library Wing 1566:10, Early English Books Online.

AN ELEGIE ON THE DEATH OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT BLAKE, *Esq. One of the GENERALS at Sea, who departed the 7. Of* August *1657. On board the*

George*near* Plymouth *Sound.* London: Printed for John Bartlet the elder at the Golden Cup in Pauls Church-yard, 1657. British Library Thomason 669.f.20[61], Early English Books Online.

Englands Darling, OR Great Brittains Joy and hope on that Noble PRINCE JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH. London: Printed for J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passenger, 1681-1684. British Library Roxburghe C.20.F.8.140, EBBA 30622.

ENGLANDS JOY For the Coming in of our Gracious Soveraign King CHARLS the Second. London, Printed for John Andrews at the White Lion near Pye Corner, 1660. University of Glasgow Library Euing 99, EBBA 32611.

An Excellent new song on the late victories over the Turks to a very pleasant new tune. London: Printed by Nat. Thompson, 1684. Bodleian Library Wing 1719:20, Early English Books Online.

The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the RAINBOW. London: Printed for F. Coles, in Vine-Street, neer Hatton-Garden, 1650. British Library Roxburghe C.20F.9.56-57, EBBA 30403.

THE FANATICKS BARBER: A New Cut for NON-CONFORMISTS. London. Bodleian Library Wing 1884:12, Early English Books Online.

The Granadiers Loyal Heath. A Song. London: printed for J. Dean, in Cranborn-Street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1683. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34789.

THE GREAT BASTAD, PROTECTOR of LITTLE ONE. Or, the Sighs of the French King under the Power of the German Empire; Giving an Account of his Creuelty against the Prince of Condy, and the French Protestants; His League with Mahomet the Great Turk; Of his breaking the League with Germany; of his Design with the Supposed Prince of Wales, and of his being Pox'd with several Whores. London, Printed by J. W. near Fleet-street, 1689. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 5.188, EBBA 22381.

Great Britains Delight, OR, A Health to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange. London, 1689. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 2.242, EBBA 20856.

An Heroical SONG On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE. London: Printed by W. Godbid for John Playford at his Shop in the Temple, 1667. British Library Wing 2124.3:101, Early English Books Online.

The Honour of a London Prentice. Wherein is declared his matchless Manhood, and brave Adventures, done by him in Turkey, and by what means he Married the

Kings daughter of the same Country. London: Printed for W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1686-1688. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 3.252, EBBA 21266.

An Invective against the Pride of VVomen. London. The Thomason copy is dated "Aprill 1657." British Library Thomason 669.f.20[56], Early English Books Online.

I tell you, John Iarret, you'l breake: OR, John Iarrets wives counsel to her husband, to have care to his estate in this hard time, lest he turne Bankerout. London: Imprinted by M. Flesher for F. Grove, 1630. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 1.170-171, EBBA 20075.

Ignoramus: An Excellent New Song. London, 1681. British Library Tract Supplement A4:2[103], Early English Books Online.

It is bad jesting with a halter. London: Printed for F. C., 1632. Magdalene College Pepys Balads 1.440-441, EBBA 20207.

IUDGE BARKELY HIS PENITENTIAL COMPLAINT: Wherein he laments the Condition of his present Imprisonment, and the late Corruptions of violated and inforced IUSTICE. 1641. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.1273, EBBA 33894.

Jordan, Thomas. *A Loyal Subjects Admonition, or, a true Song of Brittains Civil Wars.* London, Printed for F. Grove on Snow-hill, 1660. University of Glasgow Library Euing 160, EBBA 31881.

The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen. Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks. Begging at God's Hand That He Would Open the Eyes of All Christian Kings and Princes to Commiserate the Wretched Estate of So Many Captives: and Withal to Free Them from That Turkish Slavery, in Which Both Bodies and Souls Are in Danger: with a Petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty and All Christian Princes. London: 1624. C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads.* London: Navy Records Society, 1908. 31-33.

London's Drollery: OR, The Love and Kindness between The POP and the DEVIL. Manifested by some True Protestants, who utterly Defie the Pope and his Romish Faction; as it was to be seen in London, November the 17 1680. London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarkee, W. Thackeray, and T. Pass[enger], 1680. British Library Roxburghe C.20.f.8.292-293, EBBA 30747.

