

Markers of Difference and Sense of Englishness: Language and Geography in William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money**

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With rapid commercial expansion and spectacular demographic growth, early modern London grew quickly into a city of diversity and volatility driven by a huge influx of population both from the English countryside and from foreign nations overseas. The population of London in 1600 was approximately 200,000 while the second largest city of Norwich boasted only of the population of about 15,000 (Harding 111-28). In early seventeenth century, London arguably became at once a national metropolis and a global trading center, in competition with other continental trading ports such as Amsterdam and Lisbon which had already begun to eclipse the traditional trading power of Venice. As was noted in 1592 by Frederick,

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Duke of Wirtemberg, early modern London was widely recognized as “a large, excellent, and mighty city of business” (Manley 35) already in the late sixteenth century.

It is no doubt that the booming city of London was a magnetic place for many foreigners from countryside and strangers from other nations.¹ And I am going to look into how the London theatre responded to the social changed caused by the unforeseen influx of people. Despite its focus on the diversity of population of early modern London, however, the scope of this essay will be limited only to the issue of alien immigration and its impact on the societal environments of London. Even if the arrivals of people from the English countryside might have caused no less or even more significant social and economic problems than alien immigration did to the lives of Londoners, it is beyond the interest of this essay. According to Ian Archer’s calculation, the population of aliens in London were “around 5,000 in the later sixteenth century,” which was equivalent to “about 4-5 percent of the City’s population” (132). Jacob Selwood’s report that “the Return of 1593 counted over 7000 aliens in London” (26) suggests they composed less than 3 percent of London population. Considering the Return was for the taxation, Selwood recognizes there might have been quite a few illegal and thus non-registered immigrants, too. Anyway, those figures may not seem huge to the eyes of us living in this globalized world of the twenty-first century. Notwithstanding, it is undeniable that early modern London was a city of international and multicultural conglomeration with its economic and social expansion. Alien immigrants, whether they came to London for religious causes or commercial reasons, certainly made a significant contribution to the city’s economic prosperity

¹ In early modern English, the word “foreigner” referred to English people from its own countryside, whereas “alien” and “stranger” were applied to those from overseas. On the use of these terms, see Ian Archer (131ff) and Laura Yungblut (9ff). I use the terms, “alien” and “stranger,” interchangeably.

and demographic growth.

The presence of strangers in the early modern metropolis and their influence on the national economy seem to have triggered mixed, ambivalent, insecure feelings and reactions among the London citizens. The international business transaction certainly contributed to the prosperous economy of London but, at the same, the strangers from overseas were always under suspicion that they would rob the jobs and wealth of the English and thus undermine the domestic industries. So the presence of strangers was seen, on the one hand, as potential benefits to national economy (even with religious refugees for sanctuary); on the other hand, as a clandestine threat to the national security and economic stability. The societal anxiety over inevitable dependency on the foreign merchants and trades as well as artisans and craftsmen for its national wealth added new fuel to the long-standing xenophobia from the middle ages in England. For instance, the Evil May Day riots of 1517, which was dramatized in *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (1592?-1600?), are one of the earliest conflicts during the Tudor dynasty between Londoners and alien residents in the capital city. And the records of anti-immigration grievances are numerous during the subsequent reigns of Tudor monarchs (Archer 133-5; Yungblut, chapter 2). The pre-modern phobia that had subsisted before the reign of Elizabeth I was strengthened by the ever-present real threat of foreign influence and the economic encroachment of strangers.² So it is no surprise that the increased presence of strangers in England and particularly in London during Elizabeth's reign was "accompanied by a rising tide of anti-alien expressions" (Yungblut 40-41). According to Casellas, there were at least six riots and demonstrations in London against foreigners between 1517 and 1595 (32). Despite the general public's antagonism, the immigrants and foreign merchants provided more benefits than harms to the technologically

² For the detailed information of anti-alien grievances, for example, see Archer, Selwood, Youngblut.

backward and financially unfledged London. And as the anti-immigrant disturbances of the mid-1590s subsided, many immigrants were able to be slowly integrated into English society during the late 1590s and afterwards.

In this context of immigration and international trading business in early Modern London, I'd like to investigate William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, a city comedy first performed in 1598 at the Rose Theatre.³ The play was certainly one of the earliest dramatic pieces that portray London as the city of immigrants and thus address the issue of citizen-immigrant relation and the international marriage. Haughton's city comedy makes London not only as setting but also as the main player of action with its topographical exactitude and realistic representation of Londoners. In the context of my discussion, what happens in Haughton's play surrounding the Portuguese-Jewish-London-dwelling-merchant-usurer Pisaro could be seen as an indication of how far London had become a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic city in late sixteenth century and how Londoners might have reacted to the changing landscape, in physical and psychological senses, of their own international city. Haughton's comic rendition of alien-residents, as I would discuss below, allows us to have a glimpse at how Londoners might have conceived of and experienced the ethnic diversity and cultural transaction with non-English residents. As the main character of the play, Pisaro is a Jewish-Portuguese man whose English wife passed away leaving behind three daughters:

Indeed, by birth I am a Portingale,
 Who, driven by western winds on English shore,
 Here liking of the soil, I married,
 And have three daughters. (1.1.11-14)

³ The play was first published in 1616. All the quotations of the play are from *Englishmen for My Money in Three Renaissance usury plays*, edited by Lloyd Edward Kermode (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2009).

