Fighting Words: The Discourse of War in Early Modern Drama and Military Handbooks

A Dissertation

Presented to the

Graduate Faculty of the

University of Louisiana at Lafayette

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Christal R. Seahorn

Summer 2014

UMI Number: 3687704

UMI®
Dissertation Publishing

UMI 3687704

ProQuest®

Fighting Words: The Discourse of War in Early Modern Drama and Military Handbooks

Christal R. Seahorn

APPROVED:

Elizabeth Bobo, Chair Associate Professor of English	James C. McDonald Professor of English
Jennifer Vaught Professor of English	Robin Hermann Assistant Professor of History
Mary Farmer-Kaiser Interim Dean of the Graduate School	

Dedication

To my family, especially my loving parents, Charlotte Woods and Joseph Seahorn, who did not worry when I dropped out of Pre-K and always encouraged me to choose my own adventures. I work every day to honor the wonderful life you have given me. To my wife, Melissa, I thank you for your tireless patience and support. I am finally done, Love. You no longer have to pretend that my late-night typing "helps you sleep."

Epigraph

I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,

Straining upon the start. The game's afoot:

Follow your spirit, and upon this charge

Cry "God for Harry, England, and Saint George!"

William Shakespeare (*HV*.3.1.31-34)

Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to my dissertation director, Dr. Elizabeth Bobo, whose guidance and kindly criticism over the past several years pushed me to mature as a writer and a scholar. The strength of this text and much of the value it contains may be largely assigned to her dedication and leadership. I wish to thank my committee members for giving their time to this project. Dr. Jennifer Vaught, Dr. Robin Hermann, and Dr. James C. McDonald are all exceptional minds in Renaissance studies, and their individual areas of expertise allowed this analysis to be both far-reaching and thorough. I would like to extend a special acknowledgement to Dr. McDonald for welcoming me into the graduate program and advising me throughout my coursework.

Several others were instrumental in bringing this project to completion. I thank Dr. Clai Rice for his feedback on my cognitive poetics research. I would like to thank my colleagues, Jeff Dickerson, Lisa Hacker, and Dr. Jennifer Page who were always available to brainstorm ideas or edit my work. Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to Ms. Nancy Strodtman, Ms. Felicia Brown, and Ms. Kathy Whelan for their clerical support, to Dr. Rice and Dr. Christine DeVine for their work as Graduate Coordinators during my time in the doctoral program, and finally to the Graduate School and English Department at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette for the support that made this degree possible.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

Alcazar   *The Battle of Alcazar*

HV   *Henry the Fifth*

2HVI   *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster (2 Henry VI)*

3HVI   *Richard Duke of York (3 Henry VI)*

1HVI   *The First Part of Henry VI (1 Henry VI)*

1Tam   *Tamburlaine the Great, Part I*

2Tam   *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2*

Allarme   *Allarme To England*

Path-Way   *A Path-Way to Military Practise*

Discourses   *Certain Discourses Military*

Instructions   *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitarie*

The Queen's Visiting   *The Queen's Visiting of the Camp at Tilbury, with Her Entertainments There*

Strategems   *A Collection of the Brave Exploits and Subtil Strategems Of Several Famous Generals Since the Roman Empire. With a Discourse concerning Engines of WAR*

Piers Penniless   *Piers Penniless His Supplication to the Devil*

Generall   *Of the Generall Captaine, and of His Office*

Knowledge and Conducte   *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres*

Preceptes   *The Preceptes of Warre, Setforth by James the Erle of Purlilia, and Translated into Englysh by Peter Bentham"*

Pathwaie   *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline.*

De Re militari   *De Re Militari: The Foure Bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatu*

Preliminary Note

For excerpts selected from sixteenth-century military manuals, I have regulated spacing and modernized long and double esses, ligatures, and the lowercase "u" "v," "i," and "j." Original English spelling is otherwise retained. All capitalization, italics (except where noted), and punctuation are faithful to the original versions. When multiple editions are present, quotes come from the latest printing. For texts where modern translations are available, I have quoted from the modern version except in instances where the newer text presents a translation that differs significantly from the original wording in the Renaissance edition.

I have used modern editions for all dramatic works: Wells, Taylor, and Jowett's *The Oxford Shakespeare* (2005) for Shakespeare's plays, Bevington and Rasmussen's *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays* (2008) for Marlow's *Tamburlaine Part 1* and *Part 2*, and Edelman's *The Stukeley Plays* (2012) for Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*. In all cases, I retained the conventions established by the editors of these texts.

The analysis applies multiple theoretical models. I explain technical terms through the text in order to appeal to a broad audience but do not avoid the use of discipline-specific terminology. I have appended a glossary of terms and rhetorical figures for further clarification.

Introduction

Between the years of 1539 and 1642, more than one hundred and sixty military treatises were published in or translated into English for the first time. The most prolific printing occurred in the last three decades of Elizabeth I's reign.[1] These texts survive as the first English language manuals to systematize battle. As foundational textbooks for the nascent field of military science, the treatises instructed on training tactics and battlefield strategy, but they also asserted a performative element of warfare, requiring a commander to be an orator and emphasizing the reinforcement of a shared martial ideology. Specifically, their focus on the verbal performance of war, on oral delivery, and the need for a crafted military persona, aligned these texts with another emergent Renaissance genre that peaked in popularity during the last decades of the sixteenth century: the history play. At the same time that playwrights were actively generating reproductions of war for the Elizabethan stage, the new martial conduct books were circulating to an increasingly literate public and could be used for studying, choreographing, and rehearsing martial behavior. This dissertation examines the influence of the military manual genre on Renaissance playwrights and orators. The specific aims are to uncover how the treatises influenced representations of martial oratory, to analyze the rhetorical motivations exposed by early modern performances of warfare, and to argue that the language used to justify and construct war suggests why the practice remains such a socially enduring and provocative subject.

Fundamentally, dramatic rally exhortations belong to the poetic pageantry of war. The strength of the oratory depends upon its practical believability, an authenticity that often

---

[1] Nearly 40% of the manuals were printed between 1570 and 1603, not including ones that were released back into public circulation as 2nd or 3rd editions during this time. For a full list, M.J.D. Cockle's *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* (1900) remains the most complete catalog of early modern manuals.

blends the historical context of a play with the socio-political climate of its audience. Given the heightened rhetorical consciousness of the early modern period and the emphasis on oratory in Renaissance education, the influence of formal rhetoric is evident in the design and structure of dramatic battlefield speeches. As the military strategy outlined in handbooks became available, this new body of literature provided dramatists with resources for creating credible theatrical depictions of battlefield combat. In turn, their plays reflect the ideologies presented in the manuals. Currently, there is no comprehensive query into the reciprocal relationship between the didactic treatises that instruct on the ideals for suitable military performance and the staged performances that display these military ideals. My investigation opens this conversation by focusing on the elements of commonality in both genres, their emphasis on the power of oratory and demonstrations of martial identity as a consciously-constructed persona, and by analyzing meaningful divergences, specifically the ways in which theater productions deconstruct the professed martial ideologies. These points of divergence are often the most compelling because they add artistry to otherwise banal prose or because they introduce subversive themes inconsistent with the rhetorical aims of manual writers. However, I argue that the convergences are, in fact, what retain battlefield authenticity and resonate most with audiences. The consistent structure of rally orations follows anticipated stages, and their appeals to the promise of sublimity, to honor and justice and courage, speak to a human desire for purpose and transcendence even as literary texts call into question whether wars should be the source of that historical immortality.

Understanding how these discursive representations engage audiences is the ultimate goal of this study. It recognizes the discourse of war as a social activity, involving the culture of sixteenth-century military and the popular culture of Renaissance England. This

consideration creates audiences from two overlapping categories: 1) the actual battlefield soldier who would receive a real-word battlefield oration, who might read the treatises to increase his knowledge of military practice, and who could view the history plays as one who has experienced war firsthand or as a young man with the possibility of one day being called to war, and 2) the popular audience who consumes the manuals and the plays as entertainment, far removed from the battlefield but an audience that naturally includes members of the first category. As an interdisciplinary study, my investigation analyzes the constructions of martial rhetoric for these Renaissance audiences. Exact areas of focus include examining formal oratory as a learned social genre and a tool for mythmaking, evaluating just cause declarations as conflicts of religious, legal, and cultural values, and unpacking the psychosocial dynamics of leadership and how conscious language use reveals underlying anxieties about masculinity and fears of disorder. Such an examination allows for an increased literary-historical awareness and gives explicit evidence for connecting the treatises to early modern literature, an assumption that remains as-yet unproven by prevailing scholarship.

Primary Literature Review: Military Manuals

Written mostly by soldiers and political moralists, the English treatises were largely a response to a perceived need to legitimize the military profession and to insulate the discipline from technological and sociopolitical changes that seemed to threaten trusted martial culture. The mid-sixteenth century saw advancements in battle formations, siegecraft strategies, and weaponry. These innovations generated renewed interest in military tactics and inspired the first wave of manuals, printed from about 1539 to the late 1560s. In keeping with the humanist revival of classical texts and the increased value of more established

vernacular languages, first translated were copies of ancient Latin and Greek treatises and European texts in Spanish, French and Italian and grounded the discipline in within an established literary history. The second wave of printings, and the most prolific one during the Renaissance era, began in 1570 and extended through the end of Elizabeth's reign. These were decades punctuated by periodic conflicts with Ireland and in the Low Countries where England committed to helping the Netherlands in their defense against Spain. The military handbooks printed during these years were mostly English-authored, and they reflected an increasingly urgent response to what their authors perceived as an inadequate attention to martial preparedness and leadership. In contrast to the earlier works, which offer more instruction on the importance of eloquence, formal oratory, and rhetorical appeals, the language used in the latter texts strains harder to justify military practice and works more overtly to persuade readers of its national value. In so doing, they provide a clearer understanding of the sociopolitical tensions of the late sixteenth century.

Certainly, the midcentury treatises do not read as rhetorical handbooks with point-by-point instruction on oratory or specific list of *topoi*, but they do highlight rhetorical eloquence as a necessary skill for effective generalship. The popularity of commonplace books and courtesy literature is reflected in the way these authors elevate the art of war by admiring its noble ideologies and identifying the when and how a commander should deliver his pre-battle exhortation. Among the first translated are the classical handbooks by Sextus Julius Frontinus and Flavius Vegetius Renatus. Frontinus's *Strategems* (ca. 84 CE, trans. 1539) and Vegetius's *De re militari* (ca. 375-392, trans. 1572) offer both practical and theoretical templates for authentic war presentations but display notably distinct compositional styles. Similar to a rhetorical book of commonplaces, *Strategems* catalogs

historical examples of military leadership, including partial battle orations from commanders like Alexander the Great, Quintus Sertorius, and Julius Caesar. In contrast, *De re militari* is more of a dedicated conduct manual.[2] It offers practical instructions for everything from selecting young soldiers to feeding men during engagements to settling treaties, and includes a section on the importance of a captain's encouragement for decreasing despair and fear and inspiring courageous and valiant acts (Sig. E4r). The first handbooks translated from vernacular languages relied on Frontinus and Vegetius as reference texts, often using a combination of illustrative examples and didactic instruction. Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des Faits d'Armes et de Chevalerie* (Caxton trans. 1489) was the first text translated into English. De Pizan patterns her treatise closely after *De re militari*, but whereas Vegetius only identifies the utility of a commander's encouragement, de Pizan models an original battle exhortation for her readers.[3] Other manuals such as Jacopo di Porcia's *Preceptes of Warre, setforth [sic] by James the Erle of Purlilia* (trans. 1544), Niccoló Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre* (trans. 1560), and Onosander's *Of the Generall Captaine* (trans. 1563)—all make a direct call for a commander to be an orator, even suggesting common appeals to use for decreasing fear and raising troop morale.[4] Ultimately, these emphases on rhetorical skill from

---

[2] Alternately titled *Epitoma rei militaris*, *De re militari* was the first military manual to be an explicitly Christian text; see Bliese "Rhetoric Goes to War" 110. For Cockle, Vegetius is "the most popular of all ancient military writers" (xxxvii). Charles R. Shrader calls Sadler's Vegetius a "pocket or saddlebag, practical soldier book" (167) in "The Influence of Vegetius' De re militari." *Military Affairs* 45.4 (Dec 1981): 167-72. JSTOR. Web. 14 Jul 2011.

[3] De Pizan's *Le Livre des Faits d'Armes et de Chevalerie* (1410) receives little critical attention, likely because Caxton's translation, *Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode* (1489), was not available to English audiences in the sixteenth century. I include it in this study because it is the first English-language manual and successfully reflects medieval themes such as the emphasis on chivalry and religious righteousness that offer context to my examination of Renaissance plays set near this era, specifically *Henry V* and *1, 2,* and *3. Henry VI*.

[4] Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra* (orig. 1521) is easily the most influential in this list. Shrader identifies it as the first modern treatise on war (170). It is inarguably the signature Renaissance text on battlefield doctrine, remaining the most well-known and most reprinted of any modern manual and of any contemporary foreign work printed in the early modern period (Cockle 10). Whitehorne's 1560 translation *The Arte of Warre* went through two subsequent editions in 1573 and 1588.

these war manuals were central to the development of battlefield oratory as a distinct literary genre. They codified the discourse of war, helped establish its *paraenetic* appeals (i.e. those that reinforce previously accepted martial values), and defined proper conduct for verbal delivery.[5]

The end of the sixteenth century saw a literary construction of civic patriotism and nationhood as poets, theologians, chroniclers, travel writers, and dramatists took England's land, its people, and its history as the subject of their work. An increased production of military treatises also advanced patriotic nationalism, and a new wave of English-authored handbooks emerged. They continued to assert a need for officers to lead a strong command, which included skill in verbal instruction, but these homegrown texts also advanced a conservative belief that innovations in weaponry and deficiencies of military commitment were subverting the martial virtues espoused by the original handbooks. Initially, the English manuals embraced modern advancements. Roger Ascham accepted the transition to new forms of weaponry and devoted his *Toxophilus* (1545) to defending archery not for armament but as a dignified noble pastime. Peter Whitehorne, who inspired the entire culture of English manual writers with his translations of Machiavelli and Onosander, was the first Englishman to write a complete technical treatise on warfare. His *Certain Waies for the Orderyng of Souldiers in Battelray* (1560) highlighted developments in firearms and artillery and promoted new methods for field training, organizing battle formations, and strengthening fortification.[6] However, as the realities of war with Ireland and Spain became more

---

[5] Stanley K. Stowers clarifies paraenesis as ethical exhortations that rely on accepted "precepts, examples, discussions of traditional moral topics (*topoi*), encouraging reminders of what the readers already know and have accomplished, and reasons for recommended behavior" (96) in *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Wayne A. Meeks. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986. Print.
[6] Whitehorne also packaged Henry Grantham's translation of Giralamo Cataneo's *Most brief tables* (1574 and 1588) with his last two editions of *Arte of Warre*. Cataneo is not included in this study because it is not a

immediate, treatises took on a more alarmist tone, expressing concern over these new developments and the fact that Englishmen were not devoting the time to learn them or even committing to learn the old, proven methods of military strategy. In *Certain Discourses* (1590), for example, Sir John Smythe wrote against weapons like the musket and caliver as cumbersome and unreliable and argued for returning to the longbow as the standard weapon for England's forces. The bow, Smythe argued, was a civilized and tested weapon (*Discourses* *2v). Yet, mastery of the longbow required decades of disciplined training, and few men were motivated to make such a long-term commitment, especially because socioeconomic changes taking place in the Renaissance meant that military participation was no longer the primary path to social advancement.

For some military treatise writers, the expediency of firearms seemed only a symptom of a more pervasive disregard for the diligent training and principled order required for military service. Pursuits of advanced education, employment at court, and increased wealth as part of a growing merchant class gave Renaissance men opportunities for social mobility that were previously only available by service at war and hoping to win the favor of the monarch. Englishmen could now rise to gentle status without experiences of war. Since the transition away from mercenary soldiers, conscripted citizens were periodically bound to serve in the occasional conflicts, but England avoided the kind of sustained large-scale war that would have necessitated constant martial readiness and practice. English troops consisted of part-time soldiers with less formal experience than men-at-arms and less disciplined training than the full-time soldiers that would become England's standing national military only half a century later. By the end of the century, many interpreted the increases in civil

conduct book so much as a collection of tables. Cataneo's text, though, is another example of the early emphasis placed on technical knowledge developing the science of war.

opportunities as causing a strain on the upper ranks, traditionally dependent on wellborn classes for martial expertise and leadership, and viewed the decreased use of mercenaries as creating a reliance on comparatively ill-prepared, part-time soldiers. For these men, the handbooks were not only an effort to add credibility to the profession by grounding military study in the tradition of classical and European texts but also a reactionary response to significant technological and structural changes.

As these transitions challenged traditional social roles and assumptions about the utility of war in a civil society, Elizabethan manual writers argued for returning the country to its previous position of military dominance. The discourse of war within these texts indicates a respect for increased national literacy because having a more literate populace meant that more men would be able to study their manuals and gain theoretical knowledge on the rules and practice of war. However, they also communicated a consistent fear that England's gentlemen were not devoted enough to martial education. With the country no longer reliant on mercenary soldiers, gentry and wellborn nobles were its would-be commanders and the main military audience targeted by English manual writers. A brief look at the extended titles for some of the most well-known manuals demonstrates their authors' primary motives. In 1578, Barnabe Rich sounds an *Allarme to England*, warning of the *perilles* that occur when *the people live without regarde of martiall lawe* and expressing concern for *the decay of warlike discipline*. Geoffrey Gates writes to justify the discipline in *The Defence of Militarie Profession* (1579) where he proposes to *plainly prove...how necessary the exercise of armes is for this our age*. In the 1580s, Thomas Styward and Rich also assert the necessity of military expertise, especially for young soldiers. According to Styward, his *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (1581) contains information *verie*

Necessarie for Young Souldiers. Likewise, Rich's *Path-Way to Military Practise* (1587) offers *strategems very beneficiall for young gentlemen*. On the other end, Smythe calls to order the upper ranks in the military in his *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitarie* (1595). He upholds this information as *requisite for all chieftaines, captains, and higher and lower men of charge*, *and officers*, and uses his last treatise to address the lack of knowledge and increased disorder he saw as pervading England's martial leadership.[7] Collectively, these titles reveal a desire to legitimate war as a discipline, for English gentlemen to value it as a necessary practice, and for an urgent rededication to martial education and training. These themes echo throughout the military handbooks, revealing a steady language of disillusionment with the current state of martial readiness that, along with the formal instructions for oratory, resurfaces in the Elizabethan history plays.

Secondary Literature Review: Military Manuals

Much of the literary criticism addressing military manuals as components of Renaissance literature falls into three categories: bibliographic catalogs of military treatises relevant to a particular time period or audience, attempts to determine from whence Renaissance authors gained their military knowledge, and analyses of rhetorical effectiveness and compositional structures in the combat scenes in literary texts. While the catalogues engage little with any actual analysis of the texts or their effects on early modern society, these references identify invaluable source material for establishing the context and uses of the military treatises at the center of my study. Cockle's *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* provides the most complete list of relevant manuals, including entries for 163 English titles with annotations regarding unique

---

[7] Along with Matthew Sutcliffe's *Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes* (1593), Rich and Smythe authored the most "widely read treatises" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Kocher 214).

dedications and particular printing circumstances. H.J. Webb's *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* identifies the most widely-circulated, sixteenth-century texts and their influence on Elizabethan combat organization and strategy. Thomas M. Spaulding's "Early Military Books in the Folger Library" focuses on the current availability of these texts in United States libraries. Spaulding emphasizes texts in the holdings of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. However, his article serves as a fairly complete identification of the available listings at research libraries, the largest of which is the manuscript collection at the Huntington Library.

Scholars who study the relationship between military manuals and literature often debate the methods through which Renaissance authors gained their military knowledge, but they engage little with the textual overlaps between the language in the manuals and the staged productions of war. In "Milton and the Art of War," James Holly Hanford examines the life of John Milton to question whether he ever served with the London militia in 1642 and concludes that the wide availability of manuals would have provided adequate access to knowledge of military practices that John Milton would not have had to be an active soldier to have a soldier's expertise. Paul H. Kocher draws the same conclusion about Christopher Marlowe in his article on "Marlowe's Art of War." Paul A. Jorgensen has completed the most research in this sub-field. In "Military Rank in Shakespeare," Jorgensen considers previous scholastic efforts to discover the source of Shakespeare's military knowledge. According to Jorgensen, there are at least three logical sources of knowledge for any author: actual military service; first-hand communication with discharged soldiers; or, research of military protocol and policy using the military handbooks (41). While Jorgensen concedes that the evidence is not clear on the first two possibilities, he asserts that the easiest and most

likely theory is that Shakespeare simply read about war from the abundant military treatises printed in his time. I engage with this element of historical analysis only minimally in this study, electing to focus exclusively on the military manuals as reference sources rather than mine the authors' biographical detail for direct military experience or contact with professional soldiers. For the purposes of this examination, I accept Jorgensen's conclusion that the military manuals were available and a likely resource for shaping theatrical representations of war.

Military historians have completed the most thorough research of the military handbooks as they examined military developments during the English Renaissance. These scholars tend to emphasize the technological and logistical innovations that occurred. In his inaugural lecture at Queen's University of Belfast in 1956, Michael Roberts calls the years 1560 to 1660 the "military revolution" of the English Renaissance.[8] The most complete study is David Eltis's *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (1995). Eltis uses the sixteenth military writers to draw connections between the theory contained in the handbooks and the practical advancements occurring in training, equipment, tactics for siege warfare, and the movement toward a national English military. Although he focuses on military books and military culture in early seventeenth-century England, David R. Lawrence's *The Complete Soldier* (2009) touches on the sixteenth century briefly to establish what he calls an "educational revolution" reflected in the growing number of English gentlemen who pursued studies at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court provided a larger literate population interested in books and able to read the military manuals (39). Lawrence analyzes how having didactic texts in the hands of soldiers and veterans influenced the development of military practice in the Jacobean and Caroline eras. However, neither Roberts' and Eltis'

---

[8] Roberts' term has been largely adopted by the field to characterize this period in military history.

examination of the sixteenth century nor Lawrence's study of the seventeenth century connect the widespread printing of military manuals to the burgeoning genre of history plays also occurring during their respective "revolutions."

My work argues that these military innovations not only advanced military practice but also added pressure to the trusted military structure idealized in the manuals and that these tensions played out on the Elizabethan stage. Although it does not connect them to literature, John S. Nolan's "The Militarization of the Elizabethan State" (1994) speaks more closely to these tensions, identifying the primary characteristics of the "revolution" as the widespread printing of military manuals, the decline of the nobility's monopoly on military knowledge and experience, and an increase in gentry and landed men in the battlefield (391-92). I assert that these social and economic factors, more than modernizations in equipment and training, promoted the study of warfare by a broader public audience rather than remaining the exclusive purview of soldiers and veterans. My research extends this influence further to argue that these advancements also brought about a revolution in battlefield oratory, merging conventional elements of training in epideictic and deliberative rhetoric with prescriptive instruction for increasing troop motivation and delivering morale-building orations. Although my analysis initially focuses on the dissemination and availability of the war manuals, the fact that military knowledge was now more accessible to gentry, yeomen, and the common classes is instrumental in establishing the popular appeal of the manuals and linking these primary texts to early modern dramatists and poets.

Primary Literature Review: Dramatic Texts

With the exception of Elizabeth I's Tilbury oration and the subsequent fiction and non-fiction reproductions of the Queen's speech that I analyze in Chapter Two, the primary literature examined in this study belongs to the genre of early modern history plays. Rather

than taking each play in its entirety, I focus specifically on two primary categories of battlefield discourse: 1) formal orations that include proclamations, structured exhortations, and brief public addresses and, 2) informal verbal descriptions that characterize motives for going to war and indicate contemporary understandings of war.

The study begins with an analysis of formal oratory and uses excerpts from Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1* and *2*, George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* and various Shakespeare plays, including *Richard III*, *Henry VI-Part 3*, *Henry VI-Part 1*, and *Henry V*. Then, the middle chapters address formal and informal language use that relates the discourse of war to identity fashioning. Elizabeth's "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury" and reproductions of that speech from Thomas Deloney, James Aske, William Leigh, and Leonel Sharp, illustrate the process of literary historiography and connect formal pre-battle orations to martial ritual and mythmaking. Formal declarations and informal descriptions of war in *Henry V* and *The Battle of Alcazar* reflect a developing martial law based on Just Cause Theory that allows each playwright to clarify or complicate audience identification. The final two chapters examine identity in terms of masculinity and control. *Henry VI, Parts 1, 2* and *3* stage a highly-tuned tension of opposites (i.e., man v. woman, noble v. rebellious commoner, chivalric soldier v. pacifist sovereign) that dramatize sociocultural transitions as themes of martial manhood. Finally, I compare metaphors of war and peace presented in the military handbooks to those found in a broad cross-section of history plays. Literary texts for this section overlap with the ones listed above with a shift in purpose to investigate conceptions of war as animal imagery, sea navigation, medicine, and other metaphors that define war as natural and man's role as enforcing control over nature.

Secondary Literature Review: Dramatic Texts

Most closely aligned with my goals are the scholars who analyze the rhetorical strategies used to teach, delight, and move the audiences of Renaissance combat drama. Rhetorician James J. Murphy and historian Richard A. Miller examine battlefield rhetoric from actual historical narratives. Murphy provides a sound theoretical starting point for understanding the foundations of rhetorical instruction in his collection *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theories and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*. Miller's *In Words and Deeds: Battle Speeches in History* catalogues ancient and modern historical speeches and considers the contexts of their persuasive strength. John R. E. Bliese narrows rhetorical theory to specific analyses of motivation and morale-building in ancient and medieval war manuals ("Rhetoric and Morale," "Rhetoric Goes to War" and "When Knightly Courage May Fail"). Bliese limits his research to ancient and medieval texts, allowing for an expansion of his discoveries into the early modern period without the risk of redundancy. Specifically, his identification of effective commonplaces for battlefield oratory—such as appeals to transcendence, belonging and esteem; motivations of chivalry, valor, justice, and material and spiritual rewards—provides an important list of *topoi* in which to ground my analysis of Renaissance texts.

Chris R. Hassel, Jr. and Phillippa Shephard look exclusively at dramatic representations of battlefield rhetoric. Although they both incorporate excerpts from the military treatises, Hassel and Shephard perform close rhetorical analyses rather than evaluations of culture relevance and the performances of war. "Military Oratory in Richard III" by Hassel, Jr. compares the relative persuasiveness of Richard III's final speech to Richmond's at the battle of Bosworth Field, concluding that Richmond's rhetoric is superior

to Richard's in terms of eloquence and persuasive power. Notably, Hassel references oratorical instruction sourced not in traditional rhetoric handbooks but in the Renaissance military manuals. Phillippa Shephard's unpublished dissertation "Tongues of War: Studies in the Military Rhetoric of Shakespeare's English History Plays" most closely dissects battlefield orations in the manner I propose for this study. While both Hassel, Jr.'s and Shephard's texts help categorize the most durable persuasive appeals in the battlefield speech genre, they do little to connect this rhetoric to the larger social and political movements. By mapping the print culture of the military manuals onto the focal history plays, giving specific attention to enactments of battlefield rhetoric, this dissertation offers a nuanced understanding of the dramatic texts as reflections of the early modern cultural history.