LONDONS LOYALTY: OR, A New SONG on the Royal Coronation. London: Printed for C. Dennison, 1685. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 2.231, EBBA 20844.

A Looking-glass for all true Protestants: Or, A True Declaration of these Troublesome Times. London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1680. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 2.68, EBBA 20692.

The Loyal Subject. as it is reason. Drinks good Sack and is free from Treason. London: Printed by E.C. for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright. Printers names suggest the ballad was printed between 1663 and 1674. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 4.243, EBBA 21903.

Monmouth's Downfal; OR, THE ROYAL VICTORY. London: Printed for Nicholas Woolfe, at the Leopard in Newgate-street, 1685. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34844.

Newes from Argeir, of the proceedings of our Royall Fleete since their departure from England, and what happened betweene them, and the Turkish Callies upon Christmas day last. Imprinted at London by G. P., 1621. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 1.94-95v, EBBA 20281.

The New Letanie. London, 1646. Houghton Library EB65 A100 647n, EBBA 34381.

A New MIRACLE or Dr. Nomans safe Return From the Grand Turks Court at Constantinople. London: Printed for J. Dean, Bookseller in Cranborn-street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1684. Bodleian Library Wing 2292:7a, Early English Books Online.

NEWS from the COFFE-HOUSE; In which is shewn their several sorts of Passions, Containing Newes from all our Neighbor Nations. London: Printed b E. Crowch for Thomas Vere at the Cock in St. John's-street 1667. British Library Tract Supplement A1:1[377], Early English Books Online.

A NEW SONG UPON THE CORONATION of King James II. London: Printed for James Dean in Cranborn-Street near Newport-House in Leicester-Fields, 1685. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34812.

Old Jemmy: An Excellent New Ballad. London: Printed by Nath. Thompson, 1681. Huntington Library Bindley HEH 135852, EBBA 32299.

On the Relief of VIENNA, A HYMN for the True-Protestants. London: printed for C. W., 1683. Bodleian Library Wing 1784:12, Early English Books Online.

A PANEGYRICK, Faithfully representing *The proceedings of the PARLIAMENT at* Westminster, *since their first Sessions to this present: Wherein their wonderfull Acts are truly declared; And what is further by them to be expected.* London: 1647. Huntington Library HEH 180178, EBBA 32395.

Playford, John. *The Jovial Marriner; OR, The Sea-mans Renown.* London: Printed for T. Passinger on London-Bridge. 1670-1682. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.544, EBBA 32976.

The Plotter Executed. OR, The Examination, Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution, of Edward Coleman, Esquire. London: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball, near the Hospital-gate, in West-smith-field, 1678. British Library Roxburghe C.20.f.9.32, EBBA 30386.

Pope, Walter. *Room for a Ballad. OR, A Ballad for Rome.* London: Printed for Benjamin Harris at the Stationers Armes in Swithins-Alley near the Royal Exchange, 1674. Huntington Library Bindley HEH 135849, EBBA 32606.

Price, Lawrence. *Newes from* Hollands *Leager: OR,* Hollands *Leager is lately up broken, This for a certaine is spoken.* London, printed for I. W., 1632. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 1.98-99, EBBA 20283.

The Quakers Ballad. London, Printed for James Naylor, 1674. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.1378, EBBA 33831.

THE Quakers Farewel to England, OR Their Voyage to New Jersey, *scituate on the Continent of* Virginia, *and bordering upon* New England. London, Printed for J. G., 1675. Huntington Library Wing 773:18, Early English Books Online.

Quarles, Francis. *The WHIG's Exaltation; A Pleasant New Song of 82*. London, 1682. Huntington Library Bindley HEH 135827, EBBA 32289.

THE RE-RESURRECTION Of the RUMP: Or, Rebellion and Tyranny revived. London. The ESTC dates the ballad 1659. Houghton Library EB65 A100 659r, EBBA 34392.

Robins, Thomas. *England's Gentle Admonition: OR, A Warning-Piece to all Sinners.* London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J Clarke. Wing offers date range of 1674-1679. British Library Roxburghe C.20f.10.13, EBBA 30914.