As a successful businessman who seems to have been granted a status of denizen in London and enjoys the benefits of citizens with proper tax and custom, Pisaro is figured forth, first and foremost, as an active trader in getting engaged with a series of multi-national commercial transactions in the Royal Exchange which registers the prehistory of capitalism. Pisaro's wealth, however, comes not only from trading but also from the practice of usury: "the sweet loved trade of usury,/ Letting for interest, and on mortgages,/ Do I wax rich" (1.1.17-19). In fact, the merchant-usurer is very keen on defrauding English gentlemen with his usurious loans and thereby draining valuable resources out of the nation ("three English gentlemen/ have pawned to me their livings and their lands" 1.1.21-22). With Pisaro's exploitation of English gentlemen, the play seems to ratify the fear of Londoners against merchant strangers who would deliberately attempt to drain England of its wealth. Pisaro's ways of increasing his wealth by overcharging interests, certainly, may give testimony to the social anxiety of early modern English people over the presence of stranger merchants and their influence on the English economy. In comparison to Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, for instance, Haughton's play does not show any interest in distinguishing between justifiable commercial ventures and usurious practice of loan for interest. Though we are not sure whether Pisaro is indeed a *marrano* (a crypto Jew) as Campos suggests (610-14), Pisaro's association with trade, wealth, and usury certainly goes beyond the anti-Semitic sentiments of the middle ages and thus complicates the sense of belongingness in early modern London. It is true that, with the passing remarks on his large nose and usurious dealings, the play presents an unmistakable image of Pisaro as a Jew in the ethnic and religious sense. Despite Pisaro's ethnicity often noted of physical features by characters, he seems to have perfectly settled in among the Londoners. Crutched Friars where Pisaro lives is well known for the Jewish quarter of residence from the Middle Ages. Though his religion seems to be oblique and undeclared,

it is not mistakable when he uses the phrase “Judas-like” in referring to himself. Pisaro’s Jewish features, however, are subsumed in a larger context of immigration and thus places anti-semitism rather within the classic anti-stranger theme. In other words, the notion of Jewish otherness is incorporated into the general antipathy to the strangers and foreigners in general.

In addition to the prominent role of Pisaro as a denizen of multi-ethnic London, Haughton’s comedy is also populated with different kinds of strangers. First of all, there are Pisaro’s daughters who are half Portuguese, half English. What is interesting about Pisaro’s daughters is that they believe they are more English than Portuguese, as is pronounced by Mathea:

Though I am Portingale by the father’s side,
 And therefore should be lustful, wanton light,
 Yet goodman goose-cap, I will let you know
 That I have so much English by the mother
 That no base, slaving French shall make me stoop. (4.1.42-46)

Despite their multi-faceted nationality, the daughters seem to believe that the mother’s land and blood would give them the identity of being English, inasmuch as the mother’s tongue would confirm their belongingness to the English nation. In fact, the children of a resident alien in early modern England were “legally” considered as English, even though the “civic authorities treated English-born subjects of alien descent as *de facto* strangers” to the degree that, deprived of the freedom of citizen, they were often subject to discriminatory taxation and custom duties (Selwood 100). As Jacob Selwood confirms, John Calvin’s case of 1608 solidified that the children of strangers born in England should be given the legal rights of being an English (94-99), even though it was a different story whether the common people of England did follow suit or not. In other words, popular sentiments on this issue might have been more complicated in reality.

By the same token, the variance in linguistic fluency between Pisaro and the three Europeans does signal a significant difference of levels in assimilation among the aliens to the English audience at the theater and thus “problematize[s] an easy idea of civic and national identity” (Smith 165). While Pisaro himself shows a degree of difference from his daughters in his sense of (not-) belongingness to the English society, both Pisaro and his daughters are fluent in English and thus distinctively different from the three continental merchants. The impeccable English of Pisaro and his daughters clearly separate themselves from the three alien merchants whose broken English, spiced with sounds or small portions of each foreign language, are frequently subject to laughter and mockery. What is intriguing here is the fact that Haughton’s play at once draws attention to and obscures the linguistic difference between Pisaro and the stranger-merchants. Language is not an issue at all within Pisaro’s family, while the three continental merchants are certainly exposed to the audience’s laughter with their linguistic difficulties. Of course, what is laughed at is not just the broken English of aliens whose speech is in contrast to Pisaro’s impeccable English, but rather, or even more so, with their own mother tongues. Delion’s French is scoffed at as “this gibberish,/ Or the pig’s language” (2.1.97-98). The Dutch Vandal is accused of “belch[ing] into [Laurentia’s] ears/ Those rustic phrases, and those Dutch-French terms,/ Stammering half sentences, dogbolt eloquence” (2.3.3-4). The play’s comic energy relies heavily on the series of laughter activated by the aping of foreign accents on stage, and by juxtaposing native and foreign language varieties. The linguistic incompetence of stranger-merchants, therefore, serves as an effective marker of difference in separating the “true” English from the strangers and/or even the resident aliens to the extent that the perfect command of the English language by Pisaro’s daughters is again validated as an indicator of their being English.