Available research offers a useful starting point to my study, but by limiting their examinations to bibliographic catalogs, efforts to authenticate dramatic source material, and analyses of rhetorical and compositional structure, existing scholarship tends towards oversimplification of the relationship between military manuals and Renaissance literature. Few critics consider the importance of rhetorical training in combination with access to didactic military instructions for commander orations. Those that do, nostalgically lament the loss of explicit oratorical training among modern militaries compared to the sixteenth-century recognition of the need for morale building.[9] I propose that the study of military themes in Renaissance literature is inseparable from the influence of the military handbooks. My research offers a thorough examination of the historical and popular culture influences of the manuals on sixteenth-century battle discourse and dramatic reproductions of war. I explicitly identify the sections in the military manuals that acknowledged rhetoric as an important factor in morale, demonstrate the ways in which rhetorical education combined

---

[9] See Bliese "Rhetoric Goes to War" (105), Shrader (167), and Hanforth (235).

with instructional material from the treatises to add authenticity and enhance dramatic works, and draw direct connections between the themes of military conduct and their effects on early modern oratory and martial identity.

Definitions and Theoretical Perspective

I use this section to clarify my distinction between related, common concepts, in particular: *discourse* and *rhetoric*, *Renaissance* and *early modern*, and *political, social*, and *cultural*.[10] The purpose of my research is to examine the discourse of war in early modern texts, which includes principles of formal rhetoric as well as the intentional and subconscious effects of language use on audiences. Specifically, *discourse* encompasses all words used to write about and perform war within my primary texts. I follow the definition proposed by Fairclough and Wodak in "Critical Discourse Analysis" that evaluates discourse as a form of social action (271-80). While discourse is a broad look at language use, *rhetoric* will specifically consider instructions for oratory and acts of oral delivery. It includes rhetoric as an academic discipline but narrows the analytical scope of this discipline to the formal canons of rhetoric, the Aristotelian search for available means of persuasion, and the Burkean use of symbols to bring about cooperation and identification. In terms of audience, however, both terms are means for uncovering an author's motives as well as his assumptions about which symbols engender cooperation and identification.

I acknowledge critics who have argued the merits of the terms *Renaissance* and *early modern* but elect not to differentiate between the terms for this study.[11] In that they indicate roughly the same time period, I retain both terms for this study and use them interchangeably

---

[10] Key terms relevant to individual theories are explained within each chapter, and a glossary of key terms is included in Appendix A.

[11] See Quentin Skinner's defense of the term "Renaissance" in *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Vol 1, pp. 101-104 in which Skinner argues against Paul Oskar Kristeller in "Renaissance," *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*.

to reinforce the tensions of old and new that arise during this period. Central to my argument are both the cultural revival of classical works connected with military practice and the movements toward modernity marked by the nascent advancements in military science, growing concepts of identity fashioning, and increased social mobility. Because my examination extends only through 1600 rather than considering the entire historical epoch of the Early Modern Period, I also use Elizabethan, particularly in reference to the focal texts.

Finally, the terms *political, social*, and *cultural* are ambiguous in the modern era, and they are all the more difficult to apply to the Renaissance where cultural elements like art, literature, and music were intertwined with life at court and efforts to secure political favor. For this study, I limit use of the term *political* to negotiations of social rank, lineage, power, and foreign policy. I follow Steven Best's definition of *culture* as "the social process whereby people communicate meanings, make sense of their world, construct their identities, and define their beliefs and values" (Best). Best's definition retains the concept of culture as a society's art but also broadens the term to include individual or group efforts to express and define their ideologies. I apply the term mostly in reference to sixteenth-century martial culture. For the word *social,* I adapt the American Sociological Association's definition for the study of sociology as the study of society and specifically of humans as social beings (ASA). This usage allows me to apply the term to a wide range of interactive behaviors, from commanders speaking to troops to authors communicating rhetorical intent in their prefaces to anonymous individuals in a theater. I often attach the prefix "socio" to both political and cultural to imply social interaction in those realms.

Although my research uses perspectives from multiple disciplines, it is not an interdisciplinary dissertation. My focus is on rhetoric and specifically on questions of

persuasion: what do intentional efforts to galvanize or guide one's audience reveal about the war's most persuasive appeals, and what might the language used to write or perform war indicate about persuasive motives that may not rise to the level of an author's conscious intentionality? In examining Elizabethan military manuals and history plays, the era that marked the apogee of production for these texts, my search for theoretical models to explain my findings led me to extend my methods beyond the field of rhetoric. The study remains grounded in rhetorical, literary, and historical analyses of the focal texts, enhanced by new schools of thought within those disciplines and entirely new research fields that develop largely in the 20th century. These modern theoretical developments especially help to decode the social motives at work in sixteenth-century martial discourse. Developments specific to this study include extensions of rhetoric studies that conceive of genres as social actions; social-ritual theories from the fields of anthropology and folklore that give a social frame for these actions; masculinity studies that question social conditioning and relationships of gender, class, and patriarchal power; and socio-cognitive studies on how language use shapes the human perception and action within cultural groups.[12] These theories complement conventional methods of rhetorical and literary analysis and historical conceptions of Just Cause Theory. Applied together, they generate a more coherent examination of martial discourse than would be available if I had otherwise limited my investigation to the scholarship and specialization of one discipline.

Of course, there are risks with using interdisciplinary tools. This type of research must work against the perception that it lacks rigor because it is not sufficiently specialized. Another point of resistance is the reality that incorporating multiple disciplinary theories

---

[12] This is a brief list of the theories at work for this discourse analysis. Each theory is explained more fully in the chapter breakdown below and more extensively within its corresponding chapters.

presents a greater challenge to audiences who may not appreciate different methods.[13] As a

discourse analysis, my research is a single-field project grounded in rhetoric; ultimately

though, the discipline of rhetoric is inseparable from its interdisciplinary origins in

philosophy, literature, history, law, and politics, to name only a few contributing areas that

evaluate the relationship between language use and human motivation. What results is a

cohesive argument for the pre-battle speech as a recurrent situation in military and staged

performances of war context, one that normalizes social behaviors and values, and helps

communities (i.e. military, literary, and theater audiences) to know the appropriate conduct

for these situations and to critique or find entertainment in breeches of decorum.

Chapter Outline

My opening chapter, "'Conjure Up the Blood'": Recognizing the Pre-Battle Oration

as a Learned Social Genre," uses principles from Rhetorical Genre Studies to establish the

pre-battle oration as a social act, known and anticipated by both real-world military and

theater audiences. It examines required components of battle exhortations found in military

handbooks and history plays, elements that include necessary martial *topoi*, the conventional

exordium ("My loving subjects" for example), the building of confidence and encouragement

based on Aristotelian appeals (*pathos, logos, ethos*), and the final battle cry or *peroration*

("For God, Henry and Saint George!"). The chapter connects the manuals to relevant aspects

of early modern rhetorical education and looks specifically at the practice of composing and

delivering pre-battle speeches for epideictic and deliberative oratory. It argues that both real-

---

[13] These two primary points of opposition come from a recent study at Cornell University that compared employment rates and starting salaries for interdisciplinary and single-discipline doctoral dissertations. The study also found that, while scholars like the *idea* of interdisciplinary work, the current value system in academia pays, hires, and promotes junior scholars doing single-field research at a higher rate than those pursuing interdisciplinary work: Kniffin, Kevin M. and Andrew S. Hanks. "Boundary Spanning in Academia: Antecedents and Near-Term Consequences of Academic Entrepreneurialism." *Cornell Higher Education Research Institute: Working Paper 158.* October 17, 2013. Web. Accessed 11 Mar 2014.

world and theatrical orations are socially negotiated between the speaker/commander and audience he or she aims to rouse, requiring proper composition and performance, according to the five canons of rhetoric, but also requiring audience complicity in the event as an ultimate measure of a speech's success.

Chapter Two, "'Thy Fame Shall Never Cease': Historiography and Mythmaking in Elizabeth's Tilbury," explores the evolution of battlefield speech from a single historical event to a folk legend.[14] Rather than a rhetorical analysis of orations across a range of fiction and non-fiction texts as produced in Chapter One, this section uses Elizabeth I's "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury" (1588) as its focal text. I engage with legitimacy challenges to Elizabeth's speech, particularly evaluating Susan Frye's determination of the speech a "myth of iconography" (95). I make two primary arguments. First, I assert that the success of Elizabeth's speech depends not on its historical accuracy but on its ability to arouse a collective national consciousness developed, in part, by the reproductions of the Tilbury narrative and continued academic efforts to verify its authenticity. Second, after applying E.R. Leach's model for ritualized time to locate the pre-battle oration at a pivotal moment between ordinary time and active war time, I contend that Elizabeth's speech reflects Victor Turner's *communitas*, and Kenneth Burke's *identification* in ways that solicit audience cooperation and indicate conscious mythmaking processes.

Chapter Three, "'Wars, / Wars, Wars to Plant the True Succeeding Prince': Just Cause Theory and the Rhetoric of Rightful Succession, *Henry V* and *The Battle of Alcazar*," looks closer at Burke's concept of identification, specifically with regard to developing

---

[14] Brownell Salomon's "The Myth Structure and Rituality of 'Henry V'" and Gorman Beauchamp's "'Henry V': Myth, Movie, Play" perform similar analyses for Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Yet, these scholars only hint at the myth-making principles at work and neglect to consider how these orations overtly appeal to the collective consciousness of their audience without fully examining the social influences functioning in concert with the storytelling.

international laws of war during the sixteenth century. This chapter presents the principles

governing just declarations of war (*jus ad bellum*) and conduct in war (*jus in bello*) as

defined in the military handbooks. It argues that because William Shakespeare's *Henry V*

(1599) follows the systematic laws directly and with fewer complications than George

Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594), Shakespeare's play makes for easier audience

identification. Peele's drama denies obvious allegiances with legal and theologically

justifications for war and problematizes appeals to patriotic nationalism in ways that

Shakespeare's play does not, even as the latter play has received more critical attention as an

anti-war drama. By emphasizing the grand heroism of non-Christian protagonists, Peele

expands the concepts of just cause and rightful kingship from the singular authority of

Christian virtue to broader justifications of humanistic integrity and moral decision-making.[15]

Although poetically inferior, *Alcazar* is a more nuanced representation of medieval-early

modern Just Cause Theory. These nuances make it more difficult for Peele's audience to

participate in the final martial victory and make theatergoers confront seemingly incongruous

desires to side with a pagan "other" and reject national loyalty.

Chapter Four, "'Not Mutinous in Peace, Yet Bold in War': Constructions of

Masculinity and Deconstructions of Knighthood in *Henry VI Parts 1, 2,* and *3*," examines the

paradox presented by the efforts to justify war to an English society for whom acts of warfare

have become increasing uncivilized and irrational and that, at once, both idealizes and

"villifies" peace as emasculating. The chapter uses the language of effeminacy in the military

manuals to define martial manhood in Elizabethan England. It then examines challenges to

masculinity depicted in Shakespeare's *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI* plays. It argues that Queen

---

[15] Theodor Meron in *Bloody Constraint* and Paul Jorgensen in "Moral Guidance" speak to the decrease of
Christian dogma and the rise of secular morality as a characteristic evolution of Renaissance military rhetoric.

Margaret and Joan la Pucelle depict obvious but impractical threats to masculinity, that King Henry VI's pacifism and Sir John Talbot's death (emblematizing the death of medieval knighthood) create a vacuum of a masculine leadership, and that Jack Cade and Alexander Iden represent the search for a new martial command structure to fill this void.

My final chapter, "'Tak[ing] Marters of Warre in Hande:' Metaphors of War and Knowledge in Sixteenth-Century Military Manuals," connects Renaissance drama with my larger theoretical goals of understanding how martial rhetoric motivates rational, ethical men to take life and risk death on the battlefield. It continues the previous chapter's examination of peace as a threat to martial control, and focuses on metaphorical language use as a key to Renaissance writers' conception of warfare. Applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to literary and cognitive metaphors utilized in the manuals, Chapter Five advances the theory that Renaissance conceptions of war reflect a metaphorical system where peace is a threat, war is necessary but removed from everyday life, and marital knowledge/expertise is the pathway to restoring order and control.

Chapter 1: "Conjure Up the Blood":
Recognizing the Pre-Battle Oration as a Learned Social Genre

A study of martial rhetoric must include a close examination of its most recognizable generic form: the battle exhortation or pre-battle speech. These orations are nearly ubiquitous in their inclusion in war movies and battle reenactments. A powerful speech and a combat victory can become legendary, elevating the legacy of the speaking commander. The practice of performing these speeches is as old as war itself. During the Renaissance, increased access to Greek and Roman texts fueled interest in the history and production of martial orations. Homer's *Iliad* and Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War anchored the English battle speech in its classical heritage, and these ancient texts combined with the dogmatic rhetorical instruction to give the Elizabethan schoolboy the theory and practice for delivering orations. For real-world applications of battle rhetoric, military manuals bridge the gap between rhetorical pedagogy (*rhetorica docens*) and the most relevant functions and features for performing orations (*rhetorica utens*). The applied knowledge in these treatises includes calls to practice and perform speeches as well as instructions for optimal timing and commonplace appeals. Perhaps the most often-cited directive for a general to be an orator is Machiavelli's observation that commanders often must affect the resolution of the entire army at times when "[he] can avail [himself] of nothing but words" (*Art of War*, Farnesworth ed. 127-28). This idea that the battle speech occurs in a unique context, where the only tools that remain to affect a physical outcome are the general's oration, speaks to the significance of these rhetorical moments and the urgent needs the exhortation genre must address. The battle is imminent; the speaker is in a position of authority; the hearers will have a role in the outcome of the fight, and there is significant risk and potential for reward in performing that role. The intense drama of this event lends itself to reenactments that bring it off the battlefield and

onto the theatrical stage. The speech is a generative action, both created by the needs of the moment and itself creating the rhetorical moment, especially in the context of a history play in which actual battle cannot be performed. However, the speech is also a social and linguistic event that amplifies shared ideologies and emotional motivations between speaker and audience and requires knowledge of the genre and its conventions for full participation. What follows is not a systematic rhetorical analysis of war speeches but rather an analysis of the domains of exposure in which these orations occur: military treatises, rhetorical handbooks, and literary/dramatic texts—each of which plays a distinct but interlinked role in defining the boundaries of the genre and its place in battlefield motivation.

Literature Review

Studies on the origins of hortatory speech acknowledge that the practice, form, and relative themes of battle orations have remained surprisingly uniform throughout western history.[1] Identifying the genre as one "common to almost all writers of history," Theodore C. Burgess calls the general's oration "the most distinctive, fully developed, and persistent single text of speech among historians" (209). Although classical rhetoric gives little explicit instruction on the battle oration, these speeches were rhetorically theorized through discussions and examples used by ancient Greco-Roman rhetoricians and the exercises of the *progymnasmata*. The historical use of this genre and the explicit instruction for it in military manuals underscore its pervasiveness and affirm a professional trust in its practical value as a battlefield necessity. In terms of its treatment in critical theory, however, little attention has

---

[1] Burgess (211) and Zoido (152) both acknowledge that this type of hortatory has its early origins in Homer, and Burgess identifies that the employed appeals continue almost unmodified to the time of Byzantine histories (211). Motifs from classical texts include the nobility of giving one's life for one's country, earning favor of the gods, and being at a crossroads at which one must either be vanquished or meet an honorable death. See also M.H. Hansen's "The Battle Exhortation in Ancient Historiography: Fact or Fiction?" *Historia* 42 (1993) 161-180 for a more exhaustive look at pre-battle speeches in classical literature.

been given to military speech beyond analyses of plot development, historical authenticity, and sociopolitical implications. Three notable exceptions are the work of Paul A. Jorgensen, John R. E. Bliese, and Richard F. Miller.[2] Jorgensen's work in the 1950s and 1960s examined the Shakespearean canon within the general context of war in Elizabethan England. His was the first work to focus on the military manuals as a resource for Renaissance writers, connecting the rise of secular morality to an evolution in early modern martial rhetoric that attracted playwrights to the manuals. Although Jorgensen does not draw direct textual parallels between the literature and the treatises, he determined that Shakespeare needed no actual military experience to write of war and likely learned his expertise by reading the non-fiction treatises. In the 1990s, Bliese's research identifies effective commonplaces for battlefield oratory in ancient and medieval military manuals and provides a list of *topoi* by which to examine historical shifts among the motifs uncovered by my analysis of Renaissance texts. So little work has been done on this genre that, in 2008, Miller published a collection of non-fiction battle speeches, proclaiming the book to be "the *first-ever* survey of inspirational battle speeches from Greco-Roman times to the present" (emphasis added). If Burgess's premise is true, that the pre-battle oration is a consistent war-themed genre for "all writers of history," then there must be some reason for the relative lack of attention to the rhetorical category. Perhaps it is assumed to be such a formulaic and predictable part of the combat setting that, though highly-anticipated and accepted as useful, it remains an unremarkably clichéd rhetorical convention. Yet, the very nature of the genre as both highly-conventionalized and indispensable adds to its rhetorical complex. Although the battle exhortation is technically a professional discourse for military commanders, the genre is

---

[2] See Jorgensen in "Moral Guidance" and "Military Rank in Shakespeare"; Bliese in "Rhetoric and Morale," "Rhetoric Goes to War," and "When Knightly Courage May Fail"; and Miller's *In Words and Deeds*.

intrinsically generalizable to themes recurrent across all competitive, achievement-driven settings. The audience needs no expert knowledge to participate other than an awareness of an imminent event. That the genre is tied to its combat context presumes that speech has the power to modify the situation (e.g. influence the mood of an army in a pre-battle setting, decrease the morale of an opposing army, and legitimize war). The text both generates and organizes its essential rhetorical environment, and the degree to which an individual speech moves or persuades reveals the ideological assumptions, expectations, and social values of the orator and his audience.

It would be a mistake to go too far with assumptions about genre as an indicator of socio-ideological values without clarifying its theoretical evolution. Genre theory has transformed our understanding of genre as a means of classification, a useful coded structure, a post-structuralist rejection of their proscriptive rigidity, and a reevaluation and expansion of their social influences. The following is an explication of relevant philosophies and scholars for each major transition through these theoretical perspectives. The first is the consideration of genre as formal classification. Renaissance conceptions of genre remained largely based in ancient Greek classifications of literary kinds that situated poetry against prose, as illustrated by Aristotle's separate studies of *The Poetics* and *On Rhetoric*.[3] The rise of New Criticism, Formalism, and Structuralism in the twentieth century initially continued the application of "genre" as a term for functional categories. Frye's division of fictional modes and archetypal themes in *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957) provides an example of such taxonomic efforts.

---

[3] Rosalie Colie's *The Resources of Kind* (1973) and Lewalski's *Renaissance Genres* (1986) are perhaps the most well-know studies of kinds in the early modern period. While both Colie's lectures and Lewalski's text discuss the ways in which generic forms changed and reemerged in the Renaissance, my treatment of genre in this examination focuses less on how the form changes, in fact I argue that pre-battle oration change very little throughout history, and more on how the genre interacts with and serves the social groups and audiences who use it. See Colie, Rosalie. *The Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance.* Berkeley, CA: Univ of California Press, 1973; and Lewalski, Barbara. *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1986.

Toward the end of the century, critics began to extend the genre study beyond analysis of formal structure. Bakhtin's collected essays in *Dialogic Imagination* (1975) and *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1979) maintains a consideration of structural boundaries but also begins to introduce a social element to genres as conceptual frames that enable a knowledgeable dialogue between readers and recognized "primary" and "secondary" genres. Derrida revises Bakhtin's consideration of individual texts as participating in multiple genres, but he writes against the essentialist view of genre as structure and asserts that the "law of genre" is an ad hoc effort to impose order on texts that are uncontainable and indeterminate. Bakhtin's and Derrida's works shift genre from mere categorical kinds to systems of communication, a transition that is important to the consideration of pre-battle orations as dialogic because it opens the way for viewing genres as not only structural but also interactive.

Influenced by the work of sociolinguists like Halliday and Bitzer, genre studies took a social turn in the last decades of the twentieth century.[4] Carolyn Miller's "Genre as Social Action" (1984) led this charge, redefining genres as "typified rhetorical ways of acting in recurrent situations" (159). Miller's essay transitions genre from being regulatory containers of communicative code to constitutive agents of social identity and societal rules. Charles Bazerman (1994) extends Miller to examine how genres construct a community's epistemology as "forms of life" and "ways of being" (19).[5] Carol Berkenkotter and Thomas N. Huckin (1993) assert that genres are more than epistemological tools and are, in fact, inseparable from cognition since generic knowledge links to procedural knowledge. This

---

[4] See Bitzer, Lloyd. (1968). "The Rhetorical Situation." *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1 (1): 1-14. Halliday, M.A.K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning.* London: Edward Arnold, 1978.)

[5] See also Charles Bazerman's discussion of generic form in scientific articles in *Shaping Written Knowledge* (1988).

shift is significant to the study of pre-battle orations for its assertion that speeches not only

have social agency as recurrent events, as Miller and Bazerman propose, but also they

function as maps for social navigation. In this sense, a genre moves beyond mere recurrence

to actually create the mutually-recognizable event for the community who uses it. A battle

oration both signifies the situation and determines the appropriate audience response. The

theory that audiences develop a learned response to recurring generic stimuli is more fully

developed in Anne Freadman's concept of "uptake" and extended in Amy Devitt's

"Generalizing."[6] Devitt, specifically, writes of the important assumptions readers "know"

immediately when they recognize the genre: purposes, subject matter, community values, and

expected responses. Genres are containers of coded meaning, but the containers act within

social settings, tapping into and shaping audience identity and reaction without fully

escaping, and often relying upon, generic conventions. In fact, the history and mastery of the

pre-battle oration are intricately dependent on its formal conventions. The rhetorical structure

of the speech, from *exordium* to *peroration*, has a long-standing and readily recognizable

form with persuasive appeals that are equally familiar. In the context of a battle setting,

where order and timing are paramount, having a reliable oral form allows the rhetor to

convey expertise and credibility and offers the audience trustworthy values around which to

align. Understanding how these speeches function for their users, speakers, and audiences

requires not an escape from generic categories but rather a return to these classical categories

of oratory and the interaction between pedagogy and execution.

---

[6] For more on Freadman's concept of uptake, see Freadman "Anyone for Tennis" and "Uptake." Freadman, Anne. "Anyone for Tennis" in *Genre and the New Rhetoric.* Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway, eds. Bristol: Taylor and Francis, 1994, pp. 43-66; "Uptake" in *The Rhetoric and Ideology of Genre: Strategies for Stability and Change.* Richard Coe, Lorelie Lingard, Tatiana Teslenko, eds. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton P, 2002, pp. 39-53.

Pre-Battle Speech as Learned Oratory

The manual writers make telling assumptions about the level of generic knowledge

commanders need by the instructional details they choose to include and which elements they

ignore. Frontinus, Hurault, Proctor, and Smythe make direct calls for a captain to be an

orator. Purlilia and Rich specifically reference the captain's oration as a "requisyte" and

expected practice. Smythe encourages and provides examples of "briefe speeches"; while, de

Pizan, Proctor, and Styward offer complete sample exhortations. De Bellay borrows directly

from Machiavelli to acknowledge that, although there is "no great accompt" given to the

importance of a captain "knowing how to exhort a whole armie...it is a thing so necessarie,

that to doe well without it is almost a thing impossible" (148). Onosander proclaims that a

captain ought never be chosen "...that knoweth not, and that lacketh the facelitie and

utteraunce of speach" (Onosander fol. 12-14, B.iii and repeated in Styward 3-4, B.ii). These

texts confirm that knowledge of oratory was an essential measure of the occupational literacy

in military science, but the handbooks do not attempt complete rhetorical instruction with the

same depth that they address martial tactics and strategy. Instead the manuals concentrate on

the importance of purpose, opportune timing, practice, and suitable appeals with little or no

information about compositional structure, stylistic embellishment, or oral delivery.

Onosander's phrase "facelitie and utteraunce of speach" suggests a possible reason for these

instructional elisions. Facility and utterance evoke Quintilian *facilitas* (*Institutio* X.i.l)—the

combination of natural ability, learned theoretical knowledge, and the ease gained through

frequent practice.[7] Officers needed information about the particular rhetorical demands of the

unique battle speech context (i.e. the why, when, and what) but *facility* was supposed to

---

[7] Facility, n.1.4a—"ease, freedom, readiness; aptitude, dexterity" of speech; utterance, n.1.4—"The faculty or power of speech" (*OED Online*). Throughout this study, I denote words defined using the *OED* with an underline emphasis.

happen before a captain earned his post. Conceivably, manual authors did not dismiss learned rhetorical theory but did assume that foundational proficiency for public speechmaking developed through other means, namely the systematic classical curricula of the early modern curriculum that included exercises from the *progymnasmata* and theoretical instruction from rhetorical handbooks.

Progymnasmata exercises, as part of the medieval trivium, provided the more didactic fundamentals for exhortive oratory such that the military handbooks could emphasize the importance of preparing soldiers for such addresses without providing information about how that practice and preparation should look. De Pizan declares such orations should be given "often and firmly" (63); Machiavelli and de Bellay write of needing to make the soldiers "accustomed to" hearing the captain's address (98 and 148); Styward includes a short example of "Certeine words to be used of the Captaine, in time of training" (66). These are relatively brief treatments in otherwise comprehensive tactical manuals; whereas, the fourteen sequential drill *progymnasmata* exercises offered years of practical, if not battle-tested, training in speechmaking. Of the four existing Greek *Progymnasmata* texts, [8] Aelius Theon's (c. first century AD) and Nicolaus the Sophist's (fifth century AD) list martial exhortations in their examples of *prosôpopoeia* (personification) and *ethopoeia* (characterization) speeches. Theon's first sample exercises for *prosôpopoeia*[9] instruct students to compose an imaginary monologue in answer to the question, "What words would

---

[8] The four original texts available during the Renaissance remain the only extant Greek copies of the curriculum: Aelius Theon's *Progymnasmata* (1st century AD), Hermongenes of Targus (2nd/3rd century AD), Aphthonius the Sophist's Progymnasmata (c. 4th century AD), and Nicolaus the Sophist's *Progymnasmata* (5th century AD). Quintilian's Latin version in *Institutio Oratoria* (c 94 AD) borrows extensively from Theon's. In Kennedy notes that in the Renaissance Agricola and Catanaeus, among others, made Latin versions of Aphthonius's handbook; also, an English adaptation was published in 1563 by Richard Rainolde (*Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, ix).

[9] Theon's text does not make a distinction between *prosôpopoeia* and *ethopoeia* or *eidolopoeia* like the later progymnastic treatises do. Nicolaus includes battle orations as part of *ethopoeia* but not *prosôpopoeia*.

a...general [say] to his soldiers in time of danger?" (*Progymnasmata* 47). Theon goes on to discuss battle speeches at length and offers to students Thucydides's orations to reference as models for personification. Nicolaus includes impersonation of a "general in a time of combat" among his examples for characterizations. He references specifically Agamemnon, Andromache, and Achilles as commanders to imitate (Kennedy 48-49). The location of these texts in the medieval trivium would have Renaissance students simulating battle oratory as part of their training in rhetoric after grammar school and before advanced lessons of logical reasoning in the art of dialectic. Thus, primary students would have read or listened to model texts, learned how to evaluate rhetorical success based on targeted speech criteria, invented and arranged their own topics and appeals, and drafted their own orations at the most advanced stages of the instructional sequence.[10] These experiences would have given Renaissance military officers foundational skills and practice as a starting point for their battle exhortations; however, *progymnasmata* exercises alone would not completely explain the reasoning behind which principles of battle rhetoric were selected for inclusion in the martial handbooks. A more complete understanding of why manual writers prioritized oratorical instruction requires examining how the genre adapts as the needs of its audience changes, in other words, how its social contexts change. Completing this examination requires a closer look at classification and the major restructuring of rhetoric in sixteenth-century humanist education.