The ROYAL GENERAL Or the Camp at PUTNEY HEATH. London: Printed for J. Dean, Bookseller in Cranborn-Street near Newport-House in Leicesterfields, 1684. Houghton Library EBB65, EBBA 34909.

THE SAINT turn'd SINNER; Or, the Dissenting Parson's Text under the Quaker's *Petticoats.* London: Printed for N. Palmer near Shoe-Maker-Row, 1670. British Library Wing 2124.4:80, Early English Books Online.

A Sayler new come ouer. London: Printed at London for Henry Gosson, 1631. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 1.396-397v, EBBA 20185.

The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born. London: printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and William Gilbertson, 1609. University of Glasgow Library Euing 327, EBBA 31994.

A SECOND CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE POPE and the TURK, Concerning the Propagation of the Catholick Faith. London: Printed for N. M., 1679. Bodleian Library Wing 1785.13, Early English Books Online.

The Second Part to the same Tune; OR, An Answer to the Lady of Qualities POPISH BALLAD of the POPISH PLOT. London, 1679 or 1680. National Library of Scotland Crawford EB.455, EBBA 32880.

S. J., *The Christians new Victory Over the TURKS in Hungaria near the Drave. In this Famous Battle the Christians kill'd near Twenty Thousand, took 120 Guns, the Grand Vizier's Tents and Baggage, to an inestimable value, of Gold, Silver and Jewels: a greater Victory was hardly ever known in Europe*. London: Printed for Phillip Brooksby, 1685. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 2.138, EBBA 20758.

A Song upon the Randizvous on Hounsley-Heath, With a Paralel of the Destruction of our English Turks in the West and the Mahomitans in Hungary: How the Christian Army, Compos'd of Forty Thousand Men, took New-Hassel, relieved Grand, Defeated the Turks Army of sixty Thousand Men in two days time. London: Printed for James Dean, between the Royal Grove, and the Helmet in Drury-Lane, 1685. Huntington Library Bridgewater HEH 133192, EBBA 32118.

The Subjects Satisfaction Being a New SONG of the Proclaiming King William and Queen Mary the 13th. of this Instant February to the great Joy and Comfort of the whole Kingdom. London: Printed for J. Deacon at the Angel in Guiltspur-street, 1689. British Library Roxburghe C.20.f.8.437, EBBA 30901.

Thankes to the Parliament. London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, at the Signe of the Bible in Woodstreet, 1642. British Library Wing 2124.1:221, Early English Books Online.

The Tories Confession, Or, A merry song in Answer to The WHIGS Exaltation. London: Printed for T. H., 1682. Hungtington Library Bindley HEH 135877, EBBA 32313.

The Turne of Time, OR, The Period of Rebellion Dedicated, to the infamous Members late Sitting at Westminster. London, 1648. Huntington Library HEH 180181, EBBA 32398.

The Tyrannical Usurpation OF THE INDEPENDENT CLOAK OVER THE EPISCOPAL GOWN. London: Printed for Gideon Andrews, 1663. British Library Tract Supplement A8:1[8], Early English Books Online.

UPON THE EXECUTION Of the Late Viscount STAFFORD. London: Printed by D. M., 29 December, 1680. Houghton Library EB65 A100 680u, EBBA 34515.

The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charles the second. London: Printed for F. Grove living on Snow-Hill, 1660. University of Glasgow Library Euing 368, EBBA 31979.

Vienna's Triumph; WITH THE Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the TURKS. London: Printed for J. Deacon, 1683. British Library Roxburghe C.20f.9.912, EBBA 31240.

A Whetstone for Lyers. London: Printed for Francis Grove, dwelling on Snow-hill, 1630. Magdalene College Pepys Ballads 1.466-467r, EBBA 20218.

Wild, Robert. *The RECANTATION Of a Penitent PROTEUS Or the CHANGLING.* London, 1663. Houghton Library EV65 W6437 663r, EBBA 34622.

Wortley, Francis, Sir. *A Loyall Song of the Royall Feast, kept by the Prisoners in the Towre in* August *last, with the names, titles, and characters of every Prisoner. By Sir F. W. Knight and Baronet, Prisoner.* London, 1647. British Library Thomason 669.f.11[82].

Young Jemmy. An Excellent New Ballad. London: Printed for Alexander Banks, 1681. Harvard University Library Wing 1321:37, Early English Books Online.