This gradation of assimilation demonstrated by the level of linguistic

competence gets a significant implication when Pisaro's daughters choose the English gentlemen for their husbands over the three continental suitors. Pisaro's daughters are, from the outset, prized targets for three deprived English gentlemen who are eager to recover their lands and even to get richer by marriage. Pisaro is aware of it ("Each several hoping .../ By marriage of my daughters to possess/ Their patrimonies and their lands again" 1.1.23-25), and even his daughters know it well ("Our marriage day will all discharge" 1.3.125). As Walgrave declares, the purpose of the English youngsters is apparent:

We'll work our lands out of Pisaro's daughters,
And cancel all our bonds in their great bellies –
When the slave knows it, how the rogue will curse! (4.1.113-16)

Despite the financial opportunism of the English gentlemen, the daughters still want to have their own ways against Pisaro's preference of three continental (Italian, French, and Dutch) merchants-suitors to the English youths. The daughters spurn the alien suitors primarily for their linguistic deficiency, though it is likely that they might have already been in favorable relationship with the English lads. The aliens are presented inadequate as suitors or husbands because they cannot speak proper English. When the Dutch Vandal, for example, tries to court Laurentia ("O, my life meiske, de love tot u be so groot, dat het bring me out my bed voor you," 3.4.17-18), his words are simply ridiculed and discounted by the young ladies ("Ha, ha, we know the ass by his ears: it is the Dutchman" 3.4.18-19). Thus, Pisaro's intention of marrying his daughters with foreign suitors, Frisco claims, will produce "a litter of languages" (1.2.105). The play's investment in the marriage of Pisaro's daughters, with the complicitous help of the low class Englishmen (Frisco), is certainly a reflection of what Emma Smith calls "contemporary anxieties about international sexual liaisons" (165). If Pisaro's intention to marry his

daughters off to continental merchants would be seen as a scheming gesture of the foreign resident to stash his hoarded wealth away from English hands, the resolution of the daughters to marry the English gentlemen might be reflective of patriotic wish-fulfillment of the English audience. With the resolute “English” girls who marry the English youths over the aliens, the nation would safely secure the national wealth from the foreign assaults.

The play’s investment in imagining English as unadulterated and superior to other European languages, however, is a kind of cultural fantasy, considering the fact that the English language in early modern period was, more often than not, accused of its “linguistic adulteration and heavy borrowings from other languages” (Bartolovitch 151). Despite a few nationalistic attempts to represent it otherwise, the English language in 16th century was a mongrel one in the new environment of international action. As one of the fastest-growing trading ports in early modern Europe, London’s streets might have been full of cacophonous sounds of different languages with the huge influx of strangers, not to mention different dialects of the English people. While foreign language proficiency should have been an integral part of London’s cosmopolitan marketplaces, the failure to assimilate into the rules of nationalistic integration which are anchored on the linguistic exclusivity is portrayed as a mark of distinction and thereby a target of penalty in this world of theatrical fantasy. It is true that, as Marianne Montgomery suggests, the theatrical representation of foreign languages could have reminded the London theatergoers of “the connecting between English and other” and thus enabled them “to imagine themselves as cosmopolitan subjects” (4). But I think the cultural distance created by the sounds of different languages might have worked in both negative and positive ways. The play, on the one hand, acknowledges the importance of ability to speak foreign languages in international trade. For example, Pisaro wants to find a French “expert in languages” (1.1.163)–