Speech, as taught during the Renaissance, was inextricably informed by Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (ca. 1st century BCE) which divided oratory into the three formal kinds: forensic,

---

[10] For those interested in applications of the *progymnasmata* within modern pedagogy, Fleming advocates a return to this kind of scaffolded instruction in "The Very Idea of a 'Progymnasmata.'" Rhetoric Review, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2003), pp. 105-120.

epideictic and deliberative.[11] Attempting to situate pre-battle orations into one of these forms

with categorical clarity illustrates the challenge of envisioning genre as absolute

classifications. Although the practice of delivering battle speeches predates Aristotle's

organizational structure by hundreds of years (i.e. Homer's *Iliad*, ca. 8th century BCE and

Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War,* ca. 5th century BCE), the oratorical genre

does not fit easily into any one of the recognized classical categories. According to Aristotle,

forensic (or judicial) oratory aims at determining the justness of past events; deliberative (or

political) establishes the expediency or harmfulness of future actions; and, epideictic (or

demonstrative) presents displays of ceremony, most often for praise or blame (*Rhetoric*

I.3.1358b). Pre-battle orations clearly do not belong to judicial rhetoric, but they overlap in

meaningful ways with both deliberative and epideictic oratory in terms of timing (future or

present) and purpose (judicial or ceremonial). Critics are split on classifying the battle oration

because the situation is both heavily political and necessarily performative.[12] Aristotle seems

to anticipate the ambiguity of his categories. He affirms that the desire to praise, a

characteristic of epideixis, is often employed when advocating a proposed course of action,

which is the aim of deliberative rhetoric. Ultimately, he acknowledges that deliberative and

epideictic oratory are commonly "interdependent" actions (I.3.1368a). In this sense, one

might depict the placement of the battle oration in Aristotle's three-part taxonomy by means

---

[11] Roman rhetoric was more well-known in the sixteenth century than the more newly discovered Grecian texts. This section covers only Aristotle's descriptions of speech genre; see also Quintilian II. 10, 10 and III 4, 8, 7, 12, 13, (not mere ostentation) 63 Cicero *Oratore*, 61. 207 for a more thorough presentation of prevalent theories in circulation for Renaissance students.

[12] In his study of battle exhortations in ancient rhetoric, Zoido suggests that the Roman rhetoricians left "*hortationes*" out in discussions of oratorical genres because they were difficult to classify because they have "little theoretical focus...and mostly well-known motifs" (151-152). Burgess includes them among his collection of epideictic literature, acknowledging that it is difficult to classify but that "...its importance and frequence are greater, and it preserves its identity even more thoroughly, than many of those which have unquestioned recognition and detailed rhetorical presentation." (Burgess 209) See also Brian Vickers' *In Defense of Rhetoric* on the blurring of epideictic and deliberative (56).

of a Venn diagram with pre-battle orations belonging to the area of overlap, not completely epideixis and not exclusively deliberative.

Pre-Battle Speech as a Social Genre

Although the pre-battle oration does not fit nicely into Aristotle's taxonomy, the ancient classification does offer a useful heuristic for understanding the nuances of the genre as a function of its intended use. When comparing the social-rhetorical context described in the military manuals to dramatic orations in history plays, methods for satisfying the rhetorical pressures of timing/*kairos*, purpose, and audience are less reliant on generic sub-categories than how the primary characteristics of hortatory allow meta-genre so serve both real and fictional contexts. While war manual writers do not use the term *kairos* directly, Onosander, in his *The Generall Captaine* (1563), mandates that a general should "...know, when nede is, to use to good purpose the facultye of speache, and to shewe himselfe such a manne, as the tyme, and occasion seemes to require" (Fol. 68). With slight variations, other treatises writers also orient commanders to the opportune moment for delivering a rally oration: de Pizan requires a commander to give his speech "the day before he expects to have a battle" (61); Vegetius places the oration on "the very same daye that the souldiours shall fighte" (Vegetius Fol. 39); de Bellay agrees, stating that a captain should address his men "on the day of the battle" (89); Purlilia shortens the timeline, saving speechmaking for "when the host is advancing towards the battle" (197). Similarly, in the dramatic genre of the history play hortatory scenes are regularly set near or within the final act, directly after an alarum and before reports of battlefield engagement. Technically, these instructions indicate future action in keeping with deliberative oratory, but the impending conflict creates a sense of rhetorical urgency that brings the deliberative future into nearly the same moment as the

epideictic present. With few exceptions, this immediacy is the norm for rally speeches such that their rhetorical strength partially depends on delivery in the moments before the battle when no time remains for training or discussion. Additionally, the speech moment itself has power: the timing of its delivery not only fulfills a rhetorical exigence but also solidifies the reality and proximity of the battle for its hearers.

This idea that genre fulfills a defining role for its community of users further illustrates the functional interdependence of epideictic and deliberative oratory, but it also produces increased pressure on a commander or playwright to anticipate the audience's needs and rapidly determine the purpose of his speech. The second point of instruction to receive most attention from the military manual is the need to clarify practical uses for the genre. These fall into three general categories: (re)directing emotions, persuading and moving the audience to action, and increasing the reputation of the commander. Frequently, the handbooks prescribe an exhortation as a means for reducing fear, increasing courage or confidence, and invoking anger toward enemy combatants— all understandable emotional appeals in a pre-war context. Take, for example, Machiavelli's argument for the psychological power of pre-battle orations from *The Art of War*:

> There is nothing to concitate the mindes of men more to incouragement then perswasion...for it kindleth the minde and humaine passions of a man, it taketh away feare, it ingendreth obstinacie to fight, it discovereth deceipted, it sheweth perrilles and the way to avoide them, it prayseth, it promiseth rewardes, it reprehendeth, it threateneth, it incourageth the mindes eyther of hope, eyther else of dispaire. (Lynch 97)

Machiavelli's comprehensive catalogue of utility captures the broad range of emotions and concerns that an army might experience before a battle. Significantly, he grounds these abilities not simply in the need for comfort or motivation but in the audience's need for persuasion. Others, too, emphasize this rhetorical aim. Purlilia and Styward write of the speech's ability to "move" its hearers (197 and 3-4, B.ii.). Onosander and de Bellay join Machiavelli in writing that the exhortation should be used to "perswade" a multitude of men (67 and 113). Identifying the need to persuade acknowledges an agency that might not be expected in this context since the soldiers have been commanded to fight. Although the choice to battle can be seen as a strict fight or flight dichotomy, with abandonment being a very real possibility commented on by many of the manual writers, the motivation to fight inspired by these speeches participates in a more nuanced balance between allaying fear and instilling readiness and courage. Implicit in this persuasion is an element of reciprocity. The commander delivers an exhortation that respects the conventions of the genre and invokes accepted *topoi*. Desiring the persuasion, comfort and encouragement, soldiers join the moment and value themselves and the speaker as more battle-ready and worthy in response. Thus, the audience is not merely acted upon but rather actively participates in the rhetorical action.

This component of audience agency is important for extending the exhortation genre beyond taxonomic nomenclature and seeing genre as a socio-rhetorical event. The need for complicit agency applies to a theater audience as much as to a real-world army because, although the risk of life is diminished, the theatergoers must also see themselves as vested communal participants. This extension of analyzing the theater audience with the stage audience maintains the connection with classical generic categories. In the Aristotelian

model, the audience determines rhetorical exigence: a hearer who performs as an observer participates in epideictic speech, and the hearer who judges participates in deliberative rhetoric (*Rhetoric*.I.3.1358b). However, although the soldiers can have the delusion of functioning as deliberative participants, neither the historically-removed theater audience nor the real-world military audience has any real decision-making power on whether they will listen to the speech. Of course, there is a significant difference in how willingly they choose to participate in the moment. The playgoers are, of course, observers, not in immediate danger, perhaps with more knowledge of the historical outcome—they can be critical of the speech's eloquence and refuse to be wooed by the oratory. The military audience, bound by oath and honor to engage in battle, may be a more ready participant. The soldier can choose not to be convinced by the oratory, but he has little choice in whether to fight and little to gain from refusing the motivation. A theater participant can, and likely will analyze the oratory but they have no control over the outcome of the battle. In that the soldiers often desire these last words of encouragement and that these speeches are often one of the most anticipated moments of the play, both real-world and literary orations remain largely affected and ceremonial with both audiences wanting to be convinced by the rhetorical efforts. This is not to say that there is no measure of valuation for which speeches are more successful and well-crafted but that the list of persuasive functions credited to the pre-battle oration are undeniably sociopolitical. Their success depends not merely on the speech's ability to entertain or delight its audience but also on how well the oration moves its audience toward a place of common cause and consensus. This idea of consensus invokes Burke's theory of speech as an appeal to cooperation such that the type of rhetoric prescribed for battle speech fits more with Burkean identification than deliberative persuasion (*Rhetoric of Motives* 44

and *Rhetoric - Old and New* 203). Burke's notion that identification can be partially "unconscious" suggests why rally orations often include idealistic, even cliché appeals that remain relatively successful or motivationally attractive.[13] The audience feels connected to the ideological language. In the critical moments before a battle, timing and lack of authentic decision-making power make categorical divisions between kinds of oratory relatively negligible. The speech act hardly feels ceremonial in a perfunctory sense; nonetheless, it is a recurrent, performative situation in which reinforcing commonplace ideals aids rhetorical expediency within a social discourse generative of ritual behaviors and themes, if not classifiable as formal ceremony or persuasive deliberation.

Pre-Battle Speech and the Renaissance Rhetorical Canons

Poetry was perhaps never more connected to rhetoric than it was in the late sixteenth century when Ramus reordered the medieval trivium. Iambic pentameter and blank verse closely mimicked the rhythms of natural speech, making verse stage addresses sound more like prose oratory than they had done before. At the same time, Ramus's *Dialecticae Partitiones* severed the canons of Ciceronian rhetoric, shifting invention (*inventio*) and arrangement (*dispositio* or *taxis)* to the logical art of dialectic and leaving only style (*elocutio)* and delivery (*actio*) under the purview of rhetoric, with memory (*memoria*) taking a backseat to both. Although it was a radical anti-classical shift, Ramus's restructuring became standard in the second half of the sixteenth century, and rhetoric found itself reduced to ornament and performance.[14] Both rhetoric and dramatic poetry were openly dismissed as

---

[13] For more on epideixis as a promotion of communal values, see also Carolyn R. Miller's "Rhetoric and Community" in *Defining the New Rhetoric.* 11 (1993): 79-94; Dale Sullivan in "The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter" in *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 26 (1993): 113-133; and Cynthia Miecznikowski Sheard "The Public Value of Epideictic Rhetoric" in *College English* . 58.7 (1996) 765-794.

[14] For more extensive examinations of Ramist theory see Ong's *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue,* Murphy's introduction to *Peter Ramus's Attack on Cicero*, and Wilson and Reid's *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts.*

unrefined and common, struggling for legitimacy in the face of an increasing value for

unadorned prose. Yet, even as rhetoric was stripped of its most formative canons, invention

and arrangement remained relevant components of speechmaking as evinced by the

popularity of commonplace books and the influence of Erasmus on *De Copia* on humanist

curriculum. In Lechner's study of commonplaces in early modern England, she states that the

tools for invention were not merely a component in the curriculum but, in fact, "became a

necessity...and assumed an importance in Renaissance education never before nor since

attained" (159).[15] Since the sixteenth century was the height of popularity for the Ramist

division of rhetoric, examining the pre-battle speech genre as it functioned within its early

modern contexts requires the consideration of this restructuring. However, such an

examination can neglect neither the commonplace tradition that was so central nor the

compositional foundations of structure, even though the canons of invention and arrangement

were now under the governance of dialectical discourse rather than rhetoric. Given that most

critics label the exhortation as a genre of *epideixis* and thus more connected with praise or

blame than intellectual discussions of truth, Ramist rhetoric may even be the appropriate

placement for the genre. Certainly, the Ramist fracture is significant, as will be seen more

clearly in the examination of style below, but a complete analysis of the elements

emphasized in the military handbooks and the important differences between their

representations of pre-battle speeches and those performed in plays requires a consideration

of the complete five-canon structure.

---

[15] On the utility of these kinds of collections in classical rhetoric, see Aristotle, Topica i.14.105; Cicero De oratore ii.86.354; Quintilian Institutio Oratoria, x.5.11-14.

INVENTION

The manuals' suggestions for persuasive *topoi* prioritize epideictic appeals to the virtues of the commanders' soldiers in contrast to the vices of the enemy, acknowledging more deliberative incentives such as the promise of positive reward as important but secondary. Perhaps because they are more characteristic of deliberative orations, tasked with determining judicial guilt or innocence, appeals to justice or religion are lower on the list than rousing epideictic appeals. However, this seeming devaluation of just cause and religious right is significant when compared to lists of appeals compiled by other scholars of battle rhetoric. For example, just cause is the second most cited appeal in Bliese's analysis of ancient and medieval military manuals (493). Invoking God or religion is third on Bliese's list and sixth in Burgess's catalogue of *topoi* from ancient epideictic orations (211-214).[16] These appeals receive lower priority in the Renaissance manuals, and the works that do cite them are either translations of medieval texts (i.e. de Pizan) or from the first half of the century and thus more likely to be the result of medieval influences (i.e. Machiavelli and de Bellay).[17] English-authored manuals and translations from mid- to late-sixteenth century show a clear shift in the most commonly referenced appeals. Whereas Bliese found that "a more pragmatic approach dominated over the idealistic ones" in pre-Renaissance manuals (493), idealism takes precedence in the later texts where significant persuasive influence is given to belittling the enemy's lack of virtues and tapping into desires for honorable valiance. The early modern battle oration, then, is less an effort to *en*culturate and more a chance for

---

[16] Richard Miller's 2008 *In Words and Deeds* also identifies common appeals but adds nothing new to Burgess's list. Theon's *Progymnasmata* also provides suggestions for students composing exhortations, "the student in exhorting should say that what we are urging is possible and easy and noble and appropriate...beneficial, just, reverent (either toward the gods or toward the dead); pleasant, that we are not the only or the first or that it is better to be the first to do a noble deed if we are the first, when done will bring no regret; mention any previous relationship of the exhorter to the exhorted and if the latter benefited in the past (Kennedy 48-49).

[17] See the chapter on just cause in *Henry V* and *Battle of Alcazar* for a more extensive discussion of just cause appeals and period settings.

the speaker to identify with the audience and show himself as a knowledgeable member of the community. The speaker does not have to persuade the audience to abide by a certain culture; the groundwork for communal values was laid as part of martial training for the military audience or in previous elements of plot developments for the theatergoers. The orator, then, can efficiently exhort emotions by appealing to already entrenched group values and accepted *topoi*.

The qualities of character, emotion, and logic that will appeal to members of an audience depend largely on a speaker's knowledge of his intended discourse community. In this sense, Aristotle's artistic proofs anticipate the social-rhetorical turn in genre studies. Aristotle's broader division of persuasive appeals into artistic proofs (*pistis*)—*ethos*, *logos,* and *pathos*—provide a group of parent categories to the more varied commonplaces. Of these appeals, *pathos* and *ethos* are most essential in rally orations. Nicolaus the Sophist accurately draws this conclusion when he defines the characterization exercise *ethopoeia* as "a speech suiting the proposed situations, showing ethos or pathos or both...since one looks either to the universal or to what came from the circumstance..." (Kennedy *Progymnasmata* 164). Thus, the *kairic* moment for a battle oration requires *ethos* and *pathos* as well as the subjugation of *logos*. Pre-battle orations are not entirely absent of logic—social, political, or religious appeals are often couched in reason, especially in literary speeches—but there is little time or desire for dialectical debates when "proposed situations" demand expediency. Successful speeches indicate that the speaker understands relevant emotions and how to direct them (e.g. comforting fears and inflaming soldiers against the enemy) and that he understands the community's definition of good character and shared values. Judging by the most frequent commonplaces invoked in the military manuals, the genre holds true to Aristotle's elevation

of *ethos* as the most effective means of persuasion (*Rhetoric* I.2.1356). Value-centered

appeals to the unworthiness of the enemy, aspirations of virtue and fame, fulfilling oaths, and

honoring family legacies far outnumber overtly emotional ones. *Pathetic* reassurances are

necessary, but the most common *topoi* relate to things that raise social standings and

reinforce community ideologies. It is this second class of enduring *paraenetic* appeals that

invoke a previously-internalized martial *ethos* relevant to the oration's time and location (i.e.

justice and religion in the medieval texts and idealized ambition in the sixteenth-century

manuals).[18] The resulting effect generates not only identification between speaker and

audience, as Burke proposes, but also a more unified consensus in line with Perelman and

Olbrechts-Tyteca's theories that universal appeals reinforced adherence to commonly held

values (50). In the context of a battlefield, disorder could mean catastrophic loss. As a result,

whether the manuals omit more thorough coverage of speech design and delivery as too time

consuming or unnecessary, they provide only supplemental rhetorical instruction, isolating

the most professionally necessary elements in the importance of speaking, the need for

proper timing, and adequate preparation and a list of core appeals.

<p style="text-align:center">MEMORY AND ARRANGEMENT</p>

A commander's need for the acquiescence and expediency provided by appeals to

entrenched community beliefs allowed military treatise writers to privilege invention above

the other persuasively less critical rhetorical canons. Collectively, the manuals offer little

instruction on how to speak in terms of formal arrangement (*dispositio*), style (*elocutio*), or

memory (*memoria*). However, these elisions do not imply that these generic characteristics

are insignificant but rather affirm again that the battle exhortation is adaptable according to

---

[18] Burgess asserts that "a [calculated] compound of commonplaces" work well in epideictic oratory by giving the audience "a view of reality with which they already agree or disagree" (211).

its contextual use. It is a mistake to assume that the canons left out of the battle handbooks are insignificant to the genre. Quite the contrary, in the same way that interpreting *topoi* as mere platitudes oversimplifies their function within the social context of a pre-battle speech, overlooking memory, arrangement, and style as formulaic or superfluous undervalues their constitutive importance. Memory becomes the least emphasized rhetorical canon in the post-Ramus divisions, but it remains interwoven with *inventio* in the sense that common "places" (i.e. *loci*) functioned as mnemonic tools for memory as well as *topoi* for invention. Lechner confirms that military camps and plains of battle were often included among the metaphorical "places" used for locating seats of persuasive invention (159). While *memoria* gets reduced to practical shorthand that aids in invention and commonplace recall, analyzing organization and stylistic choices in context requires more fully-developed battle orations. Three military manuals include complete speeches: de Pizan, Styward, and Proctor. These, along with the history plays that provide more stylized examples, resurrect the canons of *dispositio* and *elocutio* as integral parts of the genre.

Creatively escaping the structural boundaries by breaking generic convention can be particularly dangerous in pre-battle oratory if a speaker or logographer extends too far beyond the expected framework. *Dispositio,* the rhetorical canon governing structure, literally shapes the exhortation genre, allowing audience/hearers to recognize, understand, and respond accordingly to narrative boundaries—its beginning, middle and end. These stages transmit important communicative signals between speaker and audience. For battle orations, the middle movements often follow the argument-counterargument script, usually relying on a mixed combination of the classical sections *narratio, partitio, confirmatio,* and *refutatio* to assert an army's advantaged position and belittle the enemy. This phase consists

mostly of the standard paraenetic *topoi*, offering appeals that are useful for dissecting a commander's ideological and physical perspective but that largely repeat the findings previously discussed in *inventio* above. Relevant to structure, this middle section is not as critical to understanding the contributions of *dispositio* as are the introduction (*exordium*) and conclusion (*peroratio*). The beginning and ending of an oration set the boundaries of the speech act. These boundaries generally satisfy Cicero's description that they would perform distinct ceremonial roles by appealing mostly to the ethically unifying and validating nature of *ethos* and the rousing and emotive potential of *pathos*.

The general's opening address and final rally cry frame the oratorical space, signaling the entry and exit of the speech event, providing a symbolic start to the battle and carving out the final moments before the fighting commences. These elements mark the ceremonial protected time of the battle oration in which combat seems imminent and final appeals to solidarity are paramount. Although dedicated rhetorical instruction on arrangement is scant within the battle manuals, the sample speeches provided in de Pizan's *Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry* (1489, Caxton trans.) and Thomas Styward's *Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (1581) offer examples for what the handbook writers consider appropriate opening addresses.[19] De Pizan and Styward invent their own model orations and include the following formal exordia: "Very dear brother, companions and friends" (de Pizan 61) and "My loving friends and fellowes" (Styward 66). Both are convivial introductions that serve the practical function of calling the army to order. They also serve a communal function, expressing a collegial bond that gives at least a pretense of intimacy and interconnectedness between commander and

---

[19] The oration included in Proctor's *Knowledge and Conducte* (1978) professes to be an historical account of Alexander's speech before his battle with Darius the Great. Perhaps because it is significantly more stylized than the other two, taking liberties with conventions more in line with literary examples, it begins citing Alexander mid-oration and does not include an exordium.

soldiers.[20] In many instances, dramatic examples reproduce this genial tone of unity and fellowship:

> "Brave followers" (King Edward, *3HVI*.5.4.67),
>
> "Hark, countrymen" (Talbot, *1HVI*.1.5.27),
>
> "Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends" (Richmond, *RIII*.5.2.1), and
>
> "Much that I could say, loving countrymen" (Richmond, *RIII*.5.5.191).

However, stage *exordia* often deviate slightly to reinforce political hierarchies, particularly in plays that advance themes of social inequity and cross-cultural tension:

> "Lords, nights, and gentlemen" (Margaret, *3HVI*.5.4.73),
>
> "Sheathe not your swords, you soldiers of Amurath,
>
> "Sheathe not your swords, you Moors of Barbary"
>
> > (M. M Seth. *Alcazar*, I.1.119-120),
>
> > ".....Forward, the, ye jades!
>
> Now crouch, ye kings of greatest Asia" (Tamburlaine, *2Tam*.4.3.97), and
>
> "Fight, gentlemen of England! Fight, bold yeomen!" (Richard, *RIII*.5.6.68)

Literary texts more directly emphasize class and social structures, a luxury perhaps available to fiction writers who want their audience to contemplate the uneasy complications of political power; however, this tactic would be less desired in a real-world battle setting where highlighting structural divisions could jeopardize appeals to the unity and collective investment necessary for battlefield stability. Admittedly, without comparing them to a larger sample than the three prose orations from the military handbooks, it is difficult to generalize

---

[20] This unifying function is in line with classical teachings: Aristotle supports *epideictic exordia* as a means for making 'the hearer believe that he shares the praise in himself, his family, and his pursuits' (*Rhetoric*, III.14.2), and for Cicero, the *exordium* puts the hearer into the right frame of mind, to make him "well-disposed, attentive, and receptive" (*De Inventione*, I. 20).

about socio-cultural politics playing a more overt role in theater imitations than in real-world orations. It certainly seems likely that dramatic speeches offer a more intricate treatment of societal complexities, given that they must navigate and advance a creative plot in a way that non-fiction orations do not.

Differences between nonfiction and fiction orations arise even more clearly in the emotional appeals common to an oration's conclusion. Although the final *peroratio* is not a summary of primary persuasive points, as it is for more traditionally deliberative summations, the conclusions of nonfiction pre-battle speeches contain a strong appeal to *pathos*. While dramatic perorations frequently end with exclamatory calls to advance, references to the monarch or general, or invocations of a god or a patron saint, none of the military examples end with an exhortative battle cry. This difference again offers a distinction for how theater-going audiences and the effects of the speech context have uniquely different requirements for which generic components receive emphasis. It is not that the war manuals omit perorations but that their tone is usually more reserved than demonstrative. De Pizan ends her speech with an inclusive final claim: "Now let us go forth bravely and without fear, my dear friends, children and brothers, against these people, commending ourselves to God, that He may give us the honor we desire" (61-62). De Pizan's final invocation of God uses the rhetorical figure *deesis*. Appeals to a diety are not apparent in the other two treatise speeches but appear regularly and with more emphasis as a rally cry in fictional pre-battle orations as demonstrated below. Proctor concludes by giving his audience a choice: So that to rest upon, wee have but two wayes, wheareof we must determine to take one: that is either to wynne the victorie, or to dye heare with honour (Fol 39). His statement positions the soldiers in a balance of alternatives, an *alliosis*, both of

which lead to fighting the battle. He "rests" by reassuring his men that they have only reward ahead of them, either from winning the battle or dying with honor. Styward finishes with a simple call for all soldiers to "knowe and obeie their officers in their place, according to their calling" (66). All three summations remain ceremonial but devote more attention to the exigent need for inspired resolve, to "go forth bravely," to choose an honorable path, and to follow their training and listen to their commanders' orders. These perorations are resolute more than rousing.

Although literary perorations occasionally finish with a similar quiet purposefulness, most playwrights use the speech's conclusion to evoke excessive emotion by using exclamatory rhetorical figures.[21] Perhaps the most common figure is an emotional shout, an *exclamatio*. Examples of these rally cries appear in *Tamburlaine, Part 2* and *3 Henry VI*:

> Tamburlaine: "To Babylon, my lords, to Babylon!" (2*Tam*, 4.3.133) and
>
> Edward: "Lords, to the field—Saint George and victory!"
>
> (*3HVI*.5.1.116)

These exclamations are brief, directly addressed to the soldiers ("lords" in the above examples), and often include a directional focus, exhorting the men "to" battle. Dramatic speeches also use the either/or fallacy as a final motivating strategy:

> Edward: "Sound trumpets—let our bloody colours wave!
>
>   And either victory, or else a grave!" (*3HVI*.2.2.173-74)

Edward's exclamation elevates the *alliosis* used by Proctor, above. Unlike with Proctor there is not discussion of "determining" which choice to make. Edward delivers a rousing enticement which presents both the bloody risks of war and "the win the victory or die

---

[21] Henry V's "You know your places. God be with you all" (*HV*.4.5.78) at the end of his Agincourt oration is a rare example of a muted, resolute peroration more in line with those reflected in the non-dramatic hortatory in the military manuals.

trying" motif as valiant sacrifices. Appeals to deities or dedications, often in the name of a

god or patron saint, also present the battle as a foregone conclusion with no indication of real

diliberation of muted reasoning. Uses of *deesis* in plays are vehement and exclamatory

compared to de Pizan's request for God's blessing, above. Richard and Richmond end their

orations with competing *deesis* calls. Richard's peroration avoids a direct appeal to a

religious god:

> Richard: "...fair Saint George,
>
>   Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons.
>
>   Upon them! Victory sits on our helms!" (*RIII*.5.6.79-81)

Instead of a false call to God, disengenuous from the mouth of the murderous King, Richard

invokes the legend of England's patron saint, which leads to natural animal imagery of

ferocity pointed at the enemy. In contrast to Richard's vehemence, Richmond encourages his

men with the appeal to battle "cheerfully" and with a self-sacrificing purpose:

> Richmond: "Sound, drums and trumpets, bold and cheerfully!
>
>   God and Saint George! Richmond and victory!"
>
>   (*RIII*.5.5.223-224)

Like Richard, Richmond identifies victory as the goal, but his rally cry illustrates yet another

use of *deesis*. He is not relinquishing trust to God's authority as de Pizan does, nor is he

looking for inspiration from a higher power as Richard does. He motivates his men with

appeals to service. Richmond concludes by exhorting his men to fight for a higher cause than

themselves, to desire battlefield victory for the sake of God, country, and a stabilizing and

conquering eventual king. His directives come in short, parallel bursts, giving the lines a

cheering rhythm that echoes the enthusiasm of his words. In each case, the dramatic

peroroations build the tension and punctuate each speech with more clamour than the non-fiction accounts. This excessive enthusiasm demonstrates how real and dramatic perorations serve divergent rhetorical aims. Military commanders work to persuade and move their soldiers toward an impending conflict. Playwrights, on the other hand, must raise the passions of an audience far removed from the battlefield and naturally more attentive to the craft of speechmaking. Although they serve different motivational contexts, both real and fictitious formal battle orations maintain a remarkably consistent structure: they begin with a unifying exordium, reinforce relevant ethical appeals, and end with an impassioned summation. For an audience familiar with the genre, these phases frame and preserve a captured oratorical space. There is no fighting. Little plot development occurs. Rarely are new characters introduced. It may not always be a rousing, exhortive success, but the general's oration seems to be a protected moment, with communicative signals that welcome the audience into the area and direct them out of it.