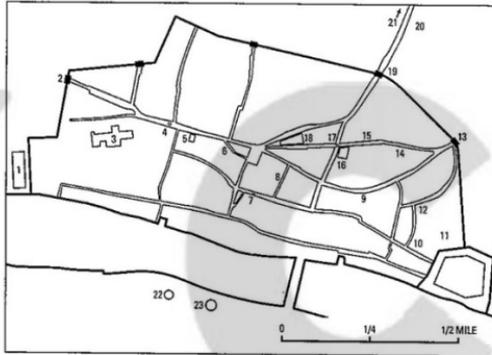
French, Dutch, Italian—to replace the “smooth-faced”(1.1.166) English tutor, Anthony, who is eager to teach “moral philosophy” (1.1.46). On the other hand, Pisaro’s preference of the foreign merchants for his daughters certainly implies an economic significance of foreign language fluency in this world of international trades. The transnational exchange in London’s cosmopolitan market, as Pisaro recognizes, calls for a linguistic dexterity (of English in his case) and good command of many different languages. Pisaro’s emphasis on the practicality of language learning over the moral philosophy, therefore, reflects his mercantilism, but what it also betrays is the place of foreign languages in the increasingly interconnected world of commerce. In the case of the alien suitors, however, foreign languages rather become hindrance from getting access to Pisaro’s daughters. What happens to the strangers in their disastrous wooing efforts points to a kind of culture war on the imaginative borders of marking who belongs to the English nation or not. The play, in a sense, turns the English language into “a powerful tool of social, sexual, and hierarchical politics” (Kermode, “After Shylock” 11), by making it not only a sign of authority (empowerment) but also a sign of wealth (enrichment). The dialectics of exclusion and inclusion in the name of language in Haughton’s comedy, I would suggest, gestures toward the cultural force that the performances of multilingualism on stage wielded in shaping norms of ‘correct’ linguistic and inter-linguistic behavior and thus creating a new sense of Englishness in the early modern period.

If the foreign merchants are ridiculed and thus alienated for their insufficient grasp of the English language, their ultimate failure of persuading Pisaro’s daughters into marriage is dramatically linked to their lack of topographical awareness of London streets. From early on, the play frequently foregrounds specific locations of the city which not only move the actions forward but also become prominent in fashioning the characters

and their relationship. As I will show in what follows, the play's constant invocation of London's geography signals to its significance in the development of plot as well as to the play's thematic focus on the national identity. As quite a few commentators have noticed, most of the play's action is localized in specific areas of London, some of which are named; for example, the Royal Exchange, Tower Hill, St. Paul, Cornhill Street, Cannon Street, Fenchurch Street, Bucklersbury, and Crutched Friars. In addition, as Lloyd Kermode highlights in the map in the modern edition of the play (Figure 1), there are quite a few references to additional topographical markers of the city such as the Tower, a maypole in Shoreditch, the four spouts of Leaden Street, the London Stone, the Cheapside Cross, and the Blue Boar in Spitalfields. Though the major actions take place mostly in the Royal Exchange and Pisaro's house, the London streets are significant to the degree that the English characters can separate themselves from the foreigners with their geographical awareness. For instance, Frisco boasts that he can use his nose to find ways through the streets of London even on a dark night: "I have the scent of London-stone as full in my nose as Abchurch-lane of mother Wall's pasties. Sirs, feel about; I smell London-stone" (3.3.43-45). By contrast, the Italian Alvaro has hard times in finding the way to Crutched Friars, while the Dutch Vandal knocks himself into the posts on the street. While the foreign merchants failed to pass themselves off as the English suitors due to the broken English, they are unable to find the right location of Pisaro's house, get lost in the highly localized streets of London, and ultimately fail to win the hands of his daughters. What separates "true" Londoners from the strangers is not only the language but also the geographical familiarity with the city's streets and alleys.

MAP OF THE CITY OF LONDON
SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 Bridewell | 13 Aldgate |
| 2 Newgate (prison) | 14 Aldgate Street |
| 3 St Paul's Cathedral | 15 Cornhill Street |
| 4 Cheap Cross | 16 Leadhall |
| 5 St Mary-le-Bow Church | 17 Water standard (the four spouts) |
| 6 Bucklersbury | 18 Royal Exchange |
| 7 London Stone, on Candlewick (Cannon) Street | 19 Bishopsgate |
| 8 Abchurch Lane | 20 St Mary Spital (Spital field) |
| 9 Fenchurch Street | 21 to Shoreditch and The Theatre |
| 10 Barking | 22 The Rose Theatre |
| 11 Tower Hill | 23 The Globe Theatre (from 1599) |
| 12 Crutched Friars | |



[Figure 1. A Map of the City of London. Lloyd E. Kermodé, 350]

The play's interest in the geographical London is manifest from early on, particularly with the prominence of the Royal Exchange and St. Paul's Cathedral. As I would argue, the Royal Exchange plays a significant role in establishing Pisaro's characteristics and his problematic status in the city of London. The first mention of the Royal Exchange in the play is made at the end of the opening scene in which Pisaro speaks to himself about his intention to marry his daughters off to three merchants-strangers from France, Netherlands, Italy respectively.

Let's look: 'tis past eleven, Exchange time full

There shall I meet them, and confer with them.

This work craves haste: my daughters must be wed,

For one month's stay saith farewell maidenhead. (1.1.221-25)

Founded by Thomas Gresham in 1568 and renamed to 'The Royal Exchange' by Elizabeth I in 1571, the Exchange was the chief trading center and gathering place for London merchants. The Royal Exchange on the north side of Threadneedle Street and south of Cornhill was not only a bustling commercial place but also a landmark in early modern London. According to Jean E. Howard, "Purposed-built to imitate the great trading bourses on the Continent and to provide a place for international merchants to gather, the Exchange became one of the most celebrated landmarks of Tudor-Stuart London" (23). Catering to the variety of needs of international and domestic merchants, the Royal Exchange played the role of trading center in the city as "a material embodiment of England's changing role in international trade" (Howard 34).

But the building itself seems to signal the degree of continental influence on English architecture and the level of London's internationality in that Thomas Gresham built the Exchange by imitating the Bourse of Amsterdam. Gresham not only copied the building design from the Dutch Bourse, but also imported continental materials and know-hows for construction. So the Royal Exchange, as Jean E. Howard argues, "came paradoxically to symbolize London's pride in its growing role as an international entrepot and its simultaneous anxiety about the traffic with strangers that such a role mandated" (Howard 23-24). The scene in which Pisaro and his alien friends dominate the trading and business dealing at the Royal Exchange not only demonstrates that they are an integral part of London's economy, but also confirms the popular concern that the national wealth could be drained by their treacherous practice. Thus the Royal Exchange was often considered by early modern Londoners as a

paradoxical place of economic prosperity and foreign invasion.

One of the first businesses taking place in the Exchange Scene of the play is related to Pisaro's investment in overseas trading. The first news he gets in the Exchange scene is about a safe return of trading ships to Plymouth with "the wealth of ample Spain" (1.3.33). The postal interchange points to the global scope of business conducted in and through the Royal Exchange. As a commercial city, London had become better linked than ever with the European countries as well as the New World and Asian ports, particularly after the fall of Antwerp to Spain in 1585. As the third largest city in Europe, only behind Naples and Paris, in terms of the inhabiting population, Early modern London, as Jacob Selwood puts it succinctly, could be seen as "a nexus, a place where the local, national and international intersected" (13). Pisaro's letters relate information not only about the details of trading items ("we have sent unto your worship sack, Seville oils, pepper, Barbary sugar, and such other commodities as we thought most requisite" 1.3.100-103), but also about the damages inflicted by the piratical practices of Spanish galleys. Even with the off-stage report via a letter, the play informs of the various functions the Royal Exchange does perform—trading, intelligence, gossip, and intrigue. The scene in which Pisaro is disappointed at and even angered by the loss of his ships serves as a reminder to the audience both of the potential boon of venturous business and of the grave risk in overseas trading ("the Spanish galleys have beset our ships,/ That lately were bound out for Syria." 1.3.203-204). While the reversal of fortune that arrives with the news from Alvaro signals the comic genre of this play, the scene in its entirety draws attention to the peril and hazard of the international trading business.

The Royal Exchange itself recedes into background after this scene, but the episode functions to highlight Pisaro's engagement in international trade and in transactions with English merchants and thus gestures toward the triumphant force of London's commercial marketplace.⁴ In other words,

the Royal Exchange scene not only necessitates and sanctions the coexistence of multiple nationalities as part of international trading, but also signifies London's emergence as a commercial center of Europe. The strangers getting involved in the transnational trading are presented beneficial or, at least, not so much detrimental to the English economy, though it would be, of course, a different issue to the patriotic English when the alien merchants come out for the English or at least half-English girls. Indeed, the business deals done in the Royal Exchange include not only the international trade and financial transactions, but also the marriage negotiation over Pisaro's daughters.

If the Royal Exchange is the center of trading and business dealing, St. Paul's Cathedral seems to be a place of intellectual and cultural exchange and thus "a port of entry for alien difference to permeate the city" (Howard 46). St. Paul's Cathedral served as a gathering place for international population in early modern London. According to John Stow's description of St. Paul's, "The south alley [is] for Popery and usury, the north for simony, and the horse fair in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies" (*Survey* II, 316). Crowded with a "great score of company that do nothing but go up and down and go up and down, and make a grumbling together" (2.2.12-14), the middle walk is represented by Frisco as a chaotic place for the disorderly and idle rabbles, of course, including strangers.⁵ Thomas Dekker chimes in with this image of St. Paul's middle walk: with "such humming (euery lippes

⁴ There are a few more mentions on the building to note in the play. For example, when the young English gallants visit the house of Pisaro during his absence early in the play, the daughters suggest, fearing their father's sudden return to home, that the men should rather go to the Exchange and ask more loans from Pisaro: "Go to th'Exchange, crave gold as you intend;/ Pisaro scapes for us, for us you spend" (1.2.140-41).