STYLE

While adhering to conventional patterns for a speech's exordium and peroration allows audiences to recognize the pre-battle speech moment, the broad use of rhetorical figures in battlefield perorations is actually more indicative of the placement of style the the Renaissance canon than their connections to arrangement. *Elocutio,* the tendency to ornament or "clothe" a speech, to borrow Cicero's metaphor, is the least addressed canon in military manuals and the area of oratory that most distinctly separates the treatises' more deliberative goals from the artfully demonstrative ones of on-stage orations. At the same time, *elocutio* is also deserving of focused attention in this analysis because, at this time, all of rhetoric is more or less reduced to expressions of style in the post-Ramist division. From the perspective

of classical Roman rhetoric, where style is a mark of register with a corresponding rhetorical purpose—plain for teaching (*docere*), middle for delighting (*delectare*), and grand for moving (*movere*) an audience—it is perhaps not surprising that ornamentation gets little attention in the conduct books. Its function is to instruct in strategies of war and thus demands a plain style. However, in the actual performance of a battle oration, the rhetorical aim is more to move in the case of real speeches or delight in the case of stage ones. Logistically, of course, a playwright also has more time to embellish since urgency and threat to life are fabricated. Considering the popularity of adornment in the Renaissance, though, the comparative scarcity of *elocutio* in treatises is surprising. Onosander writes of the "sugred talke of the Captaine" and "his swete and curteis maner of speakinge" (Fol. 12 & 14), but the two manual writers who were actual Elizabethan soldiers, Sir John Smythe and Barnabe Rich, only include short calls for the general to be an orator: Rich borrows his text from Machiavelli, and Smythe limits oratory the need for "briefe" speeches.[22] Conceivably, the absence of ornament may have more to do with the effect of Ramus' redistribution of rhetoric mid-century that shifted the canons of *inventio* and *dispositio* under the purview of dialectic, relegating rhetoric to the largely aesthetic canons of *elocutio*, *actio*, and, to a lesser degree, *memoria*.

Ramus' determination that excessively-adorned language did not belong to intellectual pursuit of truth may have influenced manual writers' decisions to omit style in their handbooks. This desire for projecting truth had an especially likely influence on authors like Riche, Smythe, and Sutcliffe who were author-soldiers working to legitimize their profession. Although they may have had political motivations, these omissions were not a

---

[22] Ironically, Smythe devoted eighteen pages of his text to instruction on "briefe speeches to be used." His list, though, works more as battlefield commands than formal oratory instruction.

function of ignorance or linked to a reduced attention to style in Renaissance pedagogy.

Erasmus' *De Copia* (1512) and *Adagia* (c. 1508) were widely read as academic and popular

texts on "abundant" style and useful commonplaces. Early modern schools championed

versatility and *facilitas* and inspired a growing relationship between rhetoric and literature.[23]

The early Renaissance reveled in the use of tropes and figures, and the ability to have a store

of verbal resources from which to draw remained a mark of refinement and eloquence long

after Ramus removed invention and arrangement from the rhetorical canon. The military

treatises' neglect of adornment should be seen less as a rebuff of figurative language and

more as confirmation that timing and *topoi* are at the definitional core of a pre-battle oration.

However, although *elocutio* is not a delineating characteristic, dismissing style as

insignificant to the genre mistakes the interdependence between the deliberative and

epideictic functions.

      A closer comparison of the example speeches from de Pizan, Styward, and Proctor

demonstrates significant stylistic differences that illustrate both overlaps and divergences of

the two professional spaces. Although de Pizan models much of her text after Vegetius's *De

Re Militarie*, the battle speech is her own creation and reads as an unadorned, even repetitive

list of commonplaces. Of the thirteen most frequent *topoi* suggested by the manuals, de Pizan

strings together almost all of them in her short speech.[24] She includes multiple appeals to just

cause: five intimate addresses including her initial *exordium* (i.e., "very, dear brothers,

companions and friends," "dear brothers, friends and companions," "fair lords," "my dear

friends" and "my dear friends, children and brothers") and a concluding *deesis* invoking

---

[23] Vickers actually credits Ramus' influence with bringing rhetoric to literature. Vickers, Brian. *In Defense of Rhetoric*. Oxford UP: Oxford. 1989.

[24] See the discussion above on the most common epideictic and deliberative *topoi* for a frequency list of commonplaces.

God's blessing (61-62). Her content and arrangement are more predictable than might be expected, even for a genre that depends on its conventions. Although de Pizan is a court writer, her style reflects a pre-Renaissance attention to repetition but not *copia* or *facilitas*. Similarly, Styward presents an oration that privileges political control and preservation of the social status quo without any significant elevation of style. He emphasizes the need to serve "our Prince and to defend our countrie," "[to] diligentlie observe and follow" the instructions of the officers," and for soldiers to "knowe and obeie their officers in their place, according to their calling" (66). Styward, an Elizabethan aristocrat, focuses on the pragmatics of securing allegiance and order more than a concern for stylistic embellishment. It is Proctor's text, written by an aspiring poet, in which Renaissance penchant for ornamentation surfaces:

> ...he saide to his men, our enemies are come to make a shewe or maske, &
> therefore we must make them daunce & runne also. See you those golden
> armures, gaye weapons, and goodlie geare, it is better to have woodden
> shyeldes then wodden men to beare them. (cap 6; seconde booke, fol 39)

In just the excerpt above, Proctor's speech includes an epigrammatic metaphor, alliteration, and a proverb. Proctor also adds historical gravitas to this speech by attributing it to Alexander the Great before the battle of Gaugamela.[25] Even before comparing battle manuals to literary representations, there is evidence of more embellished exhortations at the hands of aspiring poets than statesmen. It remains difficult to say with surety why adornment receives little treatment in the professional martial handbooks. The elision does indicate that *elocutio*

---

[25] Although it is generally accepted that Alexander gave a speech before the battle of Gaugamela, I have not found anything that cites Proctor's speech as the one given. It would not be surprising if the invocation of Alexander the Great is an imaginative conceit for stylistic effect. Proctor participated actively in embellished writing. In the same year as his military treatise, Proctor published *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions. Garnished and Decked with Divers Dayntie Devises, Right Delicate and Delightfull, To Recreate Eche Modest Mind Withall* (1578)

may be inessential to the genre in terms of its categorical recognition and practical use. Stylistic eloquence did have the potential to elevate the reputation of the speaker, particularly in the event of a great battlefield victory, but these embellishments were often the work of historians and authors reimagining commander orations. Among professional, historical, and fictional representations, basic participation in the genre first depended on appropriate appeals and respect for the kairic moment. The importance of adornment depends on the functional need to generate or re-create the rhetorical exigencies that precipitated the oration and is therefore more necessary in historical or theatrical depictions than in naturally tension-rich, real combat contexts.

DELIVERY

Of the original five rhetorical canons, only delivery (*actio* or *pronunciatio*) joins invention as the remaining elements of rhetoric after the Ramist division. While invention is the creation of ideas and uncovering of useful *topoi*, delivery governs the performative component of speech, emphasizing appropriateness of tone, timing, and physical gesture. Ultimately, delivery determines whether the efforts devoted to invention, arrangement, style, and memory are successfully externalized to a speech's audience. Because of its important relationship to an oration's efficacy, *actio* was included in Renaissance rhetorical education as part of the *progymnasmata* and included in the Greco-Roman texts.[26] In *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), Wilson identifies delivery's continued importance in the Renaissance, identifying pronunciation as "an apte orderinge bothe of the voyce, countenaunce, and al the

---

[26] *Actio* is part of the neoclassical literature at the foundation of the *progymnasmata* and referenced in the rhetorics of Aristotle, Cicero and Quinlian: "The orator persuades by moral character when his speech is delivered in such a manner as to render him worthy of confidence…" (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I. ii. 4); "[delivery is] wholly the concern of the feelings, and these are mirrored by the face and expressed by the eyes" (Cicero, *De Oratore*, III.lix.221); "The rules for delivery are identical with those for the language of oratory itself. For, as our language must be correct, clear, ornate, and appropriated, so with our delivery" (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* IX.iii.30).

whole bodie, according to the worthinesse of such wordes and matter, as by speech are declared" (Book III). This notion of delivery as a function of appropriateness is one of the few points addressed in the military manuals. It identifies an emphasis on decorum, a believable propriety necessary for making a speech convincing. Onosander remarks that a Captain's "countenance and loke" motivates soldiers and that captains should always "fayne cherefulnesse unto men and with his merines, to make them glad, then with wordes and orations to comforte them" and "to shewe himselfe such a manne, as the tyme, and occasion seemes to require" ("Of comforting the Armie" xiii Fol. 67 and 68). Handbook instruction, rhetorical and military, reinforces the importance of appropriate speech that correctly addresses (and dresses, in the case of *elocutio*) the exigent needs of an oratorical context. Satisfaction of these exigencies depends on both the speakers' and audiences' knowledge of the speech context, knowledge gained through recurrent encounters with the genre (i.e. imitating, generating and evaluating performances) at all stages of construction, from invention to arrangement to proper styling and public delivery.

Violations of Conventions as Extending the Genre

Ultimately, understanding standard conventions for the pre-battle orations, allows writers to manipulate these rules when adapting the genre to the potentially-exaggerated histrionics of popular theater. What results are variations that restructure the expected arrangement or shift the speech act outside of its martial setting in ways that generate creative applications, such as effective shorthand speech or humor. Writing on the utility of known conventions, Heinrich F. Plett asserts that "innovations only take place when commonplaces are radically questioned" (328). However, advancements do not require "radical" challenges in order to change how a genre gets employed. Quite the contrary, while

generic fluency enables a rhetor to construct a suitable oration in its proper setting, it also allows a playwright to deconstruct the genre's typical conventions and re-appropriate it even with subtle variations.[27] Deviations from structure, for example, allow for the inversions of conventional speech order or the creation of brief speeches in a kind of exhortive shorthand. These abbreviated versions attempt to affect the same rhetorical excitement without a complete, formal battle oration. Often, they include only appeals to highly-recognizable commonplaces and a *peroratio*. Abdil Reyes's encouragement to the men before their first battle in *Alcazar* is an example both of a brief exhortation and inverted arrangement: *narratio, partitio, confirmatio,* and *refutatio*: "Forward, brave lords, unto this rightful war. / How can this battle but successful be / Where courage meeteth with a rightful cause?" (*Alcazar* 1.1.131-133). Reyes merges her peroration with the exordium in the first line and ends with appeals to courage and just cause. She omits most of the central parts of a classical oration—*narratio, partitio,* and *refutatio*—and asserts only the confirmation of logical proof (*confirmatio*). On the one hand, Peele could be using shorthand to demonstrate the potential effectiveness of a pre-battle oration distilled down to its essential elements; on the other hand, he could also be presenting an "incorrect" oration delivered from a female character to signify her incomplete understanding of the genre. Knowing how a pre-battle oration should be constructed allows Peele to exploit its component parts.

Another example of creative adaptation occurs when a playwright removes the battle oration from its proper time, person, or place in order to parody the genre's typically bombastic tone. Bardolph's "On, on, on, on, on! To the breach, to the breach!" (*HV*.3.2.1)

---

[27] Marrou considers that mastery of a process gives the artist "complete freedom within the system...without any loss of sincerity" (280). Fleming credits the foundational building blocks in the *progymnasmata* with giving poets like Shakespeare and Milton an authentic platform from which to create more nuanced art (115). Marrou, Henri I. A. *History of Education in Antiquity*. 3rd ed. Trans. G. Lamb. New york: Sheed and Ward, 1956.

after Henry V's Harfleur speech is an example of this usage. Bardolph is neither a commander nor is he sincerely attempting to rally forces, and in this context, his words mock the genre, presenting none of the rousing grandeur normally attributed to these speeches. On a larger-scale, Rafe's pre-battle oration in Act 5.2 of Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* turns exhortatory rhetoric into a farce. Rafe wears the proper costume and uses the right appeals, but there is not the necessary context or martial need for his oration. He performs merely because audiences enjoy these types of speeches, satirizing neo-chivalry in a way that is comedic and farcical. The most common uses of this genre are overly theatrical versions of their non-fiction battlefield counterparts, exaggerated appeals to theater audiences far removed from the real-life intensity of war. Yet these examples from Peele, Shakespeare, and Beaumont demonstrate ways in which knowledge of generic conventions gives creative license to artists to play on the audience's familiarity with the genre for expediency, mockery, or humor.

The pre-battle oration exists in complex socio-rhetorical situations, scripted by multiple authors (commanders, manual writers, playwrights, chroniclers) for diverse audiences (soldiers, public citizens, theatergoers). What stabilizes the genre is its existence as a highly-conventionalized form. Although the genre does not fit easily within classical categories of epideictic or deliberative oratory, its long-established literary and oral history and its reinforcement through rhetorical curriculum and military handbooks has solidified its place in martial discourse. Each exhortation participates in the tradition of all other pre-battle oration and reminds its hearers of their previous experiences of rally speech. The event has an almost ceremonial familiarity, and as with any ceremony, it must retain its most recognizable elements to accomplish its procedural aim. For pre-battlefield oratory, these

essential conventions include learned *topoi*, formal arrangement, and practiced delivery. The recognizable, even clichéd, features of battlefield exhortations create identification and serve the ideological purpose of the genre, generating a necessary community and an immediate socio-cognitive understanding of context amongst knowledgeable users. Its artistry is strengthened by the heavy reliance on conventions and the ways in which near-universal knowledge of these principles allows for writer to extend the boundaries of the genre, adapting and re-appropriating the form to history plays and comedies, and eventually to popular modern audiences through war movies, sports films, political and activist speeches. The pre-battle oration, for all its conventions, remains a flexible social genre that adapts to its audiences' and orators' intended uses as a fear-reducing and confidence-building pep talk, a method of comedic entertainment or undermining subversion, a reinforcement and affirmation of communal values, or as a genre of legacy-forming and mythmaking.

Chapter 2: "Thy Fame Shall Never Cease":
Historiography and Mythmaking in Elizabeth's Tilbury

On the relationship between poetry and history Aristotle writes, "It is not necessary to keep entirely to the traditional stories which form the subjects of our tragedies. Indeed, it would be absurd to do so, since even the familiar stories are familiar only to a few, and yet they please everybody" (*Poetics* 1451b). In this assertion, Aristotle is not dismissing the importance of accuracy when examining historical events but rather acknowledging that these narratives often have a broad public appeal that permits, even requires, their embellished retelling. The pre-battle oration is a unique example of an historic event that is familiar to and anticipated by audiences both in its real and fictional enactments. As discussed previously, the genre's rhetorical purpose is to unify the speech's hearers, reinforce shared values, decrease fear, and inspire confidence. Certainly, the immediate success of the speech is measured by how well it accomplishes these goals; however, a secondary indicator of success is whether the oration gets remembered, retold, and absorbed into the lore of the battle. This process can elevate a speech from an historical and rhetorical event to a folk legend. As such, a proper examination of martial discourse should include a reading of the pre-battle oration for how it reflects established anthropological and folkloric theories for symbolic and ritualized activity. Specifically, E.R. Leach's theory for ritualized time offers a model through which to investigate war as removed from ordinary time and to conceptualize pre-battle events as part a sacred space in which the oration represents a unifying and distinct public marker. For this study, Elizabeth I's "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury" provides a fitting model, both for understanding the atmosphere that demands such speeches and for evaluating the narrative elements that reshape the speech to a legendary status beyond its rhetorical moment. The critical controversy over the authenticity and accuracy of the Tilbury

oration illustrates the role of historiography in preserving a speech act but also raises

questions that complicate the importance of historical truth in a hero narrative. Ultimately,

verbatim records of the oration, even verified authorship, are not the most essential

components of an oration's rhetorical legacy; rather, the historical trajectory of the speech is

one of cooperative mythmaking as it passes from the composer to the audience and into the

hands of the historiographers and storytellers who deliver it again to a new audience outside

of the original speech act.

The survival of a pre-battle oration depends largely on several narrative elements that

include the speaker's successful recognition and navigation of the rhetorical moment, the

situational context and outcome of the battle, and the speech's recording and retelling after

the conflict meets its resolution. The multiple versions of Queen Elizabeth I's 1588 speech to

her troops at Tilbury present a rare example of battlefield rhetoric in which the actual speech

act supersedes the historical event such that the surviving popular narrative focuses more on

the commander's exhortation than on the ensuing battle. Admittedly, this emphasis occurs

largely because Spain's Armada gets defeated at sea and the Tilbury land battle never takes

place, but even these events that have logical explanations based in meteorology and naval

science get absorbed into the Tilbury mythos and further propagate the Queen's legendary

role.[1] In rhetorical terms, Elizabeth's *kairic* moment brought her to the English coast, only a

short distance from Calais once owned by England and lost back to France in the very year of

her coronation. Part of the French lands won by Henry V and later lost by Henry VI, Calais

served as a reminder of both an historic English triumph and a shameful martial defeat. As

Elizabeth prepared to speak, she may well have seen Tilbury as her chance to re-establish

---

[1] Garrett Mattingly chronicles the story of the Armada defeat in *The Armada*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1959. For an overview of the historiography, see Douglas, Knerr. "Through the 'Golden Mist': A Brief Overview of Armada Historiography." *American Neptune* 1989 49 (1): 5-13.

England as a conquering martial force; she may even have perceived the speech occasion as her version of Henry V's Agincourt oration. Anticipating that her navy would be defeated at sea by the mighty Spanish Armada and expecting a land invasion by Parma's army, Elizabeth would have recognized the impending battle and would have known the weighty context of her words. She also had the rhetorical training and skill to understand the expected convention of a pre-battle oration, having been classically educated by Roger Ascham.[2] Elizabeth would have recognized Tilbury as an opportune occasion for a rousing oration, one that could elevate the army's morale and advance her own public relations campaign. Yet, this speech is one of the few for which she did not have a formal print version published.[3] Literally, the survival of this speech depended on its second-hand recording and retelling, making it immediately available for embellishment that could transform the event from oral text to narrative tale.

Historiography

There is general agreement that Elizabeth did address her troops at Tilbury in August of 1588, but scholars who examined the historical sources for the Tilbury speech have differing views about the authenticity and accuracy of the text most commonly attributed to the Queen. The version currently accepted as Elizabeth's "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury" comes from a letter from Dr. Leonel Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham, written in 1623 but not published until 1654 with a collection of documents, letters, and papers as part of *The Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the Great Ministries of K. James and K. Charles*

---

[2] While there is no exact record to prove that Ascham tutored Elizabeth in martial oratory or took her through the *Progymnasmata* exercises, Ascham's *Toxophilus* was the first martial text on the art of the longbow.

[3] Marcus, Meuller and Rose note that Elizabeth's habit was to write her speeches in one form before their delivery, spontaneously alter her text as she spoke it, then release each speech for publication in yet a third revised form. They speculate that the lack of printing for the Tilbury speech may be the result of the intensity of the impending battle that outweighed focus on the speech (1077) in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, eds. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000).

(*Cabala*).[4] So, the Tilbury text most widely accepted as Elizabeth's appeared to have been the latest one recorded, often bringing into suspicion its accuracy and authenticity. In 1919, Miller Christy offered a detailed account of the Queen's visit and all known versions of the speech that arose after the Spanish defeat. Christy confirmed that the Queen delivered a formal review of her troops but ultimately found that existing versions vary too widely to determine the most accurate text of the oration. In 1925, J. E. Neale compared Sharp's Buckingham letter to quotes from previous Elizabeth speeches and declared that the letter was the closest available text to the original speech. In 1992, Susan Frye raised the controversy again, dismissing the previous historical claims made by Christy and others and relegating the speech to a fabricated "myth of iconography" (95). Frye pointed to conflicting accounts of the speech and asserted that there exists "no contemporary evidence that the famous [Sharp] speech was the one actually delivered" (96). In 1997, Janet M. Green presented compelling new evidence to add to the authorship debate. Green uncovered a firsthand account of Elizabeth's speech—the BM Harleian MS 6798, article 18—and used this manuscript to verify Sharp as the author of both the 1623 letter to Buckingham and the handwritten text. Green determined that Sharp wrote the Harleian account while listening to or shortly after hearing the Queen speak at Tilbury because he had been given orders to re-deliver the speech to the rest of the army the following day (441). It is possible that the debate is not completely settled by Green's findings. Most recent scholars uphold the legitimacy of the Buckingham letter, even as they acknowledge that the actual words

---

[4] The title page of *The Cabala* states that it was "Faithfully Collected by a Noble Hand," an editor who was never identified. The text was apparently popular, seeing the publication of two expanded editions in 1663 and 1691. The queen's speech remained the same in all three editions.

belonging this version vary slightly from the Harleian MS.[5] Although the debate on primary

authorship is not the focus of this examination, evaluating the textual evidence that defends

the Tilbury speech as Queen Elizabeth I's and the variant reproductions of the speech is

important for understanding narrative re-telling as essential to the mythmaking process, even

as it confounds historical authenticity.

Mythmaking and Poetic Tilbury Reproductions

In fairness to Christy's and Frye's conclusions that conflicting accounts make it

difficult to determine an authoritative version of Elizabeth's oration, it is true that the texts

published nearest to the event, Thomas Deloney's *The Queens Visiting* (1588) and James

Aske's *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588), bear little resemblance to the Sharp text. Similar to

Christy's and Frye's readings, this examination accepts the Deloney and Aske poems as

contributors to Elizabeth's mythic iconography but is in disagreement with the assertions that

these artistic works complicate attempts to prove the speech's veracity. It is also important to

identify that both sources are creative renditions of Elizabeth's speech, written in narrative

poetic genres that would necessarily deviate from an exact transcript of the oration in order to

participate in the ballad and epic traditions, respectively.[6] Neither Deloney, a balladeer and

pamphlet writer, nor Aske, a soldier at Tilbury, purports his poetry as a verbatim report of the

Queen's speech. Deloney's ballad was entered into the *Stationers' Register* on August 10,

1588, a mere day or two after the Queen made her formal address. Some critics suggest that

Deloney witnessed the speech; others say that this is unlikely, but the release of the poem so

---

[5] Alison Weir uses the Buckingham text in her biography of the Queen, *The Life of Elizabeth I.* Ballantine Books: New York, in all four editions 1998-2008. This study cites from the 8th edition *Norton Anthology of English Literature* (2006), which also gives the Buckingham letter version.

[6] John Stow, Edmond Howes, John Speed, Thomas Hey-wood, Bishop Godfrey Goodman, and Lady Diana Primrose all refer to a speech or speeches given by the Queen, but these remain only as brief summaries or notices (Green 432). My focus in this section is on the narrative elements that these creative references foreground from the Tilbury oration. For a full rhetorical analysis of the Aske and Deloney poems, see Janet M. Green discussion of how these texts differ from the Sharp letter or Harleian MS nonfiction accounts.

soon after the oration indicates, at least, that it was directly inspired by Elizabeth's words or a recent report of them.[7] As a ballad, it would be a creative work, composed so as to be easily remembered and repeated, even handed down over time. Deloney's *The Queen's Visiting* reflects many of the standard conventions of the ballad genre that includes short, lyric song stories that have a long tradition as a foundational genre for folk narratives.[8] Specifically, the subgenre of heroic ballads was meant not simply to be orally recited but to be chanted in taverns and public squares. Child identifies that ballads transcended status boundaries: "all classes know them....No class scorns to sing them" (218). In keeping with convention, Deloney begins *in medias res* with Elizabeth having already sent the English ships to meet Spain's Armada; its scenes are episodic with brief depictions of Elizabeth's trumpeted arrival on the Thames, her passing through the camp and retiring to her lodging for the night, then arriving on a "prancing steed" (198) to deliver her speech the next day. The section devoted to the Queen's oration is given only one stanza:

> And then bespake our Noble Queene,
>
> 'My loving friends and countriemen:
>
> I hope this day the worst is seene,
>
> that in our wars, ye shall sustaine.
>
> But if our enimies doe assaile you,
>
> never let your stomackes faile you.
>
> For in the midst of all your troupe,

---

[7] Green speculates that, along with Aske and Sharp, Deloney was possibly an eyewitness to Elizabeth's oration. Christy, Frye and Heard write that it is unlikely that Deloney witnessed the event. His not being present would actually further support my points about the ballad tradition and heroic narratives, but since there is no definitive answer, I do not rely on assertions of Deloney as an eyewitness for my argument.

[8] Francis J. Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* on English and Scottish ballad tradition is the most famous study on English ballads. Add a few more significant studies to flesh out this footnote. Maybe do Lord here instead of a separate footnote for epics. For a more complete list of ballad conventions, see David Atkinson's "The Ballad and Its Paradoxes." *Folklore.* (August 2013): 123-38.

> We our selves will be in place:
>
> To be your joy, your guide and comfort,
>
> even before your enimies face!' (200).

Deloney's rhyming tetrameter creates a "leaping and lingering" rhythm that ballad scholar,

David Atkinson, says is characteristic of this type of poetry (124). This rhythm creates a

chanting pattern to the poem, like the repetition of a mantra. The diction is personal with

multiple first and second-person references that create an intimate tone, reinforcing the theme

of self-sacrifice and "me and you" interconnectedness. Even this brief section is formulaic

with repetition and parallelism ("our enimies"/"your stomackes" :: "assaile you"/"faile you")

that make it easily memorable. In selecting the ballad form, Deloney may have recycled

some of Elizabeth's rhetorical phrases and certainly reproduced the sentiment of the speech,

but his compositional purpose was not to report but to tell a story. As a catchy narrative song

designed to commemorate and share the event through a form that is distinctly oral and

reproducible, Deloney's text helps to promote Elizabeth's speech to legendary status by

bringing the Tilbury oration almost immediately into Renaissance popular culture. As a

ballad, the war story could be sung in English pubs, accessible to the literate and illiterate, a

low art entertainment shared by nobles and commoners alike.

  While Deloney's ballad generates a transmission of Elizabeth's oration and the

popularization of the Tilbury narrative through a primarily social medium, Aske's *Elizabetha

Triumphans* (1588) claims more of a literary tradition by retelling the event as an epic poem.

In choosing the genre of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and *Beowulf*, Aske associates his narrative

with these time-honored warrior tales that preserve and venerate significant cultural or

national events. Although epics have a similar connection to entertainment and oral history,

their stylistic function is to esteem their hero(es) and elevate their tales using a grand register versus middle or even low style used in more bawdy tavern ballads. Characteristics that help to create this formal tone are the poet's formal proclamation of compositional purpose, an invocation of the Muses, and lauding the hero(es) with praiseworthy epithets. Aske follows these epic conventions, asking Jove to direct his Muse so that she can "set downe both peace, / And warlike deedes this maiden Queene hath done" (434) and proclaiming his purpose for writing in the opening lines:

> I write not of the labours (passing strange,)
>
> Which *Joves* base sonne with wondrous fame atchiv'd:
>
> Ne of the actes, the never dying actes,
>
> That English Kings have done long time agoe.
>
> But all my drift is to declare the deedes,
>
> The famous deeds that this our sacred Queene
>
> Performed hath, sithence *Sol* hath pass'd the *Signes*
>
> Just thirtie times, with those his shining lights. (434)

His formal proclamation acknowledges that *Elizabetha Triumphans* breaks with convention by telling of events that so recently occurred, covering only the last thirty years since Elizabeth's ascension.[9] In essence, Aske positions his poem as the first epic record of what he hopes will be the "never dying actes" of Elizabeth. Publishing his poem on November 23, 1588, only three months after the Tilbury oration, Aske is consciously "labour[ing]" to turn the Queen's life story into hero myth. He satisfies epithetic conventions, referring to the Queen with such names as Virgin Queene, maiden Queene, warlike Queene, Bellona-like,

---

[9] Aske's epic chronicles the Elizabeth's ascension, periodic challenges by the Pope and various Catholic countries, and threats of national treason. Tilbury is its climax, but the poem presents events before and through the Armada defeat.

Amazonian Queene, and Dido-like. He portrays the Pope as an allegorical arch-nemesis, for instance, depicted as a wolf among the flock of English sheep in the night with Elizabeth as the sun that God sent to run the wolf away (435-36). Responding almost directly to popular ballads like Deloney's, Aske prefaces his book by affirming a public relations goal to tell the story with more eloquence rather than "to let such broken tales, told in plaine Ballets" define Elizabeth's narrative. His structural choices and embellishments reveal the intentionality of his effort. A soldier at Tilbury and likely an eyewitness to the oration, Aske presents the poem as an embedded, second-hand account: "(I tell a right strange tale,/I heard of one who was of great regard/In *Tilb'ry Camp*)" (452). This storytelling technique creates a sense of tradition, indicating historical transfer, a passing down of the "right strange tale." In placing his rendition of the Tilbury narrative within the epic genre, Aske embraces a form that allows, even requires, the blending of historical truth with creative, inflated mythmaking.[10]

Aske's treatment of Elizabeth's oration would naturally follow this mytho-historical pattern, with foundations from the actual speech but no pretense of a strict biographical account. In fact, this interplay between truth and fiction is a definitional characteristic of both myths and legends. Writing to delineate primary oral narrative forms, folklorist, Dan Ben-Amos, explains that "myth (from Greek *mythos*) is believed to be true, legend (from Latin *legenda*) purports to be true" (102). Both, according to Ben-Amos, relate details of humans interacting with supernatural beings, but myths describe events beyond human boundaries of time and space; while, legends involve known personalities, dates or places.[11] This

---

[10] See Albert B. Lord *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge: Harvard UP (1960) in which Lord uses research by Milam Parry on Serbo-Croatian oral storytellers to establishe the theory of Oral Formulaic-Composition. Lord's text explains how texts transitioned from oral narrative to written epics at the nascence of written culture. Lord's text focuses mostly on Homer but also considers medieval epics, specifically *Beowulf*.

[11] In addition to myth and legend, Ben-Amos primary goal in this chapter is to define the folktale as an oral narrative form. Since folktales are inherently untrue, allegorical stories about supernatural beings, I do not include them in this discussion of Aske's poem.

ambiguous relationship between belief and time, with myths as assumed truths about an unknown time and legends as asserted truths about a known time, is justification for using the terms interchangeably in this analysis of the Queen's oration story. Tilbury is a known event and assumed to be historically true, if not incontrovertibly accurate. Aske develops his pre-battle speech in such a way that blends belief with supernatural adornments. Aske begins with the seemingly incongruous assertion that he will write "Her royall speech (though nothing like her Speech)" (460). Although he says his text is nothing like the Queen's, the words of the speech differ noticeably in style from the rest of the epic, in lines that are relatively straightforward and the least ornate in the poem. His rendition echoes similar motifs to the Deloney poem and the existent non-fiction versions of the speech. It begins with an assurance that the men are ready ["For sure we are that none beneath the Heavens/Have readier Subjects" (460)], asserts the Queen's willingness of personal sacrifice ["No deare at all to us shalbe our life/...But in the midst and very heart of them,/Bellona-like we meane as then to march" (460-61)], promises rewards ["most large rewards/...there shalbe" (461)], and transfers her authority to the soldier in charge of actual battlefield conduct [her "Serjant Major" (461)]. These lines incorporate common rhetorical appeals of pre-battle orations but do not add the ornate descriptions used to aggrandize the other events in the tale. It is likely that Aske takes minimal creative liberties with this section because he is actually trying to be true to the Queen's words as best he can remember them. In contrast, his descriptions of how she speaks and her departure after delivering her address return to the laudatory style. Aske asks the muses to help him represent Elizabeth's words with "flowing arte" and "peerl-like droppes/ Which fall amaine from that your silver streame" (460). After speaking to the troops, she bows and floats away on a barge at the waterside to the discharge of roaring

cannons and shedding forth a bright light (573). It is ultimately undeterminable whether

Aske's version of Elizabeth's Tilbury oration uses words from her actual speech, but it is

certain that his poem exists somewhere between truth and fiction and participates in

conscious cultivation and elevation of the myth of Elizabeth as an epic hero and the

eloquence of her pre-battle rhetoric as a legendary and mystical event.

Mythmaking and Religious Tilbury Reproductions

Both fictionalized versions of Elizabeth's speech are significant to Tilbury lore not

necessarily for how accurately they reproduce the oration but for the role they play in quickly

extending the narrative to a broader audience: Deloney in a popular culture context and Aske

for a more literate and refined target readership. The first two nonfiction accounts perform a

similar function, making the history of Elizabeth at Tilbury part of seventeenth-century

religious discourse. The two texts, the inscription of Elizabeth's oration below the painting,

Elizabeth I and the Spanish Armada, and William Leigh's sermon, *Quene Elizabeth, Paraleld*

in Her Princely Vertues with David, Josua, and Hezekia (1612), are near replicas of each

other. Critics are uncertain which text was written first: although the painting, hanging at St.

Faith's Church, Gaywood, England, is dated 1588, it is widely presumed to be from the early

seventeenth century.[12] Frye asserts that either the Gaywood inscription or the Leigh sermon

could be the authentic version of Elizabeth's speech with dates historically closer to the event

than the 1623 Sharp letter. However, as with the generic embellishments in the Deloney and

Aske poems, both religious renditions of the speech include thematic elements characteristic

of the audience they target: both emphasize the Tilbury oration as an instance of God's will

---

[12] Frye doubts the dating of this painting, stating that "it may have been executed as late as the early seventeenth century, since it was hung next to a rendition of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605" (102). Karen Hearn confirms Frye's conclusion, determining that the painting dates from the Jacobean era and links it to Leigh's 1612 sermon (131). Though, neither critic determines for sure whether the sermon or the painting inscription was composed first.

and blessing of the English cause.[13] The Gaywood painting is briefer and less overtly proselytizing than the Leigh sermon. It includes a call from Elizabeth to her soldiers that together they will "Fight the battel of the Lorde" against the "proud Philistines that...Revile the host of the Living God" (Frye 102).[14] The painting alludes to the heroic conquest of David over Goliath and the Philistines, a reference that Leigh makes more directly in the title of his sermon. Accordingly, the message given is that the battle is the Lord's fight, Elizabeth is an earthly representative of God, the English soldiers are acting as agents for God, and England is a chosen nation. The inscription concludes with Elizabeth assuring her men that God fights with them and will make their martial skill so great that they would win even if "all the devils in hell be against us" (102). The Gaywood inscription uses familiar tropes of pre-battle speech with appeals to national loyalty, duty, belittling the enemy, and reassurances against fear. The overriding theme, though, is the notion that the battle and eventual victory, were God-sanctioned. Hanging next to a painting of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, another historical event interpreted as a sign that England was under God's protection, *Elizabeth I and the Spanish Armada* functions as a symbolic reinforcement of God's grace. Rather than claiming to provide a verbatim record of Elizabeth's oration, it interlocks this divine intervention element to the Tilbury myth for anyone who sees the portrayal and reads the inscription. The inscription performs a religious rhetorical purpose: it reinforces the notions that wars are still determined by God and that God favors England, and it works to inspire Gaywood visitors to live lives deserving of this continued favor.

---

[13] Linking the Armada defeat to divine intervention is certainly not unique to Leigh's sermon or the Gaywood inscription. Although Deloney's ballad maintains a secular theme, Aske attributes the victory as a sign the Elizabeth is a queen "beloved of our God" (582). However, both the painting and sermon, more than any other text, emphasize the battle as solely the plan of an approving God.

[14] The actual inscription is worn in some areas. Frye has filled in faded lettering where unreadable. Elements that she added will be marked with brackets, in keeping with the formatting of her text.

While the Gaywood inscription is a visual representation of God's blessings and the fortune bestowed on England, the Leigh sermon is an overt manipulation of the Tilbury event in an effort to preach the Christian doctrine of faithfulness and repentance. Leigh repurposes Elizabeth's speech into an anecdote of divine leadership and theistic conscience; then, he delivers that message for his congregation and readers of the published version. As identified in his title, Leigh's primary goal is to represent Elizabeth as paralleled with the biblical kings Joshua, David, and Hezekiah who brought stability to their kingdoms by demonstrations of faithfulness to the Christian God.[15] With this association, Leigh invokes overtones of transgression and disobedience and the need for a warrior leader to put his listeners back on a path to God. He does not pretend to offer an exact account, introducing the speech by saying, "with God in her heart, and a commaunding staffe in her hand, [Elizabeth] uttered these, or the like words in her Princely march"[16] (Frye 101). Rhetorically, his sermon focuses on themes of sin, repentance, and the power of prayer that were not included in the Gaywood inscription. The soldiers are still agents of God, but in Leigh's version, it is their prayers that Elizabeth "commend[s]" rather than their martial skill. These prayers will "move the heavens," and their faithful preaching will "shake the earth" in England's favor. Channeling as Elizabeth, Leigh calls his church soldiers "up to repentance," that they will gain "mercy" through their "faithful[ness]" and have no reason to fear God's judgment (102). Finishing his

---

[15] According to Christian theology, Joshua (late 1200s BC) succeeds Moses as the leader of the Israelites. When they start to worship pagan gods, Joshua leads them back into faithful adherence to Ark of the Covenant, and God rewards him with the land of Canaan on which to settle his people. David (970 BC) is the warrior king who leads the Israelites to victory over Goliath and the Philistines. Hezekiah (687 BC) brings a spiritual revival to Judah though religious reform and enforcing laws against worshipping false gods.

[16] Writing on the formulaic nature of sermons, Rosenberg determines that anecdotal illustrations are characteristic of the oral genre, where stories are often introduced using patters that further the overall theme of the sermon in a way similar to legend and fairytale "once upon a time" phrases. His examples include "after a while, every now and then, etc"; I would add Leigh's "she uttered these words" to this list (9-10). Rosenberg, Bruce A. "The Formulaic Quality of Spontaneous Sermons." *The Journal of American Folklore*, 83.327 (Jan.-Mar. 1970), from JSTOR accessed 2/14/2009.

reproduced oration with the Latin *Si deus nobiscum quis contra nos*? (102), he does not have

the Queen promise a financial reward as prior versions do but rather a spiritual reward,

assuring that the English have no one to fear if God is with them. More than two decades

after the event, Leigh borrows the iconography of Elizabeth as the embodiment of devotion

and the Armada victory as emblematic of God's approval and transforms the story into a

parable for how his congregation should express their faithfulness. That Leigh uses this event

as an evangelical tool indicates that the Armada defeat and the Queen's oration were already

part of his audience's mytho-historical acceptance of the Tilbury legend, such that they would

be inspired and renewed by the symbolism of England and Elizabeth as favored position in

the eyes of God. His decision to put it into his sermon keeps the narrative alive and relevant

for a seventeenth-century audience, not only as a literary tale but also as a didactic lesson in

piety.

       In order to understand how a pre-battle oration like Elizabeth's Tilbury address grows

into a folk legend means, one must acknowledge that the historiographical effort to get as

close as possible to the original speech act is part of the mythmaking process. Traditional

genres of verbal performance like songs/ballads, epic poetry, and preaching often include

embedded displays of formal oratory, yet the fact that their performances occur away from

the source setting makes them subordinate to the actual narrative event they portray. This is

not an appraisal of their quality as literary or sermonic texts; often their creativity results in

more eloquent and provocatively embellished reproductions than nonfictional versions. Yet,

authors of these texts work within decreased pressures of time and circumstance and with

different rhetorical purposes than a commander on a battlefield. Even as they use contextual

details and recite authentic martial discourse to advance their stories, even as they spread the

narrative to broad public audiences, Deloney, Aske, and Leigh write versions of Elizabeth's speech that do little to clarify the factual record or the rhetorical skill with which the Queen spoke.

Mythmaking and Debating the "Authentic" Version

Scholars have worked diligently to differentiate embellishment from truth, further fueling the legend of Elizabeth at Tilbury. The most recent and most authoritative work that has been done to authenticate the Tilbury address is Janet M. Green's discovery of the BM Harleian MS 6798, article 18 and her subsequent handwriting and rhetorical analysis that confirms the 1623 Sharp letter as the typed transcription of the manuscript.[17] Green argues convincingly that the Harleian MS is the original, handwritten version of Sharp's Buckingham letter from the *Cabala* (1654) collection. She provides a full comparison of the Harleian MS with the Buckingham letter and matches the language of texts to common rhetorical tropes found in other of Elizabeth I's formal speeches to demonstrate how, clause by clause, the speeches mirror each other. The Harleian MS, Green explains, is less polished and "perfected," containing only "a few mistakes and reversals of words…such as might occur if one were rapidly writing down a speech as it was being delivered outdoors, or trying shortly thereafter to reproduce the speech from memory."[18] The manuscript uses the first

---

[17] As referenced above, the currently accepted version of the text comes from a 1623 letter from Dr. Leonel Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham. Sharp, like Aske, was a first-hand witness to the events at Tilbury as chaplain to the Earl of Leicester. In his letter, he states that the Elizabeth "made an excellent oration to her army, which the next day after her departure, I was commanded to re-deliver to all the army together, to keep a public fast. Her words were these" (Green 444). The fact that he was responsible for re-presenting the speech after the Queen's departure is looked at by critics as a possible reason for why Sharp would have a transcript of the oration. See Green, p. 439 and Hearn, p. 237.

[18] In her appendix, Green provides a transcript of both texts overlaid onto each other with Sharp's letter lined through where it differs from the Harleian MS and with the Harleian variants in italics (444-45). Although she believes the Harleian MS text to be Sharp's handwritten, first-person record of the Tilbury oration and the Buckingham letter a later-written, polished account, Green acknowledges that Elizabeth could well have delivered both the *Cabala* speech as part of a formal review of her troops and one or more colloquial utterances, from which perhaps derive the Leigh and the Gaywood summaries. It is probable that Elizabeth spoke many times at Tilbury on August 8 and 9 because of the nature of the scene a huge army camp through which she rode

person singular almost exclusively, instead of shifting from "I" to "we" and back, as the *Cabala* text does, a stylistic feature that Green identifies as consistent with Elizabeth's preference for the first person singular rather than the royal "we" (439). Finally, Green concludes that of all the available texts, the Harleian MS is most "Elizabeth-like" in its rhetoric with references to the King's two bodies and references to her own courage and valor.[19] Green's findings are undeniably significant for answering the question of the Queen's "true" speech; they may even have resolved the mystery that plagued Christy, Neale, Frye, and others. If the Harleian MS is the first-hand account of Elizabeth's speech, later revised and reprinted as the Buckingham letter, then layers of narrative embellishment remain but there is no longer a question of textual authenticity. It is certainly understandable that historiographers want to re-create the speech context and verify a text as Elizabeth I's. At the same time, whether Green has discovered a source text or not, this kind of critical authenticity-seeking (like my current retelling of the debate) further perpetuates the process of cultural mythmaking that continues to be at work in the Tilbury narrative.

Current literary scholars and historiographers only hint at the myth-making treatments of Elizabeth I's Tilbury address. Less examined is how this oration appeals to the collective sensibilities of its various audiences. Understandings of accuracy and truth are filtered through the modern concern for intellectual property rights, plagiarism, copyright violations, and relatively certain authorship—concepts central to a culture in which speech is easily recorded, preserved, printed, disseminated, and reproduced. For example, Frye argues that

---

(some say walked) several times. The references by contemporary accounts to her "good speeches," "good words," already cited, support this conclusion (435).

[19] Although it is possible that a keen writer might be able to emulate these stylistic patterns, Green compares the education backgrounds of the known authors for each text version of the Tilbury speech and concludes that neither Sharpe, Aske, or Deloney had the queen's rhetorical training to be capable of composing Elizabeth's martial, rhythmic cadences (435).

the Tilbury speech is a fictive political creation, designed to perpetuate a myth of England

"fused into a single entity through Elizabeth. In effect,…embod[ying] this belief that the

means to national unity lies in opposing the Spanish" (104). In her attempt to subvert the

sacredness of the Tilbury grounds and expose the inaccuracy, Frye actually uncovers a

distinct characteristic of early modern martial rhetoric that makes an appeal to national unity

so essential. She accurately identifies that Elizabeth I's speech was "performed before unpaid

and ill-equipped and even hungry soldiers, many of whom, we know from royal

proclamation, tried to sell their armor the moment they were disbanded" (114). Elizabeth's

men were, in fact, a rag-tag bunch who—not knowing that Parma's troops would never land

at Tilbury—fully assumed that a military battle against the Spanish infantry was imminent.[20]

Yet, the fact that her army could have been in such a desultory state is all the more reason

why the Queen desperately needed a unifying and transformative call to arms to meet these

needs, even if the actual text of the resultant oration was not precisely recorded. Certainly,

this desire for historical accuracy is not uniquely applied to exhortatory speech, yet the nature

of this genre as taking place in a pivotal moment before a battle, as part of a transitional shift

from preparation to activity, makes the pre-battle oration a significant occasion in martial

culture, recognized more for its rhetorical power than its factual authenticity.

The Pre-Battle Speech as Ritualized Oratory

     In order to respect the confluence of forces that works to transform a singular battle

speech into a legendary oration, one must view both the historical event and the rhetorical

situations that generated the preserved speech forms as equally legitimate and warranting

scholarship. In the analysis of these rhetorical situations, my work diverges from previous

---

[20] This lack of professionalized discipline contrasts with the standing professional armies of today who would not generally be in such dire and disordered stated; however, even today's military commanders take advantage of the pre-battle moments to unify and reinforce the fighting spirit in their troops.

studies of the Tilbury records. If Christy's and Frye's conclusions are correct that the Sharp

text does not accurately reflect Elizabeth's words, then the creation and evolution of the

Tilbury speech all the more demonstrate not a disregard for historical fact but an

understanding of the potential role that public speaking can have in mythmaking and its

powerful influence on and ability to tap into popular consciousness.[21] Recognizing the *kairic*

moment and actually delivering a noteworthy speech is a distinct phase of the mythmaking

process. Military treatise writers encourage the use of pre-battle speeches, not only to

encourage their troops and decrease fear but also as a respected means for elevating a

speaker's reputation and perceived eminence. Christine de Pizan writes of the ability of such

orations to make a monarch more favorable by increasing the soldiers' "love and good-will

toward the prince" (63). Among his list of reasons why a general ought to be able to speak

well, William de Bellay identifies that a principle goal of these speeches is "...to winne all

those unto him that shall heare him speake, to be a man of reputation, and well spoken of"

(113-114). The political function of these speeches is not a detraction for de Bellay but rather

an essential feature. It is acceptable and expected that a commander deliver his oration both

to accomplish the immediate purpose of comforting and rallying his troops and to lay a

foundation for the more illustrious aim of self-defining his legacy. James the Earl of Purlilia's

chapter on "the sageness and eloquence of the captayne in his orations," speaks directly to

this aspect of the pre-battle oration as conscious reputation building. Purlilia proclaims that

---

[21] I believe that Sharp's record of the Tilbury speech is fairly true to the original oration; however, it is worth noting that spurious historical records were quite common during the Renaissance. Adam Fox in "Remembering the past in Early Modern England" recognizes this period as "… a time when studious historical scholarship was only just beginning to develop standards of documentary reference and corroboration and to question many of the long-established legends, inherited from the medieval chronicles, which continued to dominate the learned view of the past…" (243). Fox, Adam. "Remembering the Past in Early Modern England: Oral and Written Tradition." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series 9 (1999): 233-256. JSTOR 24 Feb 2012.

the captain's speech is commendable and requisite in order to "make hym praysed of al men and taken as the very ymage of vertue, & wysdome" and that "theyr wordes ought to be seasoned wyth sagenesse and gravitie, and estemed as the oracles of the goddes" (di Porcia 120). The captain's words, according to Purlilia, should intentionally construct the speech as an event to be praised, esteemed, and seen as the product of divine inspiration. Later, Purlilia identifies that the captain's speech can convince soldiers to "theyr lyves in daunger to gette hym the glory and renoume" (di Porcia 197). In this statement, Purlilia links the speech with the captain's martial reputation. These excerpts demonstrate that the pre-battle oration had an acknowledged legacy-making potential during sixteenth century such that it is unlikely Elizabeth would have missed the opportunity to deliver a carefully crafted rhetorical address. Considering that Elizabeth's only active role in the Armada victory was her Tilbury address and that this formal review of her troops became one of her most recognized, replicated, and researched speech acts, then closer examination of the revered place of the pre-battle oration in the execution of war and Elizabeth's rhetorical situation reveals the convergence of martial ritual and identity-fashioning and that makes Tilbury such a distinctly engaging tale.

Observations from the disciplines of anthropology and rhetoric directly acknowledge the unifying nature of oratorical performances and provide theoretical models through which to locate the role of pre-battle exhortations within the larger context of transitions from peacetime to wartime. Specifically, viewing war, and particularly the battle oration, as not only an historic event but also as an occasion of ritualized behavior allows for a clearer understanding of the process that develops a delivered speech into a transcendent hero narrative. The model of the transitions between secular and sacred time developed by E. R. Leach supplies a conceptual structure illustrating the recursive nature of time that allows a

battle moment to become a national legend.[22] Leach's theory asserts that time can then slow

down, stop, and even be made to flow in reverse when events seem to repeat themselves with

seemingly linear progress or during periods of reflection. In this sense, time for Leach is best

conceptualized as a pendulum with constant vacillations between profane and sacred time.

Specifically, Leach uses Durkheimian sociology to diagram how periods of ritual, which he

calls "sacred" or "festival" time, interrupt the flow of normal time (Fig. 1), which he calls

"secular" or "profane" time (133-134).

Figure 1. Durkheimian Flow of Time

Fig. 1
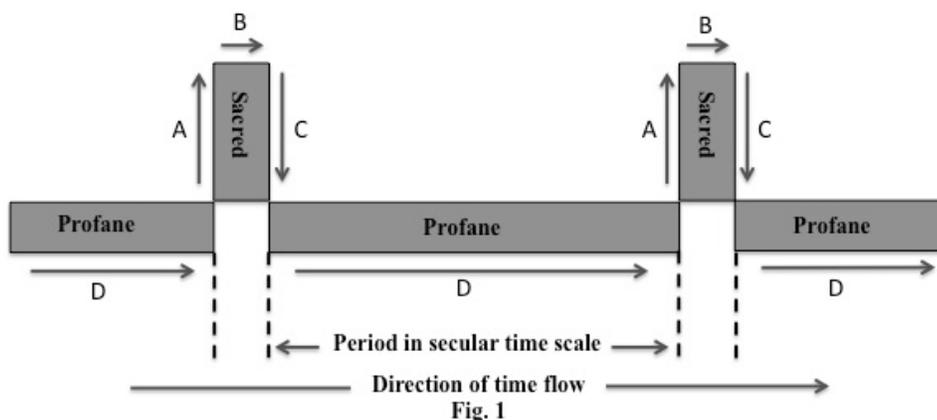
Adapting Leach's model for the current study, "secular" or "profane" time, also called

"ordinary" time, remains the same. "Festival" time, while still "sacred," now applies to the

extra-ordinary periods of warfare. In Leach's diagram, Phase A represents a period of

separation (e.g. immediate preparation for and travel to a battlefield); Phase B represents the

complete reversal of normalcy where ordinary time has stopped and the experience is one of

suspended animation (e.g. the battle); Phase C is transition from the sacred to the secular

---

[22] Leach developed his model specifically around the concept of festival, but throughout his essay, he extends
the structure as applicable to all occasions of profane to sacred experiences.

(e.g. the end of the battle and transition back to regular life); finally, Phase D represents the routine of the secular world again, or the time between battles (134). Based on Leach's diagram, war presents time in opposition. In other words, Phases A and C reverse each other, and Phases B and D are temporal opposites.[23] In their application to war, Phase A characterizes a shift to greater formality as troops and officers prepare to engage in a battle. Phase C represents a shifting out of this formality as soldiers transition back to everyday life. Phase B depicts the moments of the actual fighting, a time that is nearly incomprehensible and foreign to the secular world of ordinary time that occurs during Phase D. Although Leach does not focus on the transitional points, there are four liminal periods indicated on the model that represent a threshold between two temporal phases. Our focus for this study is on two primary time spans: the one in which the speech occurs and the time during which most mythmaking takes place. The first is the period of liminality between phases A and B on Leach's illustration. This is the space in which formal pre-battle orations happen, the time where martial training is complete, the battle is imminent, but soldiers are not yet engaged in active fighting. The second period is the post battle secular phase (D), during which the results of the battle and recreations/retellings of the commanders' oration(s) do the work of elevating the narrative beyond the individual speech act.

Elizabeth's Tilbury and Honoring the Ritual: Generic Conventions

Both rhetorical preparation and delivery contribute, at least partially, to a speech's success and whether it becomes a sufficiently memorable pre-battle event. Revisiting Leach's theory of time in the rhetorical context for Elizabeth's Tilbury speech, pre-Tilbury secular

---

[23] To illustrate these oppositions, Leach categorizes three types of ritual behavior: 1) formality—an increase in formal behavior, 2) masquerade (or a relaxation of formality)—an effort to disguise social personality and status where "the formal rules of orthodox life are forgotten," and 3) role reversal—where normal life is played in reverse where sin and debauchery play out as the normal order of the day. Leach concludes that formality represents Phase A and serves in contrast to masquerade which represents Phase C. Equally, Phase B is the complete role reversal he describes in which normal time (Phase D) is completely played in reverse (135).

time involves the preparation for the speech, while the Queen's actual oration takes place during the liminal phase before the impending battle. The framework of an impending battle marks the transition from profane to sacred time. It is in this span that the speaker must identify and take advantage of the *kairic* moment. In a war setting, this moment is often expected: commanders address their soldier before a battle. The battle exhortation setting is part of the final preparations for a literally life or death situation. It is a time when the speaker must raise morale and, most importantly, inspire a feeling of unity among the soldiers. Although actual battle speeches are often delivered extemporaneously, recorded pre-battle speeches usually reflect a familiarity with generic conventions, even when commanders had no time for or gave little attention to formal drafting. The pre-battle oration is a suffuciently ubiquitous genre that commanders know how to deliver such orations without always taking the time for devoted preparation.

For the Queen, however, it is unlikely that she made the Tilbury address without a consideration of her rhetorical purpose. Elizabeth's preparation for the Tilbury oration would have taken advantage of her formal education in rhetoric, practicing and learning the conventions of exhortatory speech. As if she had reviewed available military handbooks, the speech also reflects an adherence to the procedures of martial conduct and an awareness of suggested battle-speech *topoi*. She begins with a formal *exordium* to "My loving people" and a culminating peroration, promising that "wee shall shortly have a famous victory over thes enimyes of my god, and of my kyngdom" (Green 443)[24] She refutes the opposing force, stating that she takes "foule scorn [that] Parma or any prince of Europe should dare to invade [the] borders of my realm," and she invokes commonplace persuasive tactics, including

---

[24] All quotes from Elizabeth's speech come from Green's transcript of the Harleian manuscript. The use of a formal greeting is echoed in Deloney's ballad, "My loving friends and countriemen" (200) and Leigh's sermon, "Come now my companions at armes and fellow Souldiers" (Frye 101).

promises of reward, calls to God and country, and *paraenetic* appeals that reinforce known

virtues like loyalty, honor, faithfulness, and goodwill. These features of arrangement and

invention are not what make Elizabeth's review of her troops unique from any other general's

address. In fact, comparing Elizabeth's Tilbury oration to her 1586 speech to Parliament,

Mary Beth Rose concludes that the tone of Tilbury is quite different from her other formal

addresses, which more often take an "anti-male heroic" stance and an appeal to "survival, not

death" as what "constitutes the meaningful self-sacrifice." Rose interprets the Queen's lack of

specifics in her pre-battle speech as an abundance of "abstract causes" (1080). Rose correctly

identifies how Elizabeth's Tilbury speech differs from her other orations, but she stops short

of analyzing why the Queen makes these uncharacteristic rhetorical moves. The use of

abstractions is commonplace for pre-battle oratory. Part of seizing the *kairic* moment means

not only understanding the right time to speak but also how to employ reliable appeals.