⁵ See Frisco's association of St. Paul with a linguistic chaos: "Ah, gentlemen, do not suffer a litter of languages to spring up amongst us. I must to the walk in Paul's, you to the vestry." (1.2.104-6)

making a noise, yet not a word to be vnderstood), I verily beleeeue that I am at the Tower of Babell newly to be builded vp, but presently despaire of euer being finished, because there is in me such a confusion of languages" (*Non-Dramatic Works* IV, 51). St. Paul's, of course, could mean different things to different people. Frisco says that his master dreams of "Paul's full of gold," while his "mistresses and Grimkin [his] taylor would wish they had Paul's full of needles" (2.2.3-4). As a monumental building in early modern London, St. Paul's was not only a magnetic place for people with diverse means and desires but also a symbolic place of cosmopolitan London in early modern England. As is described by Francis Osborne, a seventeenth century essayist, St. Paul's Church and its vicinity served as a place of trade and socializing for early modern Londoners:

It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these [. . .] for the principal gentry, lords, courtiers, and men of all professions not merely mechanic, to meet in Paul's Church by eleven and walk in the middle aisle till twelve, and after dinner from three to six, during which times some discoursed on business, others of news. Now in regard of the universal commerce there happened little that did not first or last arrive here. [. . .] And those news-mongers, as they called them, did not only take the boldness to weigh the public but most intrinsic actions of the state, which some courtier or other did betray to this society. (qtd. in Thomson 1)

Haughton's play relies upon such a contemporary function and understanding of St. Paul's as a place for intercultural transaction and popular aspiration. When Pisaro sends out Frisco, his servant, to find a language tutor, the middle walk of St. Paul is, not surprisingly, suggested as the right place to find such a person.

In terms of the play's conspicuous interest in London's geography, we should pay special attention to the scenes in which the foreign suitors get

lost at night in London streets. Once having intercepted the message from his daughters to the young English gallants, the authoritarian father comes up with a device to frustrate the English suitors and, instead of them, have continental merchants as husbands for his daughters. So he asks the three stranger-merchants to visit his daughters at night while disguising themselves as the Englishmen. The dark night is expected to allow the aliens to pass off as English. Pisaro expects that his daughters would not be able to separate the foreign wooers from the English ones. Under the cover of darkness, Vandal tries disguise himself as Heigham for the tryst with Laurentia. But what he is able to cover in the darkness is dramatically revealed by his idiosyncratic pronunciation and accent: "Zal Ik climb up tot you? Zal Ik fly up tot you? Zal Ik? Wat zeg dee?" (3.4.46-7: "Shall I climb up to you? Shall I fly up to you? What say you?"). It is obvious that the linguistic problem would ruin the plan even if the darkness may dissemble their appearances. The darkness may conceal physical features or outward appearances of them, but the voice and accent would rather become the guarantors of their inauthenticity.

When the linguistic problem is likely to foil Pisaro's scheme, the geographical matters seem to work in a more subtle and thus more histrionic way for the occasion. As an opportunistic moment for indecent sexual encounters, the dark night certainly works at once for and against the lewd desire of the strangers, not to mention that of the English youths. In and through the unfamiliar streets and alleys of London, the strangers fall to the victims of pranks by the united English. The scenes in and around Crutched Friars foreground the comic troubles that the foreign suitors fall into due to their insufficient knowledge on the topography and geography of London. For example, when Avalro shows up at the door of Pisaro in Crutched Friars, Heigham succeeds in ridiculing the Italian by invoking Leadenhall and four spouts:

Alvaro. ... Wat do you call dit street?

Heigham. What, sir; why, Leadenhall: could you not see the four spouts as you came along?

Alvaro. Certenemento Leadenhall. I hit my hed by de way – dare may be de voer spouts. I pray de grazia, wish be de wey to Crutch Friaris?

Heigham. How, to Crutched Friars? Marry, you must go along till you come to the pump, and then turn on your right hand.

Alvaro. Signore, *adio*. (3.2.56-64)

The four spouts refer to the water-standard at the northwest corner of Leadenhall which lies at the crossroad of Cornhill Street and Billiter Lane. What is an interesting aspect of this episode is that the contemporary audience might have imagined where Alvaro would have arrived if he was, in fact, at Leadenhall and then followed Heigham's suggestion. It is quite likely that he went to Aldgate or Bishop's gate depending on which direction he takes. In other words, Alvaro is figuratively expelled from the city with Heigham's misdirected suggestion, though he may, in reality, end up getting lost among the city's complex network of alleys and streets.

The fate of other continental wooers is not much better. Once successfully sending off Alvaro to one of the city gates, Heigham now meets up Delion and attempts to mislead him to another direction.

Delion. ... I pray, Monsiuer, wat be name dis street, and wishe be de way to Croshe Friars?

Heigham. Marry, this is Fenchurch Street, and the best way to Crutched Friars is to follow your nose. (3.2.93-96)

Once again, if Delion was actually at Fenchurch Street, he might have ended up exiting the city through Aldgate. Considering what Welgrave says in this scene ("I hope you'll find your selves two dolts anon" 3.2.100), we may now safely say that Aldgate might have been a more likely place

for the final destination of Delion as well as Alvaro.

The attempted disorientation of strangers by the English youth encounters an unexpected twist when the drunken Frisco pretends himself to be Vandal by putting on the stolen cloak. He tries to “counterfeit the Dutchman, and get [his] young mistreeses” (3.2.149-50). On seeing Frisco’s imitation of Vandal’s broken English, Heigham once again tries to misdirect Frisco without recognizing his true identity:

Heigham. I thought you were some such drunken ass,
That come to seek Crutched Friars in Tower Street.
But get you along on your left hand, and be hanged! (3.2.137-140)

If Frisco believes he is at Tower Street and follows Heigham’s direction, he is likely to end up at Tower Hill which was, of course, notorious as a place for execution. In the case of Frisco who pretends to be a Dutchman with lewd desire, he is figuratively directed toward the hanging place. So the two strangers and one Englishman disguised as a stranger are, in symbolic and geographical senses, sent off to the exit gate or to the execution site.⁶

Of course, we all know that they were in fact at the gate of Pisaro’s house in Crutched Friars, so all three of them end up running into each other at Fenchurch Street. On bumping into the two strangers with wrong knowledges of where they are, Frisco now exclaims in his aside:

This is excellent in fath, as fit as a fiddle. I in Tower Street, you in Leadenahll, and the third in Fenchurch Street; and yet all three hear one another, and all three speak together. Either we must be all three in Leadenhall, or all three in Tower Street, or All three in Fenchurch Street – or all three fools! (3.3.24-28)

6 After the completion of this essay, I found out that Natalie C. J. Aldred made a similar observation on the significance of the play’s geographical matters in her 2010 doctoral dissertation at University of Birmingham (67-74).

Though he himself was a victim of Heigham's misguidance, Frisco now tries to turn himself into a trickster against the confused strangers. He wants to play on the strangers' sense of disorientation:

Now for a dirty puddle, the pissing conduit, or a great post, that might turn these two from asses to oxen by knocking their horns to their foreheads. (3.3.36-38).

He tells them that they are at Abchurch Lane and he can smell "London-stone" (3.3.45). When Delion bumps into a post, he describes it as "the maypole on Ivy-bridge going to Westminster" (3.3.50). He even goes further on saying in the next speech that "we are at the farthest end of Shoreditch, for this is the maypole" (3.3.54-55). The jokes of Frisco may work in two levels: the strangers are duped because they don't know much about the London streets, while the London audience may be able to laugh at the befuddled strangers for the lack of geographical awareness. The lack of geographical awareness is deployed as way of excluding or rather precluding the intrusion of foreigners into the domestic space. Of course, a topographical reading may run the risk of simplifying the significant and often complicated relationship between fictional and real spaces. But at least with the scenes at Crutched Friars, I could say that the topographical perspective adds more complexity to our reading of the relationship among the English and foreign characters in terms of spatiality. When the three strangers get lost in the London streets and alleys at night, the contemporary London audience is invited to share with the English characters a sense of belongingness and a nationalistic disapproval of the aliens. In other words, the comic instance works with the nationalistic capitalization of the aliens' insufficient knowledge of London geography.⁷

⁷ Julie Sanders pointed in the Sogang-Bristol symposium that the early modern theater was often visited by quite a few non-English spectators. In that sense, this

The unsuccessful suits of three merchants from overseas, therefore, lend themselves to the new sense of Englishness which relies upon linguistic fluency and geographical awareness. The stereotyped strangers are duped and ridiculed throughout the play not only for their broken English but also for the lack of geographical understanding. The play celebrates, on the one hand, that Pisaro's half-English daughters are completely assimilated into the English society by the marriage to English gentlemen; on the other hand, the foreign merchants are marked and alienated by their failure in getting married—of course, due to their lack of geographical awareness of London, and to their insufficient grasp of the English language. With a little help from their patriotic friends, the English gentlemen successfully get married to Pisaro's daughters over the strangers and thereby recover their mortgaged lands. Pisaro finally accepts his defeat, endorses the marriages of his daughters to the Englishmen, and celebrates them with a wedding feast in his house. Pisaro's blessing gives way to the possibility of amassing the foreign wealth onto the hands of Englishmen in the name of dowries and enjoying the benefit of business via Pisaro's international trade network. Jewish intermarriage that was often accused of corrupting the nation's bloodline is here embraced and justified as a boon for the gain of national wealth.

As Jean E. Howard notes, however, the Englishmen's familiarity of London geography could, at best, be a very devious kind of shibboleth to determine one's identity as a stranger after all:

The joke seems to depend on what in truth was an unstable distinction between aliens and native Londoners that obscures not only how long many stranger merchants resided within the city and how extensive their knowledge of it could be, but also how many English-speaking

kind of episode could be more about cultural fantasy of national homogeneity than about a realistic representation of foreigners in London streets. I am thankful to her for the comment.