Rousing soldiers during the liminal phase before a battle depends on momentum and morale

building. The speaker's goal is to raise the passions of the audience. Elizabeth necessarily

invokes abstract claims to God, nationhood, honor, and victory. These are the values that the

men have been taught to fight for and what they expect to hear from a rally oration. By

appealing to these abstractions, the speech itself becomes a method of survival and not death,

similar to the idealistic notions of legacy promised by martial acts of heroism. A lack of

detail and a reliance on platitudes are not clichéd in the moments before a battle; instead, by

giving the audience what they want to hear, Elizabeth affirms her knowledge of the genre and

reinforces accepted values and beliefs as a shortcut to arousing passion. These conventions

are part of the rhetorical seduction, evoking the necessary solidarity and sense of communal

experience that is the goal of such an address.

Elizabeth's Tilbury and Honoring the Ritual: *Identification* and *Communitas*

One of Elizabeth's responsibilities as rhetor is to honor the ceremonial expectations of pre-battle oration. Her incorporation of known conventions is part of this effort, but satisfying the needs of this oral event marking a period of transition from preparation to war also requires that the speaker work towards not merely identifying community values but creating the impression of common purpose and cohesion. This function of oratory demonstrates an interaction between Kenneth Burke's concept of *identification* and Victor Turner's principle of *communitas*. Burkean identification directly addresses a speaker's strategy for developing a rapport with her audience. According to Burke's theory, rhetoric is less an effort to find available means of persuasion and more the effort to achieve a perceived commonality in which audience members regard the speaker as someone who shares their interests and values. Understanding identification requires understanding the doctrine of consubstantiality. According to Burke, men exist in the same substance and "in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them *consubstantial*....You persuade a man, only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his" (*Motives* 21 and 55, original emphasis). In this sense, Elizabeth's Tilbury oration needed to perform the language of pre-battle decorum and rhetorical *topoi* in order to identify with the soldiers' expectations of the genre and its place in martial discourse. Burke asserts that language use is "a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols" (*Motive* 43).[25] In working toward identification, Elizabeth must invoke the correct cultural

---

[25] Notably, Burke is writing from a conception of war as infectious, as an aberrant form of identification. He deems war the "ultimate *disease* of cooperation" (*Motives* 22).

symbols for the speech to be successful; beyond one-dimensional representations of empathy, the speech must move its audience to a place of collective cooperation.

Seeing rhetoric as a factor of cultural solidarity locates oratory within the discipline of anthropological studies, specifically Victor Turner's work on ritual and *communitas*.[26] Like Leach, Turner concentrates mostly on festival and ritual atmospheres. Within these spaces, *communitas*, according to Turner, is an "apocalyptic moment," inspiring clarity and awe. It is not only the identification of a community of values but a vision of shared experience and commitment a group gathers in a performance space (45). Turner's theory reinforces Burke's vision of rhetoric as a tool for enacting social cohesion; however, Turner recognizes that this sense of unity arises not only because the community shares the space, language, and ideological values but also because the speaker or event creates an impression of equality, diminishing social hierarchies in which certain status positions do have more value than others. This symbolic removal of social barriers during a period of liminality corresponds to Leach's characterization of sacred time and underlies the situational sentiment that creates momentary or, in Turner's words, spontaneous *communitas* when applied to the ritualistic delivery of a battlefield oration. It is not that every ritual (or every battlefield speech) achieves this apocalyptic moment but that this unifying communal bond is desirous among battlefield orators and consistent with their reliance on common appeals to accepted group values such as abstract calls to God, honor, and victory.[27] It is an attempt to create a

---

[26] Burke anticipates this connection between rhetoric in anthropology, calling for anthropologists to recognize that rhetoric is already at work in their field as, among other ways as a component of magic and as a verbal mysticism that promotes the social cohesion and assists in the survival of cultures (43).

[27] Referring to Turner's *communitas* in his analysis of *Henry V*, Brownell Salomon directly connects this "communal bond" with a desire to produce an "antistructural state" in which "social barriers - differences of rank, social structure, or economic status- are removed and superseded by communal unity" (267). Salomon, Brownell. "The Myth Structure and Rituality of 'Henry V.'" The Yearbook of English Studies 23. *Early Shakespeare Special Number* (1993): 254-69. JSTOR. Web. 5 Sep 2011. Existent scholarship has already well-established parallels between Elizabeth's Tilbury speech and Shakespeare's *Henry V*. See also Baldo who

feeling of communal boldness for the defense of common values and collective transcendence.

Participating in a traditionally masculine martial ritual, the Queen faces a unique challenge to her ability to achieve identification and *communitas*. By demonstrating her awareness of pre-battle speech conventions, she works towards identification, but it is the ways in which the speech navigates the complications of her female gender that makes the Tilbury address extraordinary. Efforts to attain *communitas* usually presume that the participants partake in a collective experience. Specifically, the pre-battle oration occurs at a liminal moment that is generally shared only by the people who will enter and fight within the sacred space of war together. In a sense, Elizabeth does not belong in this particular sacred space. She is a monarch but also a woman. Her femininity undermines her speaking position in the sacred and hyper-masculine arena of a battlefield. In order to make the speech convincing and identifiable, Elizabeth must do more than merely demonstrate to the men that she can speak their language. The Tilbury narrative indicates the construction of an entire identity built to reflect an ease with martial dress and the masculine genre of battlefield oratory but also with a conscious awareness of her marginal position and the need to diminish that association if she is to affect convincing solidarity. The speech addresses these challenges by lessening the class distinctions of social structure that separate monarchs from subjects, officers from conscripted men with the use of complements and the symbolic elevation of each soldier's worth and importance. Using her gender to appeal to the soldiers' sense of chivalry, she begins the speech by acknowledging that she had been warned not to

---

examines this connection extensively and Dutton to a lesser degree. Baldo, Jonathan. "Wars of Memory in Henry V." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47.2 (Summer, 1996): 132-159. JSTOR. Web. 09 Apr 2011; and Dutton, Richard. "'Methinks the truth should live from age to age': The Dating and Contexts of Henry V." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.1-2 (March 2005): 173-204. JSTOR 24 Feb 2012.

come to the battlefield, not to commit herself "to armed multitudes." Then, with the phrase "Lett tyrants fear," she expresses confidence in her army whose strength, safeguard, faithfulness, and loyalty will protect her (Green 443). The Queen, who is normally the protector of her nation, now joins an environment where she relies on her soldiers for safety. She extends this idea of putting herself at risk by proclaiming a willingness for self-sacrifice. In the first instance, she expresses an equalizing "resolved in [the] middst and heate of [the] battle to live, and bye [*sic*] amoungst you all, to lay down for my god and for my kingdom and for my people myn honor and my blood even in ẏ the dust" (Green 443). The queen will join her men on the battlefield and offer her life for the cause in the same way that she is asking her soldiers to do the same. She reinforces this idea with the statement, "rather then any dishonor shall grow by me, I my self will ventir my royal blood" (Green 443). These are statements of humility symbolic and unity. Although the soldiers might not believe that the Queen could actually fight in the battle, it is significant that she voice a willingness to do so as a representation of her commitment to the cause and faith in her soldiers.

Elizabeth's Tilbury and Honoring the Ritual: Navigating Gender

In terms of gender, Elizabeth faces the challenge of needing to present herself as identifiable in order to invoke *communitas*, but she must do so while respecting the masculine boundaries of martial decorum. It is likely that the sixteenth-century soldiers would not have wanted their queen to join the conflict in a form that was anything more than symbolic. One indication of this is the subtlety with which the Queen offers herself to the battle. The overt image of Elizabeth's willingness to sacrifice "royal blood" appears to have been the original words spoken, but, in his Buckingham letter, Sharp replaces the manuscript line with the phrase, "I my self will take up arms" (Green 443). The image of Elizabeth in

ceremonial armor, mounted on horseback, and using formal martial discourse creates a vision that captivates her audience, but it would be well beyond the decorous expectations for a woman, especially a female monarch, to take up soldierly arms. By performing elements of masculinity and referencing her willingness to venture blood, Elizabeth calls upon a unifying sense of sacrifice without threatening propriety. This balance of masculine and feminine appeals is one of Elizabeth's strongest rhetorical strategies. The most well-known example of this motif is when she redirects the possible focus on her physical weakness by asserting her internal fortitude: "I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a king" (Green 443). Later, she assures the men that her promise to reward them is spoken "in the word of a Prince." Elizabeth openly acknowledges her gender, a characteristic that separates her from the male audience because it denies consubstantiation, but she manipulates her identity in a way that assimilates masculine prowess without overstepping her feminine role. Ritual experiences of *communitas* rely on this de-emphasis of accepted structural hierarchies. The queen makes this move by putting herself on her soldiers' level as willing to bleed for the country, but she takes care not to usurping their place as the physical protectors of the nation. Elizabeth has inherent authority as monarch, yet because she is a woman, her *ethos* lacks some of the *gravitas* needed to solidify the collective experience. She fashions herself into a princely leader in order to have increased martial authority, but the Tilbury oration remains a social speech act, a ritual of battle performed in a traditionally masculine realm. Thus, Elizabeth skillfully concludes her oration by re-establishing the status quo. She returns the soldiers to the ordered structure provided by military rank, deferring to the Lieutenant General as the practical representation of her leadership.[28] This transfer of authority is significant because, while *communitas* emphasizes

---

[28] These elements of the speech appear to have been the most memorable elements. Aske echoes the sense of

equality and deemphasizes the divisiveness of hierarchies, it does not require a complete removal of the structures that allow a culture to function effectively. Elizabeth's Tilbury speech is an act of purposeful reputation-building in which the queen concedes her physical vulnerability in order to make her audience identify with her internal resolve and bravery. Yet, she maintains the believability and credibility of her assertions by honoring the structure of martial rank meant to stabilize the battlefield experience.

Post-Oration Events: Nurturing the Myth

Like the oratorical event, mythmaking is also a social process. Ultimately, it is during the postwar return to secular time, after the war or the time between conflicts, that the results of the battle and the retelling of the narrative determine how transcendent a particular oration becomes, whether it gets incorporated into the battlefield mythos. Churchill correctly stated that history is written by the victors. Had the English navy not defeated the Armada, had the infantry faced Parma and lost or experienced significant loss of life, it is unlikely that Elizabeth's Tilbury address would have survived to be a symbolic national triumph. Nonetheless, it is through the process of informal and formal retelling that this rhetorical event became myth and the myth endured. Writing on the role of oratory in society, Allesandro Duranti determines that it is common for "a reflexive relationship to develop between oratory and the social event in which it is performed: the event is defined by the

---

equality invoked: "Let them not care they common there shalbe:/The meanest man, who shall deserve a might/A mountaine shall for his desart receive" (573). Both the Leigh sermon and the Gaywood inscription have Elizabeth asserting that she would be with them in battle: "I have been your Prince in peace, so will I be in warre[;] neither will I bid you goe and fight, but come and let us fight the battell of the Lord" (Frye 101-102). Elizabeth's reference to her gender is reinforced in the reproductions of her speech. Aske attributes the Queen's masculine prowess to her warrior heritage and demands of his readers that "Among the rest, this must not be forgot/...Although she be by nature weake,/Because her sex no otherwise can be:/Yet wants she not the courage of her Sire,/Whose valour wanne this Island great renowne (435). Leigh's sermon uses the gender reference to redirect an attack on the Spanish, "[T]he enemie perhaps may challenge my sexe for that I am a woman, so may I likewise charge their mould for that they are but men, whose breath is in their nostrels…" (Frye 102). On the deference to a second-in command. Aske has the Queen transfer leadership to her Serjant Major (573).

language used, whereas the language is said to be interpreted in light of the larger ongoing

activity (155). As such, Elizabeth's rhetorical appeals and delivery define Tilbury as a

triumph of her God-sanctioned, princely leadership at the hands of her English forces. It is

the subsequent activity, the Armada victory and the retellings of the narrative that interpret

the speech historically.[29] The role of the storyteller is an important one because storytellers

control elements of embellishment, some minor that barely change the account, some that

add creativity to a story but only for a single retelling, and some that become grafted onto the

tale and incorporated into folklore of the remembered event. Sharp provides an example of a

minor adaptation in adjusting the first person "I" in the Harleian MS to the royal "we" in his

Buckingham letter. He alters Elizabeth's stylistics but does not seem to make significant

modifications to structure or add rhetorical figures for illustration. More major adaptations

actually reshape the narrative. A proven example here would be the eloquent rhetoric that

William Shakespeare creates based on his source material in English chronicles. Indeed,

embellishment is a natural, and perhaps necessary, part of this narrative process.[30] Richard

Dorson, historian and former Director of the Folklore Institute at Indiana University, asserts

that historians can often "reject oral tradition as muddying the record and creating legends.

But," Dorson argues, "the popular prejudice and stereotypes nourished by oral tradition have

affected the course of history" (134). While Dorson's focus is on the influence of oral

narrative, his observations apply equally well for written accounts and the embellishments

that can become linked to them. Dorson's phrase "popular prejudice and stereotypes" may be

---

[29] Burke calls this "a ritualistic kind of historiography...tragically purified or transcended" (19) in which the poet (or, storytellers) present rhetorical motives in a magnified or perfected form, similar to the ways in this Deloney, Aske, Leigh, and Sharp in the Buckingham letter, reshape the Tilbury speech.

[30] The exceptions, of course, would be disciplinary fields like history, journalism, law, etc. where the most accurate record is the aim. This was the case in Renaissance, as well. In his address "To the Reader," Edward Hall confesses that "A many that are expressed in this history, might right well have been either augmented or amended" but that he "put together an…exact table…as diligently as I can' (Sig. A3v).

more easily understood in terms of the human affinity for stories and motifs that reinforce accepted social values or ones the audience desires to be true, seemingly inhuman acts of heroism, for example. During the postwar retelling that takes place after soldiers return to ordinary time, these narrative details are attractive, entertaining, and easily adopted into what I consider the "learned fiction" that makes a war story mythic.

Certain elements of the Tilbury mythology became a learned fiction, accepted and repeated because they maintained sociocultural narratives that sixteenth-century English citizens already wanted and were encouraged to believe about their country and queen. An example of this trust in myth over empiricism is the pre-Cartesian notion that Elizabeth's presence at Tilbury influenced the Armada victory and that God chose and fought for the English forces by sending the wind and storms that helped defeat the Spanish fleet. The acceptance and repetition of divine intervention themes with Elizabeth as God's agent of Fortune demonstrate the power of language to construct social interpretation of the narrative. Aske provides an early example of this propagation, writing that the Queen's "valour [at Tilbury] wanne this Island great renowne" (435). Perhaps the most tangible illustrations that the Tilbury story belongs to this category of created folk belief are representations of the Queen in military apparel as she gave her address. The queen is often described as having a silver military helmet and staff, and wearing an armored chest plate (cuirass) embossed with mythical creatures. Frye refutes this depiction as a purely manufactured image designed to contribute to the myth of Elizabeth, stating that there is "no contemporary evidence that Elizabeth wore armor, no evidence in all the commemorative paintings and engravings that she so much as carried a truncheon…" (96). In terms of historical record, Frye's conclusion is likely accurate; even the creative account dated most closely to the oration has the Queen

"attired like an angel bright" (Deloney 198). Yet, in only three months, Aske declares to his monarch, "thy Fame shall never cease" (433) and demonstrates the rapid transformation of events that has Elizabeth arrive at Tilbury "in war-like sorte" (458), "most bravely mounted on a stately steede/With Trunchion in her hand (not us'd thereto)" (457). Like the Queen's rhetorical reference to her "heart and stomach of a king," this androgynous image of her with masculine protection reinforces the image of her martial readiness and leadership and adds a provocative detail to the story, noticed and repeated less because it affirms gender norms and more because of the way it challenges accepted conventions and makes the English queen mystically extraordinary.[31] The Queen's powerful influence on the battle, God's divine interventions, and Elizabeth's martial attire blur the truth about the Armada engagement, but they become accepted parts of the event, nurtured by Elizabeth's oration, conscious creative embellishments, and the massive public relations campaign that generated the cult of Elizabeth. In the larger context, pre-battle speeches are understood to have this legend-producing effect. This conscious mythmaking, both by the author of the martial oration and by the events that follow its delivery, can elevate the rhetorical moment as one of "never dying actes" and is one element that makes the battle speech genre a pervasive component of historical and literary warfare.

That embellishment is probable, even necessary, in developing a legend complicates a return to the original source and brings this discussion back to the fundamental tension between authenticity and creative storytelling. Admittedly there is a danger of taking the embellishments too far, of idealizing Elizabeth into a purely fictional figure, completely unrelated to the historical figure, of shifting the story into what Dorson terms "nonfact" or

---

[31] Green calls the literary and historical glorification of Elizabeth an "apotheosis" that only naturally led to the addition of armor in later portrayals (427).

"fakelore" (146). However, even representations that are only loosely based on the historical event accomplish the goal of a prebattle speech to transcend the martial event. Undeniably, the Tilbury oration and Armada defeat provided material for political manipulation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and helped to solidify Elizabeth's iconic image. It may be that Sharp's Harleian MS was not politically motivated; possibly, the letter to Buckingham was not intentionally crafted to add to Elizabeth's mystique, but the Queen's original oration was most certainly delivered with awareness of her reputation, and the speech's inclusion in the 1654 *Cabala* only a few years after the Civil War was also likely a concerted effort to invoke the image of Elizabeth as bringing peace to her nation. Any implication that Elizabeth could have ignored the *kairic* moment or that what she said in it was inconsequential undermines the importance of the battlefield setting as a ritual time with expected conventions and ideals. Ultimately, the persuasive, political, and leadership goals of the battlefield orator are to deliver a speech that is both rhetorically inspirational and thematically, if not factually, enduring. Then, in the time following the battle, within the domain of secular time, battlefield myths become formally-dramatized literature, influenced by chronicles of past orations (real and fictionalized) and available instructions on martial rhetoric. In the non-literary arena, these artifacts provide models to commanders, national leaders, even coaches hoping to accomplish a similarly rousing speech and inspire courage and faith in solidarity. In the world of theater and entertainment, they allow artists like Deloney, Aske, Leigh, and the painter of the Gaywood painting to repurpose the tale for new rhetorical intentions and allow dramatists like Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Peele to create realistic orations informed by, but not tied to, the possible limitations of historical fact and precision. Over time, these retellings invariably adapt the narrative and reflect the ideological

beliefs and traditions of other periods and geographical locations, preserving some of the story but allowing it to transcend the original motivations of the speech-act participants and making it relevant to new audiences, distant from the events and connected only as vicarious spectators, but who share the human desire to believe in inspiration, heroism, personal legacy.

Writing on the question of authorship in the introduction to his 2008 anthology of battlefield speeches, Richard F. Miller asserts that existential questions and concerns about veracity are "almost irrelevant," arguing that what really matters "is not whether [great commanders] actually uttered the words claimed for them but that generations of subsequent commanders believed, or acted as if they believed, that they did..." (16). Miller considers the idea of this learned oratory only briefly, but the fact that pre-battle orations participate in a powerful oral ritual that can give the speech life beyond battlefield makes it a popular genre for students of military science and for activist and dramatic authors. This near universal appeal illustrates a primary feature of battlefield discourse: that the motivations of combat, beyond tangible financial or status promotions, are *paraenetic* appeals to legacy and the hope that one's life story will extend beyond the span of one's life time. The Deloney and Aske poems, the Leigh sermon, and the Gaywood inscription—all participate in the mythmaking by incorporating the Tilbury oration into England's cultural history. For this mythmaking process, it matters less which exact words Elizabeth uttered and more that she recognized the opportune speaking moment and delivered a memory-worthy speech and that her English navy defeated Spain's Armada to solidified Tilbury as a seminal part of the narrative. Each version of Elizabeth's speech was produced for a distinct social, political, or cultural objective, and the precise historical context of each purpose is an important part of its

compositional meaning. However, as a whole, each contributes to the post-Tilbury mythology that kept the narrative alive and marked that oratorical moment as part of the Elizabeth legend. In this sense, there needs to be an interdisciplinary approach to authorship debates because single disciplinary conceptions are less likely to fully appreciate the unique battlefield speech setting and the post-war factors that nurture the myth. The actual history, the exact words and delivery of the speech, the results of the martial conflict—those tangible experiences are confined to the synchronic moment. Understanding martial oratory as a discursive art, as a craft with conventions that are teachable and diachronically reproducible, requires an understanding of its generic components as well as a respect for the ritualistic mythmaking that takes place after a speech is delivered and the battle is lost or won.

Chapter 3: "Wars, / Wars, Wars to Plant the True Succeeding Prince": Just Cause Theory and the Rhetoric of Rightful Succession, *Henry V* and *The Battle of Alcazar*

The enticement of heroic legacy belongs to abstract processes of historical mythos and battlefield folklore, but the ethical procedures for waging and conducting war rely on a prescriptive discourse of legitimacy and righteous cause. In his dialogue "Charon" (1518), Erasmus writes against ecclesiastical exhortations to battles that are "just, holy and religious" and asks the skeptical question, "What can't a well-dissembled Religion do? when to this there is added Youth, Unexperiencedness, Ambition, a natural Animosity, and a Mind propense to any Thing that offers itself" (141). He again expresses a distrust of war motives in *Education of a Christian Prince* (1526), when he proclaims, "...who is there who does not think his cause just?...how could anyone not find a pretext, if any sort of pretext is enough to start a war?" (104). Although his remarks denote cynicism, Erasmus adeptly identifies the problematic subjectivity at the root of the relationship between justice and war. As a rhetorical appeal, fighting on behalf of righteous cause is a highly persuasive tactic deployed to secure loyalties from soldiers and reassure them that ethical authority blesses their sacrifice. During the Middle Ages, Greco-Roman understandings of war as naturally justified merged with the validations of Christian scripture that interwove moral superiority with calls to God-sanctioned wars. As such, warfare became an increasingly exploitive tool for imperialistic ambition and power-hungry religious and national leaders.[1] A systematic process for regulating warfare developed in Europe during the thirteenth century as an effort to hedge against abuses of authority. Although a fully-codified Just Cause Theory (JCT) did not solidify until the seventeenth century, the fundamental theory had been established by the time early modern dramatists composed their history plays. Specifically, JCT divided the

---

[1] Recognizing these subjective dangers, Grotius would try to separate international martial law from philosophical justifications of natural law and religious doctrine in *On the Law of War and Peace* (1625).

process into two governing sections: those that determined just recourse to war (*jus ad bellum*) and those that managed just means for conducting war (*jus in bello*). In their aim of making war a more rational activity, the sixteenth-century military manuals printed these accepted just cause ideologies, identifying steps for legitimizing a martial engagement, issuing formal declarations, and following proper conduct during battles. Their broad circulation would have made just war regulations well known to a Renaissance theater audience. Thus, playwrights could satisfy audience expectations or frustrate them, depending upon how precisely the plays honored *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* conventions. Both William Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599) and George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (ca. 1591) depict representations of just cause and religious righteousness, but the care with which each play portrays war as an ordered process differs greatly. Although often seen as subversive, *Henry V* provides the most faithful adherence to Just War Theory during the late Tudor period, systematically following the precepts that allow for an easy hero-versus-villain archetype. Shakespeare's revision of historical material exonerates his English king. *Alcazar*, on the other hand, offers a more complex treatment, attacking the inherent subjectivity of war and highlighting the tenuousness of just cause appeals and claims to religious righteousness. While Shakespeare produces the consummate hero who invites comparatively uncomplicated loyalties, Peele denies his audience comfortable character identification by offering a justifiable mix of legal cause and moral authority on both sides of the conflict.

Background and Literature Review: Just Cause Theory

Before analyzing how Just Cause Theory develops in each play, it is important to understand its theoretical and practical history that would have been available to Renaissance audiences. First, both *just ad bellum* and *jus in bello* constructs governed war only between

western Christian nations. During the Medieval era, only kings or the Catholic Church held the executive right to declare war. By the fifteenth century, these inviolable rights already had a history of being challenged as contradictory to Christian teachings. Philosophers including St. Augustine (354-430), Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), and Francisco de Vitoria (1492-1546) called for a more systematic and transparent process for martial engagement.[2] Ultimately, the following became the accepted principles among Christian nations for satisfying *jus ad bellum* requirements for declaring war and *jus in bello* rules of conduct during war. Conditions for *jus ad bellum* require:

1. There must be a just ethical and legal cause for war;

2. War can only be waged as a last resort by a legitimate authority, either a sovereign or the Pope, through a public declaration; and

3. There must be a reasonable prospect for success in which the end is proportional to the means used to accomplish that end.

Rules for *jus in bello* required that conduct during just wars adhere to the following:

1. Amount and kind of force used during the fighting must be proportional to the cause in order to minimize destruction and casualties;

2. Non-combatants or innocents, including women, children, citizens who surrender, and prisoners of war (POWs), are immune from attack; and

3. Soldiers are free from the moral responsible of their actions if acting in accordance with these rules during a legitimately sanctioned conflict.[3]

---

[2] Specific just war texts include Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (4th century), Aquinas's *Summa Theologiæ* (1265-1274), and Vitoria's *De Jure Belli* (c 1532). Francisco Suárez (1548-1617) would have also been influential in the early Renaissance and Hugo Gotius (1583-1645) in the later have of the early modern period. See Lowe pages 175-177 for a more comprehensive history of just war philosophers.

[3] This list is adapted from Calhoun's "The Metaethical Paradox of Just War Theory." Below, I treat each tenant of just cause discourse from the sixteenth-century militlary manuals individually as they relate to the rhetoric and actions depicted in each *Henry V* and *Alcazar*.

Even as abstract notions of ethics, legitimacy, and proportionality remain potentially malleable enough to allow for ambiguous interpretations and give power to opportunistic manipulations of justice, these rules brought structure to the processes of declaring and engaging in war that gave commanders and national leaders a means for measuring propriety and responsible conduct.