Londoners were foreigners, that is, people born elsewhere in England and not officially made free of the city and at least initially having little familiarity with it. (Howard 40-41)

People from English countryside may not be much different from aliens in their lack of geographical knowledge on London. The sense of shared knowledge on place is not an invulnerable touchstone with the ever-increasing influx of strangers and aliens who may very quickly get familiarized with the city.⁸ Even further, the successful marriage only produces a stop-gap solution to the porous boundaries of nation and nationality. The triumphant resolution of the play with the marriage of English gentlemen to the Portuguese-Jewish-English girls cannot completely conceal the porosity and permeability of national identity, not to mention the religious life of the Jewish family. Even though the marriage would restore English land and money to the Englishmen and even bring back the accumulated foreign wealth to his English hands in the form of dowries, the women's hybrid national identity is a constant reminder that they are "the embodiment of the alien within Englishness" (Kermode, *Aliens* 129). *Englishmen for My Money*, as Emma Smith claims, is peculiar in that the "bearers of Englishness are themselves half-foreign: the feminized symbol of the city is always and inescapably hybridized, as London simultaneously asserts an idea of the native while registering the complex diversity of its populace" (178). Therefore, I would agree with Oldenburg that "what seems like a bid for independence from immigrants, wresting debts from Pisaro, turns out to be a greater reliance on immigrants" (25). The comic resolution of Haughton's theatre, we may say, lends itself to "a powerful fantasy of incorporation whereby without overtly demonizing the alien, his bloodline and his wealth are assimilated without remainder into the English

⁸ The same argument can be applied to the issue of language, too. Though it may take some time, immigrants could become fluent in English sooner or later.

body politic" (Howard 44).

Haughton's comic representation of resident aliens and their interactions with Londoners, I would argue, provided the contemporary London audience with a platform to conceive, perceive, and experience a performative sense of national identity contingent on cultural competence and fluency—particularly in terms of language and geography. The play addresses the question of what constituted being English and of Englishness in early modern London to the degrees that language and geography serve as markers of difference and exclusion. In the play, we could see the linguistic and geographical competence enabling the English gentlemen to succeed in taking control of the city, the women, and the wealth, thereby efficiently keeping the strangers in check and averting the potential threats to the sense of national superiority. As one of the first city comedies in English theatre, Haughton's play is keen on deploying the topographical specificities not merely as settings for dramatic narrative but rather as an indication of how much space serves to construct cultural and thus national identity. By making geography the central ground of identity politics, *Englishmen for My Money* brings into focus a kind of ideological struggle for "the protection and ownership of the gendered and nationally marked city of London" (Kermode 130).

Early modern city comedies are known for their penchant for theatricalizing the spatial processes which involve a dialectics of inclusion and exclusion. The cartographic representation of the city is to give form to the shapeless and fluid space in which London natives, aliens, and strangers live, walk, and work. If the early modern English theatre was a locus for the representation of socioeconomic structure and stricture, the genre of London comedy certainly proves itself to have been a topos for struggle in the representational practices. As Emily Bartels succinctly sums up, "in Renaissance England, the rise of cross-cultural interest and exchange was accompanied by an intensified production and reproduction

of visions of “other” worlds, some handed down from classical descriptions, others generated by actual encounters and recorded as travel narratives, others shaped by dramatic and literary conventions already in place” (433). And I would suggest that the very genre of city comedy with the topographical references or the urban setting points to a new literary geography of theatre in early modern England. The emergence of city comedy as a theatrical form, therefore, testifies to the early modern cultural effort in crystallizing and capturing the “structure of feelings” (to borrow the famous phrase of Raymond Williams 132) or the “structure of attitude and reference” (Said 95). In other words, we may read from the genre of London comedy a cultural desire to provide for early modern Londoners an adequate perspective from which to comprehend the capital city as a newly emerging national and international space (of action and transaction) to condition the experience of daily life.

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ABSTRACT**Markers of Difference and Sense of Englishness: Language and Geography in William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*****Tai-Won Kim**

This essay attempts to analyze William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* (1598), one of the earliest city comedies on English stage, in terms of the early modern English attitudes towards the presence of strangers and thus its implication to the emerging sense of Englishness. As a rapid growing capital city and trading post, London in late 16th century became a nodal point of locality, nationality, and internationality of early modern England. Haughton's city comedy points to and reflects on the ways in which early modern Londoners might have reacted to a new city of diversity driven by a huge influx of population both from the English countryside and from foreign nations overseas. I would make a claim that the play deploys the geographical sense of the city, in tandem with linguistic dexterity of the foreign merchants, as a marker of difference among the citizens and denizens of London. I try to investigate the ways in which the insufficient linguistic mastery exposes the inadequacy of foreigners and their geographical ignorance is invoked as a sign of alienation in the London society. In so doing, I would argue Haughton's play signals the emergence of city comedy in late 1590s, along with such well-known plays as *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and *Every Man in His Humour*, which mirrors the cultural anxiety of early modern Londoners over the conspicuous presence of strangers and foreigners and thus the nationalistic desire on instituting the markers of difference.

Key Words | *Englishmen for My Money*; Sense of Englishness; Foreigners and Aliens; Immigration; Cultural Geography; Early Modern London; Theater and the City; City Comedy; The Royal Exchange

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