Scholars of just war *topoi* acknowledge the potential for abuse of authority while at the same time affirming the almost unchallengeable efficacy of appeals to justice and assertions of righteous action. Laurie Calhoun identifies that just war rhetoric has had an undeniable "metaethical" role in motivating troops to fight and citizens to fund military campaigns, even in situations of illegitimate cause and logical paradox. Calhoun's study demonstrates that ethical claims often overshadow rational decision-making. Similarly, Boruchoff determines that familiar generic gestures of both "dramatic and rhetorical topoi" that appeal to morality and rightful cause are so well-known by audiences that they can neglect to question whether the situation involves a solid foundation for real piety (809). Certainly, Calhoun and David A. Boruchoff are correct in asserting the enduring potency of just cause appeals. Even more significant than its inherent philosophical paradox, the proposed absolutism and connection with spiritual salvation make the use of religious authority as justification for war uniquely available for hasty, sanctimonious manipulation in a way that appeals such as money, honor, and status are not. Ben Lowe and Paul A. Jorgensen point to historical factors that make navigating God-sanctioned appeals to just cause particularly challenging to decipher during the Renaissance. Lowe explains that, during the Middle Ages, the emphasis on chivalry increased, elevating the importance of just action during the execution of a war (*jus in bello*) alongside just preparations before a battle (*just ad*

bellum). With the rise of humanism, battlefield decorum became equally as important as properly declaring an ethical basis for war. According to Lowe, although there remained a strong belief that God determined the final outcome, war became a more "earth-bound enterprise" (179) with a greater reliance on soldierly conduct and the moral probity of participating nations. By the mid-Tudor era, legitimate war came with the responsibility to weigh concerns for the safety of the commonwealth more than avid pursuits of imperialistic expansionism. Calling it the "Christianization of Fortune," Jorgensen traces this convergence of religious and secular influences and identifies it as a trend toward personal agency. He determines that "the maximum amount of human importance comes when there is still a belief in supernatural influence combined with a growing, and often conflicting, emphasis upon human involvement in the outcome" ("Shakespearean Legacy" 222-23). So it is that during the early Renaissance, God-sanctioned claims to war still pervade but in an atmosphere of greater skepticism, calls for increased human accountability and a more concrete just war philosophy. Both Shakespeare and Peele evaluate this dynamic between personal agency and righteousness, with Shakespeare constructing a medieval protagonist centrally invested in demonstrations of piety while Peele examines the seemingly unnatural embodiment of moral authority in a Renaissance hero who represents paganism's triumphs over Christianity.

Literature Review: Primary Texts

Critical reception of moral justice in *Henry V* often belongs to two common appraisals: one which sees the jingoistic themes are undercut by subversive and antiwar currents and another in which legitimately rousing nationalism exists in concert with inherently imperfect depictions of war and power. Originally, much ninteenth-century

criticism shared a relatively uncomplicated view of the play as a hero narrative, presenting a

sincere, practical protagonist in a time of post-armada patriotism.[4] One early exception is

William Hazlitt, whose 1817 study of Shakespeare's characters presents the king as "a very

amiable monster, a very splendid pageant" (206). Hazlitt sees Henry as having a purely

ambitious intent that would be echoed by early twentieth-century critics Gerald Gould and

John C. McCloskey. The middle and later twentieth-century broadened analysis of the play

from examinations of its title character to contextual considerations of the drama's place in

Shakespeare's literary canon and as a commentary on Elizabethan history and culture. Often

in reaction against Tillyard's representation of *Henry V* as the idealized, necessary and

underwhelming culmination of Shakespeare's second tetralogy, more sophisticated critiques

developed mid-century and continue within current critical theory. Often pointing to moral

inconsistencies and juxtapositions of comedic and antiheroic sentiments with exaggerated

nationalism, many scholars highlight elements of plot and character development to

configure *Henry V* as Shakespeare's antiwar play. Beginning with George Orwell's "The Art

of Donald McGill" (1941) and Theodor Meron's *Bloody Constraint* (1998) and continuing

into the twenty-first century, critics uphold depictions of antiheroic characters and themes as

intentionally undermining Shakespeare's patriotic rhetoric and exposing the self-serving

opportunism that often accompany war justifications.[5]

---

[4] In 1841, Thomas Carlyle include *Henry V* in the genre of a noble epic, collected later in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*. Ed. George Wherry. Cambridge: Oxford UP, 1914. In 1875, Edward Dowden invisions Henry as an admirably practical hero in *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art.* 3rd ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1905. G. G. Gervinus provides a early historical examination of *Henry V* in the context of the late Elizabethan era and determines the play to be a post-Armada patriotic drama in *Shakespeare Commentaries*. Translated by F. E. Burnett. London: Smythe, Elder & Company, 1875.

[5] The most significant recent research that continue this presentation of *Henry V* as depicting ambitious, antiwar themes comes from Paola Pugliotti's *Shakespeare and Just War Tradition*, Ashgate: Burlington, 2010; John S. Mebane's "'Impious War': Religion and the Ideology of Warfare in *Henry V*"; Robert Lane's "'When Blood is Their Argument': Class, Character, and Historymaking in Shakespeare's and Branagh's *Henry V*" *ELH* 61.1. 27-

While interpretations that view the play as anti-war have merit, these arguments generally gloss over the fact that Shakespeare overtly changes the historical narrative to sanitize the king's behavior and present the medieval monarch in a more ideal light. It is with the critical appraisal of *Henry V* as at once a sincerely nationalistic play and also a complicated representation of war that this examination most engages.[6] The appreciation of both positions accepts that the play presents multiple perspectives and leaves it to the audience to determine its interpretation. However, instability should not be confused with ambiguity. This study does not attempt to decipher whether Shakespeare's intentions were pro or anti-war; rather, it agrees with critics like Norman Rabkin who see the play as holding two polarized meanings coexisting, and resisting a single viewpoint about whether war is glorious or inhumane.[7] Considerations of just cause in the play also must acknowledge themes of authority and social status. Stephen Greenblatt's work exposes the strength of hegemonic power and the futility of resistance to illustrate how the play's periodic scenes of national triumph and celebration disarm more subversive episodes; the jingoistic scenes in which the King proclaims a pre-destined just cause overwhelm the more skeptical and comedic scenes performed by less central characters. While I do not hold the same cynicism I find in Greenblatt's interpretation, I concur with his reading that rousing pro-England elements like the martial victories at Harfleur and Agincourt and vilification of the French

---

52, 1994; and, Joel Altman's "'Vile Participation': The Amplification of Violence in the Theater of *Henry V*" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42, 1-32, 1991.

[6] Hazlitt allows for an ambiguous reading of the play, recognizing Shakespeare's efforts to "apologize for the actions of the king" (205). In the introduction to his 1947 edition, John Dover Wilson's reprises nationalism as a redeemable theme in the drama, not in the reductive sense, but as a representation of a successful king navigating a flawed political world. By invoking the Allies fight against the Nazis, Wilson's depiction invites a dialog on how wars can be justified as righteous and how a play like *Henry V* might appeal to an audience looking for hero/villain story.

[7] Additionally, Phyllis Rankin and Claire McEachern extend Rabkin's work and analyze the rhetorical tensions at work in the play that engender it as an dialectic between the motives of war and appeals to nationalism. See Rankin's *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles*. London: Routledge, 1990 and McEachern's 1999 edition of *The Life of king Henry the Fifth*. Pelican Shakespeare. New York: Penguin Putnam.

overpowers scenes of self-serving manipulation, comedic mischief, and sobering

introspection, limiting the effectiveness of the drama as a tool for subversion. Jonathan

Dollimore and Alan Sinfield later associate this power struggle with cultural and class issues

that reinforce established social order while resisting ideological harmonies and exposing the

"anxieties of power" (229). In the sense that Dollimore and Sinfield avoid placing a value

judgment on the play as either sinister or celebratory, their identification of the drama as

legitimating and preserving the sixteenth-century social structures correlates with the role

that Just War Theory performs in the play. The work of Dollimore and Sinfield refocuses

critical examination on Shakespeare's theater audience. An audience's experience is one of

immediacy, not exactly as passive receivers of entertainment but without the time necessary

to digest subtle ambiguities when overt binaries abound. Gunter Walch ponders how

Shakespeare's king "seems to wrest sympathies from audiences understandably reluctant to

embrace the ideological tenets, the Tudor orthodoxies, and above all the warmongering with

which he must be associated" (227). At least part of the play's seduction is that it follows a

socially accepted systematic process for war and allows its emotive appeals to work within

the safety of ordered principles. The play does not depict an unambiguous patriotic triumph,

but what is patently unambiguous is how closely Shakespeare adheres to just war precepts

and the illustration of a king's role in preparing a war-footed nation. For an Elizabethan

audience war-worn after a mere decade of periodic, unstructured conflict and little in the way

of triumphant success since the Armada victory, Shakespeare's play depicts an ordered

vision of war still possible even after long decades of constant battle during the Hundred

Years War. Henry emerges as an historical king mindful of Christian chivalry not in spite of

Shakespeare's representations but largely because of them, and Shakespeare structures the play such that it invites the theater audience to participate in the event's legendary results.

In contrast to scholarship relating *Henry V* to Just Cause Theory, most critical readings of George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* ignore the question of justice in favor of sociocultural examinations of nationalism and otherness in literature or philosophical inquiries into fallibility and Christian expansionism. Frequently, the focus is on the play as an early representation of Moors in Renaissance drama.[8] Charles Edelman's editorial notes give an exhaustive review of works that tackle this issue (Peele 29). Edelman also identifies *Alcazar* as reflexive of the lofty, unrelenting intensity and martial discourse of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine 1 & 2*; he points out that, unlike the serious acclaim given to Marlowe's drama, Peele's is best known in parody.[9] If measured by its powerful rhetoric, *Alcazar* is eclipsed by both *Tamburlaine* and *Henry V*; however, *Alcazar* is not a poorly written play and, in fact, portrays a complexity of identities that presents a more intricate look at martial motives than the other two dramas. Joanne W. Roby and Brian C. Lockey have completed the most significant works on ambiguity and character identity in the play. While neither scholar focuses specifically on waging or executing war and both concentrate their investigations on Thomas Stukeley, the only English character in the play, their works supply the historical context for the ways in which identity tensions may have influenced Peele's Renaissance audience. In "Turning Catholic," Roby asserts that Stukeley's Catholic alliances and

---

[8] Elaskary, Mohamed I. H. *The Image of Moors in the Writing of Four Elizabethan Dramatists: Peele, Dekker, Heywood and Shakespeare.* Diss. University of Exeter (2008); Patricia Parker's "Barbers, Infidels, and Renegades" in *Center or Margin: Revisions of the English Reniassance in Honor of Leeds Barroll.* Lena Cowen Orlin, ed. 2007. Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp. Cranbury New Jersey 54-90; Hyland, Peter. "Moors, Villainy and *The Battle of Alcazar*" *Parergon.* 16.2. 1999: 85-99.

[9] Edelman cites Dekker (*Satiro-mastix* "Feede and be fat my faire Calipolis, stir not my beauteous wriggle-tailes," IV.i.150-51), Marston (*What You Will* "Feed and be fat my fair Calipolis," V.i.1), and Shakespeare (*2HIV* Ancient Pistol's parodying the roles played by Edward Alleyn that includes Muly Mahamet: "Then feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis" and Tamburlaine II.iv.176) (88).

treasonable activity work in fundamental opposition to his identity as an Englishman (30). He implies that, as a result, Protestant English audiences would have wanted to identify with their countryman but would have found it difficult to form this identification. Lockey offers a different perspective, painting Stukeley as a "cosmopolitan" figure, "faithful, rule-bound, and honorable" but not limited by his national origin (12). Lockey attempts to define Stukeley as an ambitious, unfettered explorer and separate him from his religious and national allegiances, a reading that might allow an English audience to champion his virtues without the interference of his disloyalties. Whereas Lockey's effort to depict a sufficiently redeemable image of Stukeley (one that agrees with Peele's Presenter's appraisal of the aspiring conqueror) might appeal to the twentifirst-century reader, I do not think the sixteenth-century playgoer would have so easily dismissed embedded values of religion and country. I examine this concept in direct relationship with JCT and demonstrate how this ambiguity appears in every commanding character. The result is a discordant mix of conflicting values and challenging associations of otherness that leave Peele's Elizabethan audience in search of a clear heroic protagonist to champion.

Few critics consider the role of martial handbooks in reinforcing Just Cause Theory and communicating its foundations to a broader public audience. In asserting that *Henry V* allows for a more ready audience identification than *Alcazar*, I procede from the assumption that Renaissance audiences had access to or knew of these treatises and that they were familiar with popular philosophical and religious tracts on war and justice. This assumption is viable due to the broad availability and commercial distribution of these manuals in the last half of the sixteenth century. Twentieth-century critics accept and foreground the influence of the handbooks on Renaissance politics and culture. Meron upholds military treatises as

shaping Renaissance understandings of the rules of war in conjunction with historical chronicles and jurist tracts; he concedes that the war manuals are unclear on theoretical distinctions between marital strategy, discipline, and official legalities but that these guidebooks provided expertise on war theory from a practical use perspective (*Shakespeare's Henry* 4). Jorgensen emphasizes the significance of the manuals for reinforcing notions of war as a function of God's plan and the human responsibility for just conduct in carrying out this divine purpose through ethical and humane means (*Elizabethan Views* 228). Lowe confirms that the writings of just war philosophers were also widely read during this time, pointing particularly to the broad distribution of Vitoria's *De Jure Belli* (c 1532) and later Francisco Suárez's *De Legibus* (1612) and Hugo Gotius's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625) for the seventeenth century (175-177). It seems, then, that the popularity of both the manuals that instruct on the process for declaring just war and the philosophical texts that debate and define the rules of war support my decision to assume a general knowledge of just war principles among Renaissance theater audiences.

In the last decade, critical review has been more dismissive of the significance of martial handbooks than my supposition above indicates. Mebane argues aggressively that Henry V should be viewed as a machiavel in the modern pejorative sense, but limits his analysis to Machiavelli's ideological viewpoints in *The Prince* and *Discourses* and fails to examine the Italian's views on just war in *The Arte of Warre*. The result is that Mebane associates the king with ambitious manipulations of power and leadership completely removed from the rules of martial conduct that frame and legitimize Henry's actions. Although Paola Pugliatti's evaluation of *Henry V* reiterates Mebane's reading, her extended analysis of the just war tradition in Shakespearean England does include a brief discussion on

martial tracts and manuals published between 1578-1600. Unfortunately, Pugliatti dismisses the texts as "simply practical manuals, dealing with technical aspects of war [that] seem not to be interested in discussing the acceptability of war for Christian morals" (92), and she concludes that "Shakespeare was probably not directly acquainted with Augustine or the technical manuals" since her research uncovered no direct textual parallels (99).[10] My study of the martial handbooks available in the sixteenth century aligns more with Meron and Jorgensen's findings on the influence of these texts. The earlier manuals from de Pizan, Purlilia, Onosander, and Machiavelli (all three editions) include sections on just war that are less developed than later printed works from de Bellay and the English-authors Rich, Sutcliffe, Proctor, and Smythe, but this trend reflects the evolution of Just Cause Theory itself, which was in the process of codification. Each manual directly addresses the confluence of morality and war and provides explicit examples of the practical steps commanders must take before declaring war, as well as the proper conduct required in the just execution of battles. In fairness to Mebane and Pugliatti, Meron also acknowledges that there is no existing evidence that the sixteenth-century writers on the law of nations (*jus gentium*) influenced Shakespeare either directly or indirectly ("Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth" 4); however, the exactness with which the playwright follows both the *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* rules listed above certainly allows a popular knowledge of these theoretical guidelines even if it does not prove that Shakespeare had authoritative, first-hand experience with the treatises.

---

[10] Pugliatti's statements here seem oddly inconsistent since she acknowledges sections in multiple manuals that devote attention to just declarations of war and just action in war. She justifies her conclusion by determining that these passages are mostly an issue of *Realpolitik* and not reflexive of influential philosophical ideology (98). She does concede that Marlowe was acquainted with the treatises, citing a long speech from *2 Tamburlaine* (3.2.62-90) that was inspired by Ive's translation of Fourquevaux.

In its detailed observance of Just Cause Theory, *Henry V* models an ideal progression of just war precepts. Even historical events that involve complications or that blur the line between just conduct and war crimes, such as Henry's cruel rhetoric at the gates of Harfleur and his order to kill the prisoners of war at Agincourt, have a place with the doctrine and standard military practice of the time. The purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate that by following the laws of martial decorum, Shakespeare provides a controlled framework in *Henry V* that keeps his audience in a relatively safe atmosphere for reimagining a celebrated national triumph. His construction and editing of the play's potentially subversive elements do not force the captive playgoer to sort through conflicting beliefs in an immediately meaningful way. Conversely, Peele's *Alcazar* demonstrates the biased subjectivity of just war principles and challenges his audience to accept incongruous and potentially uncomfortable beliefs if they are to gain an identification with Abdelmelec and participate in his Moroccan victory.

Jus ad Bellum: *Henry V* and Just Cause

According to Just Cause Theory, before a national leader can wage war, the cause must have both legal and moral justification. Henry relies on delegitimizing the rule of Salic Law in France for his legal claim, a defense that could be perceived as manipulative and autocratic, yet Shakespeare orchestrates the play's opening to foreground the religio-political macinations involved in finding a means to justify war while also diffusing ethical liability for amoral motives away from Henry. Imperialism is not an acceptable cause for war, so Henry's claim to the French territories as rightful property required invalidating the laws against female inheritance; however, this legal justification remains a matter of subjective interpretation. Shakespeare decreases this ambiguity for his audience by distilling the

complex historical and legal situation down to an oversimplified yes/no dichotomy. When Canterbury explains Henry's defense with complex legal jargon, Henry demands a pointed and unequivocal ruling. In one of his few one-line utterances, the king presses, "May I with right and conscience make this claim?" (*HV*.1.2.241). Delivered after two long proclamations—the king's and then Canterbury's—this brief question would catch the attention of an audience working to sort through the legal and ethical complexities. It simplifies the concept of *jus ad bellum* legitimations into its two primary premises: the "right" that is legal justification and legitimate authority and the "conscience" of a sanctioned moral judgment. When Canterbury accepts the burden, "The sin upon my head, dread sovereign!" (*HV*.1.2.242), he further separates his selfish motives from the king's efforts to establish defensible just cause. Henry's circle of counselors—the Bishop of Ely, Duke of Exeter, Early of Westmorland—all join the Archbishop, encouraging Henry to war with talk of valiance and honoring his martial ancestors. The right to wage war belongs exclusively to the king, but by dispersing the approval of the battle among couselors, Shakespeare configures Henry as making a calculated move to war.

The counsel scene in Act 1.2 makes a clear and measured establishment of the king's rightful claim, but it is also the first of many instances in which Shakespeare diffuses ethical responsibility away from the king. The martial handbooks generally instruct a sovereign to seek counsel before declaring war. Machiavelli and Rich explicitly warn about taking advice from aides with self-serving interests. Although he allows for sudden decision-making when faced with an immediate military concern, Machiavelli advises against getting counsel from men "who in times of peace desire war because [they] cannot live without it" (Lynch 17). Machiavelli's statement accepts that men shoulder the responsibility for fighting but warns

that some men take war as their profession, are discomforted by long periods of peace, and are thus unable to offer rational advice. Rich's admonition speaks against advisors who foment a martial conflict for personal gain, cautioning that a general should prefer counsel from "suche men as loves [the general], then by those that are best beloved of him selfe (*Path-Way* E1v). Both Machiavelli and Rich would seem to support the inclusion of nobles and would-be soldiers, Exeter and Westmorland, among the king's advisors in the counsel scene. However, it is equally significant that they do not advocate for war with France until after Henry's extended exchange with Canterbury and after Ely voices his support for the mission. Shakespeare's audience has already been informed of Canterbury's and Ely's selfish plans in the previous scene. It is a subtle move, but by having the nobles play a secondary role with attention to "cause; and means and might" (*HV*.1.2.125) and the "expect[ed]" nature of this fight (*HV*.1.2.123), the clergymen become the self-serving counselors, leading the call to war for personal ambitious pursuits. The aristocrats appear more measured, faulted perhaps for being poor judges of character but not for being overeager and war-hungry.

Shakespeare carefully crafts the king's petition, releasing him from being responsible for Canterbury's selfish motives. Nonetheless, Henry must still legitimize the invasion based upon the principle of proportionality and the belief that a reasonable prospect for success depends on the war being God-approved. Commanding the Archbishop to "justly and religiously unfold" (*HV*.1.2.10) his legal standing, Henry warns Canterbury that "God forbid" him to proceed with a biased counsel (*HV*.1.2.13). The king appears cautious and concerned about the moral righteousness of his just cause claim. Twice Henry voices concern about the loss of "blood" (*HV*.1.2.19 and 25) from "guiltless" (25) soldiers. By revealing Canterbury's selfish desires in the previous scene while also removing those impure motives from the

king, the burden of guilt rests with Canterbury should his counsel be untrue. Without the first

scene, it would be Henry's rhetoric that seemed a self-serving and even cowardly attempt to

insulate himself from his princely duties by claiming to be "impawned" (*HV*.1.2.21) and

shifting responsibility to Canterbury who "wrongs gives" (*HV*.1.2.27) the sanction for war.

However, since the audience has just witnessed Canterbury acknowledge his personal

motives for encouraging Henry to war, the king's requests for religious justness become

reflections of prudent caution rather than blame-shifting cowardice. Sullied Canterbury

becomes the representative emblem of God authorizing the war. This tainted religious figure

perhaps stirs questions about the reliability and absolutism of righteous appeals but does not

configure Henry as the wrongdoer. In fact, when Henry expresses concern for the human cost

of war and for the safety of his kingdom should reduced resources leave England unprotected

against a possible invasion from Scotland, he portrays a careful respect for the just cause

tenet of proportionality that requires a king to make sure the fight is not only worth the loss

of life but also that it benefits and does not threaten the national welfare. A just war includes

maintaining a security force in England while still having a reasonable prospect for success

abroad. That the king adheres to these precepts likely frames him as an empathetic leader,

thoughtfully weighing the proportionality of his decision. It was still conventionally accepted

that God determined the victors of war; thus, if Henry's cause was contaminated by

Canterbury's ambition (or the King's own undue ambitions), the war with France would be

unsuccessful because God is against wrongful aggression.[11] Adding to the faith-based

convictions is the event that gives Henry what he interprets as a metaphysical blessing: the

---

[11] Proctor devotes a full passage to validating God's hand in defeating ambitious pursuits. He cites the biblical passage from Matthew 26:52 that men who live by the sword die by the sword as evidence against unlawful invasion and gives the historical reference of Richard III who posses the "necessary virtue" of courage but did not win at Bosworth Field because his cause was not just (Fol. 45).

discovery of the treasonous scheme in Act 2 and its attribution as an omen from God for a "fair and lucky war" (*HV* 2.2.181). If Shakespeare's audience is unsettled by Canterbury's coercive politics, they would have the traitor scene and knowledge of the historical victory as testaments to the war as sanctioned by God. By following the exact stages to establish a legally and moral justification, Henry shows himself to be a conscientious leader, ordered and abiding by the due process laws of war.

Jus ad Bellum: Public Declaration by a Legitimate Authority

Before the first battle at Harfleur, Shakespeare fulfills the final *jus ad bellum* principle that requires a formal, public declaration of war. His construction of the proclamation scene accomplishes two key functions relevant to Just Cause Theory. It creates an archetypal villain in the French Dauphin that further authorizes an English audience to champion Henry's cause, and it confirms Shakespeare's studied knowledge of martial declarations. First, the standard of legitimate authority proclaims that war must be undertaken only by a sovereign lord or the Pope.[12] On the question of legitimate authority, Henry's position is complicated. His status as king grants him the right to wage war under just circumstances, but if a theater audience remains unconvinced by the Salic Law justification, England is an invading force, giving Charles a more rightful stance as a defender of his nation—always a defensible cause to war. Shakespeare handles this ambiguity by simplifying the narrative into an "us versus them" paradigm and depicting the Dauphin as a brash and overeager combatant. This portrayal takes advantage of subjective notions of legitimate

---

[12] See Sutcliffe 8 and de Pizan 14-15. Calhoun remarks the fact that legitimate authority is a singular right in the control of a country's leader presents a significant power problem: "This implies that the legitimate authority's declaration becomes, for all and intents and purposes, the necessary and sufficient condition to the waging of war in the real world" (50).

authority that confuse humility with worthiness.[13] The Dauphin is overconfident, prideful,

and thus not deserving of victory. In response to his father's order to ready the kingdom for

invasion, the Dauphin complies but asserts that he anticipates little fight from an England "so

idly kinged…By a vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth" (2.4.26 and 28). Although he

eventually concedes that it is better to weigh "the enemy more mighty than he seems"

(2.4.44), the Dauphin, nonetheless, wants "Nothing but odds with England" (2.4.129), seeing

mere "youth and vanity" (2.4.130) in Henry. Although Charles and his constable remain

respectfully cautious and discerning, the Dauphin's overconfidence diverts potential pity

from the French and their right to protect their nation while conversely inviting the audience

to see the war with France as verification of Henry's maturity compared to his behavior as

Hal in *1 & 2 Henry IV*. Concrete understandings of legal authority interweave with

philosophical appraisals of dignified conduct and appeals to the audience's desire for Henry

to humble the Dauphin.

While manipulating his audience's emotional loyalties is a necessary aim,

Shakespeare does not rely strictly on emotional appeals in the final preparations for war and

continues to mete out Henry's demonstrative rhetoric within the prescribed just cause

structure. When Exeter delivers the king's public declaration to war, he uses some of the

most verbally threatening language in the play, but he does so entirely within the proper

conventions required by law of arms. Exeter begins with a formal greeting to Charles

(2.4.76). He publically relays Henry's message that "in the name of God Almighty" (2.4.77)

Charles should relinquish the French crown which "…by gift of heaven, / By law of nature

and of nations, 'longs / To [Henry] and to his heirs" (2.4.79-81). Exeter's invocation of God,

---

[13] This is a strategy that Shakespeare employs later in the play to endear the theater audience to Henry before
the battle at Agincourt using the Chorus' description of French zeal, Henry's exchange with Bates, Williams,
and Court, and Henry's prayer of contrition.

natural law, and international law captures the three grounds through which war is justified.

Proctor explains that the "beginninge, and just causes of warres" may only be sanctioned "by

the lawe of nature, Justice, and pryncipallie by the lawe of God" (Fol. 43). Exeter's

declaration must assert all three rights to wage war. Sutcliffe clarifies the law of nature

reasoning that "...it is the law of nature, and nations that putteth weapons in our hands for our

defence" (2). To this point, Shakespeare has devoted the most time to establishing God's

approval and Henry's legal cause; by asserting natural law in his formal declaration, he

confirms his knowledge of just war discourse.[14] When Exeter continues with the procedural

defense of Henry's legal claim, he blends the "law of nature and of nations" by tracing the

king's lineage to Edward III. Before explaining the legal grounds, Exeter announces that his

proclamation is so "That you may know / 'Tis no sinister nor no awkward claim" (2.4.84-85).

This address satisfies the conventions of just war principles for the on-stage audience but also

illustrates that the playwright is still working to directly persuade his theater audience of

Henry's lawful claim. Prompted by Charles, Exeter describes the violent battles that will

ensue if the French king refuses to give up his crown and offers one more chance to avoid the

bloodshed. Although this warning is not explicitly required by the tenets of a formal

declaration, it does fulfill the command that a king must use war only as a last resort, thereby

further indicating Shakespeare's knowledge of the *jus ad bellum* process and awareness of its

effectiveness and ability to sway the audience's loyalties. Before the first alarum, he

systematically establishes authoritative legal cause, deflects ethical responsibility from the

king, demonstrates Henry's conscientious attention to securing his homeland and concern for

his soldiers, constructs a clear villain for the audience to root against, and issues a formal

---

[14] Meron asserts that Exeter's address is a representation of Henry's chivalry and a validation of Shakespeare's knowledge of JCT public declaration conventions (*Bloody Constraint* 13).

declaration with an option for nonviolent surrender. Even with the dubious Salic Law claim and Canterbury's obvious manipulation, Shakespeare's theater audience is unlikely to have any hesitation or conflicts of allegiance largely because of his attention to the systematic due process of declaring war.

Jus in Bello: Non-Combatants and Harfleur

While there is general agreement that Shakespeare follows *jus ad bellum* conventions in staging the preparations for and declaration of war, some critics argue that Henry's principled discourse on just cause and systematic efforts to verify his rightful authority *before* the war dissolve into unchivalric behavior *during* the execution of war, in other words, that he neglects *jus in bello* at Harfleur and Agincourt. However, a close look at battlefield conduct sanctioned by the martial handbooks demonstrates that Henry's actions are largely legitimate. In the area in which Henry's decisions remain questionable, Shakespeare has constructed his narrative to purify and rationalize Henry's behavior. Specifically, the two most contested rules relevant to Just War Theory and battlefield conduct in *Henry V* relate to the humane treatment of non-combatants and POWs. These rules correlate directly to events during the Harfleur siege and at Agincourt. Critics who see Henry's actions as blood-thirsty and unlawful generally claim that the violent-themed rhetoric in his ultimatum to the Harfleur Governor and his order to kill the captured French soldiers at Agincourt undermine any semblance of heroism and righteousness established in pre-war preparation scenes.[15] On the contrary, each battlefield scene demonstrates conduct that is both authorized by sanctioned rules of warfare and carefully reworded by Shakespeare in a way that further

---

[15] See Paola Pugliotti's *Shakespeare and Just War Tradition* (2010), Mebane's "'Impious War': Religion and the Ideology of Warfare in *Henry V*" (2007), and Altman's "'Vile Participation'" (1991). For more discussion on connections between gender and sexual violence/ rape, see also Phyllis Rackin and Jean Howard *Engendering a Nation*, New York: Routledge, 1997; and, Gordon Williams *Dictionary of Secual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*. London: Athlone Press, 1994.

purifies potentially negative language and actions from the actual historical event and allows audiences to maintain a vision of Henry as an imperfect but proficient martial leader.

Henry's address to Harfleur's governor describes threats that, if carried out, would clearly violate the rules of warfare; however, the threat of force is presented in a way that could well reflect the intent of rhetorical effect instead of the intent to carry out these ruthless threats. During the parley after the first battle, Henry asks the governor whether he will relinquish the city. Not pausing for a response after the query, the king delivers an extended ultimatum in which he threatens what will happen to the town if they do not surrender: sacking, mass slaughter, and rape. He avows that "fresh fair virgins and your flow'ring infants" shall be "mow[ed] like grass" (3.3.97 & 96) and repeats dismissively, "what is it to me" (98 & 102) if the city burns and its "pure maidens fall into the hand / Of hot and forcing violation?" (103-104). He describes his soldiers as men who will be beyond his control once unleashed "in liberty of bloody hand" and "We may be as bootless spend our vain command / Upon th'enragèd soldiers in their spoil" (95 & 105-106). His ultimatum culminates in the most vivid imagery, with hissing alliteration and consonance repeated in his final lines (italicized below).

> Henry: If not—why, in a moment look to see
>
> The *b*lind and *b*loody soldier with foul hand
>
> Defile the lock*s* of your *s*hrill-*s*hrieking daughter*s*;
>
> Your father*s* taken by the *s*ilver beard*s*,
>
> And their most reverend heads dashed to the walls;
>
> Your naked infant*s* *sp*litted u*p*on *p*ike*s*,
>
> While*s* the mad mother*s* with their howl*s* confu*s*ed

> *D*o break the clou*d*s, as *d*id the *w*ives of Je*w*ry
>
> At *H*ero*d*'s bloo*d*y-*h*unting *s*laughtermen. (116-124)

Shakespeare's use of the fricative consonants ("s" and "h") creates the hissing sounds that make the speech seem frantic, urgent, and slightly out of control; while, the repetition of stop consonants ("b," "p," and "d") almost make the words into aural punches that symbolize force. With the allusion to Herod and his order to massacre newborn males in and around Bethlehem and references to "impious war" (98) and "licentious wickedness" (105), Shakespeare's Henry depicts himself and the English soldiers as being capable of a level of cruelty unrestrained by Christian ethics or martial codes of conduct. However, knowledge of sixteenth-century warfare prevents misunderstanding this speech as an address delivered by an immoral and bloodthirsty king.

Henry's Harfleur rhetoric is sanctioned both through the cultural understandings of blood and dominance and within the texts of the marital handbooks. First, blood is a common metonymy for conquest in martial discourse. It is intimately connected both with literal bloodshed during battle and with the context of humoural psychology and Renaissance conceptions of blood loss as weakness and feminine. Considering this figurative notion, Breitenberg labels blood "the most significant trope of masculinity" (49). Henry's bloodshed threats flex his masculine dominance and conversely function to emasculate the men of Harfleur. However, it is not necessary to associate blood with masculine triumph to understand the rhetorical consistency of Henry's battlefield threats as tools of verbal dominance. Previous scenes within the play have already prepared the audience for these intimidation efforts. The Dauphin's tennis ball prank incites a menacing response from the king very similar to the tone exhibited at Harfleur. Warning that the Dauphin's joke "did give

ourself / To barbarous licence" (1.2.270-271), Henry sends the French Ambassador away

with an image of what will happen to France if the English invade:

> Henry: ...many a thousand widows
>
> Shall in this his *mock mock* out of their dear husbands,
>
> *Mock* mothers from their sons, *mock* castles down;
>
> Ay, some are yet ungotten and unborn
>
> That *s*hall have cau*s*e to cur*s*e the Dauphin'*s s*corn.
>
> (284-288, emphasis added)

Again, Shakespeare's extensive use of rhetorical figures is excessive, this time taunting in the

repetition of "mock" and continuing with the hiss-pattern "s" fricatives. Yet, Henry's reply

when Exeter remarks, "This was a merry message" (298) belies the fact that the aim is

bombast and not necessarily an actual commitment to ruthless violence. Henry's

acknowledgement, "We hope to make the sender blush at it" (299), reveals intentionality and

a deft attention to the power of words and the importance of winning the verbal battle. Again

during the formal declaration of war in Act 2.4, Exeter delivers more vicious rhetoric on

Henry's behalf: "Bloody constraint; for if you hide the crown/Even in your hearts, there will

he rake for it" (2.4.1000-1001). The French king must "Deliver up the crown" (1002) or be

responsible for the suffering of his subjects, "the widows' tears, the orphans' cries / The dead

men's blood, the pining maidens groans/For husbands, fathers and betrothed

lovers…(2.4.1009-1012). These examples demonstrate a pattern of ruthless language that

Henry uses to intimidate his French enemy in efforts to avoid battle. They also serve to

diffuse responsibility from the English king. By issuing forceful warnings, any resultant

bloodshed is the Harfleur Governor's fault or the Dauphin's or King Charles' but not Henry's. Thus, he can be seen as a shrewd negotiator rather than a merciless commander.

Admittedly, the rhetoric of Harfleur's ultimatum expresses more explicit violence than the other examples of Henry's vitriol, but they remain appropriate and sanctioned by the disciplines of war. In addition, Shakespeare alters the narrative so that his theatrical king demonstrates more compassion than the historical King Henry V and provides a comparatively unambiguous portrayal of a merciful commander. Numerous military treatise writers instruct commanders to use forceful words in an effort to avoid physical engagement. Vegetius advises, "It is better to subdue the enemye...by terrour and feare, then wyth open battle" (Sig G.1v). Machiavelli makes a more direct claim that ruthless rhetoric should be used to create this fear by calling on his prince to "make all his ostentations terrible" (213). Asserting that the general should "seeke by al meanes possible to make the besieged afrayd" (251), de Bellay calls for a mixture of money and words. Money, he says, should be used for bribery and words, "to perswade the inhabitants, or the Souldiers by livelie reasons that they ought to yeelde" (225). That Shakespeare has Henry issue threats of violence and violation toward the citizens of Harfleur aligns exactly with accepted military practice, particularly with the just war tenet that a commander should make every effort to avoid the brutalities of battle. In fact, the use of force after a siege is allowable, according to Medieval and Renaissance laws of war, a fact that the historical King Henry V took advantage of but that Shakespeare elides from his retelling of the Harfleur siege.[16] Most warfare relied on securing strongholds for shelter and food, which meant encounters like Harfleur were more prevalent

---

[16] Mebane claims, "the fact that the images of rape and slaughter in Henry's speech at Harfleur are not transformed at that moment into action does nothing to decrease the impact of these vivid pictures of warfare…" (262). However, I maintain that it is critical that the play does not depict an actualized slaughter at Harfleur. As my citations from the manuals indicate, threats of cruelty are encouraged; executions of cruelty are a much greyer area that Shakespeare's Henry avoids.

and Significant for martial success than open-field battles like Agincourt. When the governor

surrenders, Henry's order to Exeter to remain at Harfleur and "fortify it strongly 'gainst the

French" (3.3.136) is representative of this need to control strategic land areas. However,

Shakespeare also has Henry issue a command to "Use mercy to them all" (137), which is a

stark change in tone from the vicious threats of his ultimatum. Meron, expert on war in

Shakespeare, identifies that the real king Henry called for his men to sack the city of Harfleur

and run out its citizens after their surrender. Although King Henry forbade rape,[17] Meron

identifies that there is no factual record of the king calling for "mercy" (*Bloody Constraint*

28). Acceptable martial conduct during the Middle Ages did allow for unmitigated brutality

against both combatants and civilians in besieged cities as a response to resistance.[18]

However, leniency was suggested in instances where a city surrendered.[19] By leaving out the

sack of Harfleur and adding a compassionate call for mercy, Shakespeare reshapes Henry's

image into one that is more chivalrous and perhaps more appealingly heroic than the true

king to his Elizabethan audience. Contrary to critics who point to Harfleur as evidence of

Henry's brutality, Shakespeare's version of the story adheres to the *jus in bello* codes of

conduct and purifies allowable actions that otherwise might have been seen as cruel.

---

[17] According to Meron, the threat of rape has a definite place in medieval and Renaissance warfare as an accepted incentive to soldiers involved in sieges (*Bloody Constraint* 29-30). Kelly Askin in *War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution in the International War Crimes Tribunal* (1997) determines that, even though rape was increasingly against chivalric codes of conduct, it remained part of the spoils of war for conquering soldiers who were often underpaid or paid irregularly (10-21). Within the sixteenth-century military manuals, only de Bellay makes direct mention of rape and lists is as one of the violations of just war behavior that is cause for being put to death (262-263).

[18] It is possible that the governor of Harfleur would have taken Henry's threats seriously. Often, manual writers sanction actual viciousness if enemies resist. Purlilia says that cruelty should be used in the beginning of wars (118) and that a commander should make an example of "thyne enemyes [who] obstynatlye do defende the cytye" by having their hands cut off (di Porcia 49). Onosandro encourages generals to fully sack a city for their goods, especially if the war is not yet finished (fol. 104).

[19] Proctor commands cruelty only when needing to make an example; otherwise, preferring leniency and prudence (Fol. 46). Onosondro (fol. 113), Machiavelli (215), and Purlilia (182)—all call for a general to show mercy to cities that surrender so that other cities will yield more willingly. Riche identifies the balance between demonstrations of strength and cruelty with the assertions that "magnanimity without mercy is tyranny" (*Allarme* D.ii.v).

Jus in Bello: **Accountability**

The Bates/Williams exchange in Act 4 further demonstrates Shakespeare's engagement with Just Cause Theory by presenting a between-battles reevaluation of proportionality. According to the *jus ad bellum* principle of proportionality, the cause of a war must justify the means expended to win the conflict. Now that war has been waged and officially begun, proportionality no longer appraises whether the battle warrants the expense of life and funds but rather becomes a question of who is morally responsible for the risks that wars entail, especially for the common soldier. The Bates/Williams scene is another instance that critics interpret as manipulative, but *jus ad bellum* rules of engagement show this exchange as a necessary influence on theater audience in order to further sanitizing the king.[20] For the first time, Henry proclaims his righteous authority to common soldiers. Until this point, he has verbally acknowledged the physical sacrifices that war involves but only with noblemen who had less to risk in the battle, more likely to be captured for ransom than killed in the war. Naively, Henry begins the dialogue with Williams and Bates with a proclamation begging the question of the king's just cause: "…methinks I could not die any where so contented as in the king's company; his cause being just and his quarrel honourable" (*HV*.4.1.127). Williams' response, "That's more than we know" (128), is not simply a cynical observation; this comment identifies a missing element in the *jus ad bellum* doctrine: only kings and national commanders have the legitimate authority to determine just cause and to declare war. Soldiers are bound to follow, without question, the orders of their sovereign,

---

[20] Mebane and Pugliatti depicts both the Bates/Williams scene and the prayer scene as instances that complicate Henry V's belief in the justness of his cause, as indications that he fears injustice in his decision, and as events that reveal weakness in Henry's faith in the legitimacy of his claim to France and undercurrents of Shakespeare's ideological pacifism that subvert the plays otherwise glorification of warfare; however, it reduces the importance of these scenes to assume that king Henry's discussion with Williams and Bates and his contrition before the battle at Agincourt are merely displays of uncertainty and fear simply because they force the king to reevaluate the absolutism of his cause, an idealism previously unchallenged in the plays just cause discourse.

risking their lives at the forefront of the battle without any hand in evaluating the ethical, legal, or political justness of the conflict. One can imagine Henry, so certain of his own veracity, affirming the rightful claims that he has been assured of so many times before, expecting the unconditional affirmation he enjoyed in the opening scenes, and being surprised when the justness of his cause is finally challenged. Being that kings usually remain physically distanced from the concerns of common soldiers, this scene breaks with that convention as Shakespeare puts Henry and the theater audience intimately close to the existential question implied by the proportionality principle: is winning the war worth the sacrifices used to win it? Henry's encounter with Williams and Bates humanizes the war by giving it faces and naming men likely to die in the battle, a battle they had no part in waging. That Henry sought this intimacy, even if he was not fully prepared for it, presents him as compassionate and empathetic enough to face the sobering consequence of his war declaration.

The soldiers' scene in Act 4 and the prayer that follows revisit the principles of proportionality and morality on a metaphysical level by debating who should be responsible for deaths that occur during wars. This exchange is not a required stage of Just Cause Theory, but it illustrates a lesson on determinism and personal control embedded within martial ideology that helps to explain why Renaissance audiences would not likely have viewed the scene as subversive. Thus far into the drama, the king has performed the correct steps to legitimate his invasion of France. He has proven legal cause, performed a public declaration, and given his opponents opportunities to avoid conflicts. Central to this process is the understanding of war as biblically sanctioned, natural, and part of God's will. Both the discovery of the traitor plot in Act 2 and the eventual victory at Agincourt become emblems

of God's approval of the English cause. By the time Henry speaks with the soldiers, he has

been assured of his legal right and believes he has moral authority. Williams confronts the

disguised king with the violent images of war and asserts his fear that "few die well that die

in a battle" (*HV*.4.1.140-141). Williams' statement invokes the philosophy of pacifism and

the Christian belief in loving one's neighbor (*caritas*) that led some sixteenth-century

humanists to conclude that war is never worth the sacrifice. Yet, Shakespeare has not

portrayed Henry as a pacifist monarch; instead, he presents a more Augustinian king who

believes that religious love includes a restoration of justice.[21] War on the stage of *Henry V* is

a tool, sanctioned by God—"war is [God's] vengeance" (4.1.168)—for use by a king in a just

cause. This conception of war as licensed by the teachings of God is common in the

discourse used to justify war among English authors who published military manuals in the

last half of the sixteenth century. Rich cites biblical princes who were warriors as a means for

demonstrating God's approval of war (*Allarme* B.1r and *Path-Way* D.4v). Ive's introduction

to de Bellay's *Instructions for the Warres* recites Bible verses to legitimize war as God-

sanctioned. Proctor provides his readers with a list of biblical stories where the characters

engaged in war (Fol. 43); Sutcliffe says it is "heretical" to think that princes do not have the

right to wage war and that citizens should not fight in them (1). The fundamental belief that

God authorizes warfare and determines its outcomes clarifies the question of individual

control and responsibility. If military war is God's doing, under determinedly just

circumstances, then monarchs, commanders, and soldiers must fight them. Henry believes he

---

[21] Erasmus is perhaps the most prolific writer of the pacifist ideology, see *The Colloquies* and *The Education of a Christian Prince*. Augustine's *The City of God* would also have been well read, Trans. Marcus Dods. Peabody: Hendrickson Pub, 2009. Print. For secondary writing on pacificsm and Just War Theory, see Eric Paterson's chapter, "Pacifism, Just War, and Holy War" which directly addresses the concept of Catholic *caritas* in *The Sacred Quest: An Invitation to the Study of Religion* (6th edition). Ed. Lawrence Cunningham and John Kelsey. Pearson, 2012: 18-24. Print., also Paterson's *Just War Thinking: Morality and Pragmatism in the Struggle Against Contemporary Threats*, Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2007. Print.

has worked through the proper steps to verify a just cause, which allows him to redirect the

two pointed statements from Williams that attempt to lay blame on the king:

> Williams: But if the cause be not good, the king himself hath a heavy
>
> reckoning to make....(133-134)
>
> Now, if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for
>
> the king that led them to it; whom to disobey were against all
>
> proportion of subjection. (*HV*.4.1.142-145)

According to martial theory, Williams' statements are correct. Sutcliffe confirms that men

can serve "with good conscience" if a war is just, and if the war is eventually determined to

be unjust, "the injustice...shall bind the Prince, as the duetie of obedience does make the

souldier innocent" (12). If Henry has led his men to France on illegitimate claims, the moral

burden would be the king's and not his conscripted soldiers'. However, Sutcliffe is also

careful to note that, if the war is "notoriously unjust, let everyman take heede how hee

embrewe his handes in innocent blood" (12).[22] If Williams believes that he is fighting an

illegal battle, it is his responsibility to "take heede" how he conducts himself. Thus, Henry

easily dismisses Williams' existential question of whether war is ever a way to "die well" by

focusing on the individual's role in securing his own relationship with God: "Every subject's

duty is the king's; but every subject's soul is his own" (*HV*.4.1.175-176). Since just wars are

in fulfillment of God's purpose, a soldier can only do what is under his control: prepare for

battle with prayer and perform in combat to the best of this knowledge and ability. His

encounter with Court, Bates, and Williams demonstrates that Henry has shifted his role from

verifying the veracity of the war to executing his responsibility as commander and modeling

---

[22] Sutcliffe uses Richard III at Bosworth Field as an example of a notoriously unjust battle in which Richard lost because God did not sanction his side (39).

the moral behavior he wants to see from his soldiers. The idea that every soldier must prepare

his own soul for battle removes from Henry the full weight of responsibility for his soldiers'

salvation. He is accountable only for his soul, which his prayer works to purify by directly

addressing and asking forgiveness for his father's role in deposing Richard II.

Jus in Bello: **Non-Combatants and Agincourt**

Examined from the perspective of the play's plot development and Shakespeare's

attention to just war processes, the scenes leading into his Crispin's Day oration demonstrate

a systematic creation of symbolic unity necessary for the theatrical success of the Agincourt

speech. It is possible that Shakespeare intended Henry's disguised visit to his soldiers to

introduce the none-too-subtle subtext of a calculating and charismatic king working to learn

the needs of the commoners. The scene may be demonstrating a Machiavellian attempt to

contain undermining subversions and manipulate his subjects with performed appeals to

national duty and personal agency.[23] Indeed, Henry could hardly risk disunity among his

ranks the night before a battle. Greenblatt argues this theory well, identifying such scenes of

supposed false intimacy as "invisible bullets" that ultimately serve strategic manipulative

interests of the king (44-45). While I agree with Greenblatt's point when reading the soldier's

scene as a negotiation of power, I also think the scene makes available another interpretation

relevant to systematic preparations for war and the need to secure allegiance from the theater

audience ahead of the Agincourt battle. This reading takes into account the formal processes

of Just War Theory and represents a cohesive wooing of the audience, especially when

extended to the prayer scene. The elements work similarly to Elizabeth's Tilbury address:

create a context that deemphasizes social hierarchies and foregrounds unified interreliance in

---

[23] These connections would certainly seem viable in the context of the plays that Shakespeare was likely composing at the time. Both *Julius Caesar* (1599) and *Hamlet* (1599-1601) abound with introspections on privilege and reasonable distrust of authority.

order to invoke feelings of solidarity, previously discussed as *communitas*. Unlike Elizabeth, however, Shakespeare cannot rely on the situational pressures of an actual impending battle because his theater audience experiences no risk of life or soul. The success of his final battle oration is measured entirely by whether the rhetoric succeeds in exciting and delighting its listeners. Thus, he does not rely only on a rousing oration but rather executes a carefully-scripted dramatic strategy that leads his audience through the liminal period between Henry's properly performed *jus ad bellum* preparations for war and his more questionable *jus in bello* actions in war.

With the depiction of the boasting and over-eager French in Act 3 and the Chorus's confirmation of French arrogance to open Act 4, Shakespeare depicts Henry, comparatively, as the English king who demonstrates acts of physical and spiritual humility. Borrowing the costume of the commoner, his disguise represents a visible decrease in hierarchical structure but only for the theater audience who knows the soldier to be the king. Henry's refusal to assume responsibility for his soldiers' souls and his prayer, delivered in Sight only of the theater audience, shares control over the battle by making Williams, Bates, and Court active agents in the event and allowsing the audience a false intimacy with the king. Shakespeare uses language in the Williams scene that begins to draw playgoers into the alliance by foreshadowing the discourse he would use in the Crispin's Day oration. In contrast to the French Dauphin who eagerly anticipates daybreak, Bates says that common soldiers "…have no cause to desire/the approach of day" (4.1.87-88). The line conveys neither fear nor hesitation but rather a straightforward tone that sobers the experience of war for the common soldier, an image thus far only presented in comic scenes of discreditable characters.

Williams then builds the tension further, echoing Bates's focus on the day and turning

attentions to the future:

> Williams: "We see yonder the beginning of the day, but I think we shall
>
> never see the end of it." (89-90)
>
> Williams: "...when all those legs and arms and heads chopped off in a
>
> battle shall join together in a latter day...." (134-136)

Bates' counterstatement to the disguised king, that even Henry V would likely wish himself

back home, also foreshadows the trope of valiance and earned legacy that will later ground

the Agincourt speech:

> Henry: …no man should possess him with any appearance of fear, lest
>
> he, by showing it, should dishearten his army.[24]
>
> Bates: He may show what outward courage he will, but I believe, as
>
> cold a night as 'tis, he could wish himself in Thames up to the
>
> neck…so we were quit here. (4.1.107-116)

The repetition of "day" and the idea of wishing oneself anywhere other than the battlefield

stress the extraordinary nature of war as a life-altering moment, not to be eagerly anticipated

but also to prepare the audience for the *carpe diem* motif exploited in the Crispin's Day

speech and the promise of heroic transcendence that pervades its conceits. Shakespeare's was

an early modern audience already familiar with the medieval king's legendary success; they

---

[24] Platonico instructs the commander to take care not to reveal any fears of defeat but rather to show cheerfulness and comradeship in the face of danger: 'Surely it is better and doth more agree with the wisdom of a Captaine, with the semblance of the face, to fayne cherefulnesse unto men, and with his meriness, to make them glad, then with wordes and orations to comforte them, whylest they be afflicted with malincoly' (*The General*, 67).

may even have embraced the narrative of the lopsided victory as an act of God.[25] They were likely familiar with the established conventions of pre-battle hortatory and would be anticipating the Agincourt speech. In this context, Bates' and Williams' comments acknowledge human fear, an accepted pre-battle emotion, but they do not induce an atmosphere of foreboding. That Shakespeare explores the relationship between war and dying well does not make *Henry V* an anti-war play; rather, this is a contemplative exchange, written by a maturing playwright with attention to logical pre-battle apprehensions and the need to prepare his audience for the emotional manipulation of his culminating exhortation.

Invocations of solidarity leading up to the final battle certainly help to increase the appeal of the Crispin's Day speech and its themes of brotherhood and heroic legacy, but it is also possible that this build-up works to excite the audience towards the English cause and decrease attention paid to the disreputable infractions that occur soon after on the Agincourt battlefield. Henry's order to kill the prisoners of war at Agincourt is a clear violation of the *jus in bello* tenet that guards against harming noncombatants, in a way that his verbal ultimatum at Harfleur did not and represents one of the few transgressions of just war rules depicted in the play. It is not that Shakespeare avoids portraying the king's violations in this final battle scene, but he does Significantly alter the historical details in a way that legitimizes Henry's conduct and maintains his heroic image. The stage representation gives two reasons for Henry's order to kill the POWs. First, the king commands, "every soldier kill his prisoners" (*HV*.4.6.37) after hearing the alarum and assuming that the French were regrouping for another round of fighting. The second justification is as retaliation for the killing of the unarmed pageboys when the king announces, "we'll cut the throats of those we

---

[25] Proctor affirms the common appraisal of Henry V as heroic, as least among military treatise writers. In his preface, he refers to Henry V as "the mightie and victorious Alexander of Englande, whose most renoumed battaile of Agincourte, and sudry triumphant conquests in France, made the whole worlde to shake..." (Preface).

have" (*HV*.4.7.61). Although there are exceptions within the law of arms that allow for the

killing of prisoners, none of the military handbooks offer a solid defense against Henry's

actions. Most treatises state that killing POWs is strictly prohibited by martial law.[26]

However, there are a couple of circumstances that allow a captor to kill his prisoner. In *Of*

the Generall Captaine, Onosandro explains that prisoners should not be killed while the war

is still going but that one can "make revengement of their injury" if the prisoner refuses to

arrange for his ransom after a battle is over (Fol 107). More specific to the mid-battle

decision made by Henry, de Pizan and Sutcliffe confirm that it is against the rules of war to

kill prisoners, an act punishable by death, according to de Pizan (200) and deemed

"inhumane" by Sutcliffe (338). However, they both declare that it is acceptable to kill

prisoners if they try to rejoin the battle (de Pizan 200 and Sutcliffe 12). Notably, however,

this was not the circumstance at Agincourt: Shakespeare gives no direct indication that

individual prisoners were beginning to rally aggressively against the English. In order to

justly murder the prisoners, Henry would need to prove not only that the French were

"reinforc(ing) their scattered men" (*HV*.4.6.36) but also that the captives currently being

detained were plotting or actively working to take part in that rally, a resistance that would

forfeit their privileged status as non-combatants. The idea that there are acceptable reasons

for killing prisoners opens the door for Shakespeare, who obscures the boundary by claiming

that the English military needed to kill the French prisoners for fear that they would regroup

and rejoin the battle. It is possible that Shakespeare Signals the dubious nature of Henry's

command when he has Pistol distribute the king's order with the phrase *Coup' la gorge*

(*HV*.4.6.39). Literally meaning to cut all throats, the French saying is also an idiomatic

---

[26] The instructed treatment of prisoners is for them to be kept for slave labor or exchanged for ransom (di Porcia 199) and treated favorably in order to increase the commander's renown (Rich, *Path-Way* Sig. H4v) in order to encourage other enemies to surrender more easily (de Pizan 55).

expression for a rough or "cutthroat" alley, symbolizing a dangerous place to be. That this ambiguous statement is immediately followed by Fluellen's comment that Henry's decision "'Tis expressly against the law of arms" and "as arrant a piece of knavery...as can be offert" (*HV*.4.8.1-3) indicates that Shakespeare is not concealing the potential illegality of Henry's command. Instead, the playwright appears to be using a strategy of directly addressing the controversy, similar to his use of the prayer scene to raise the issue of Henry's problematic claim to the English throne. In much the same way that the prayer scene served as a constructed method of absolution, Shakespeare shapes the plot development in the POW transgression to more easily justify the king's misconduct.

Retaliation, also, is not an acceptable defense for killing one's prisoners, but Shakespeare manipulates his representation of the French raid and subsequent slaughter of the servant boys to maximize audience sympathies for Henry's decision. The rules of warfare were developed to make going to war and actions in war events of order and rational action. As such, waging or executing war based on emotional motives is unlawful. Henry's exclamation "I was not angry since I came to France" (*HV*.4.7.53) after learning of the pageboy murders does not legitimate his second call to "cut the throats of those we have" (61). Perhaps the most comprehensive explanation of just war principles comes from Sutliffe, who devotes his first chapter to "The right practice, proceedings, and lawes or Armes." After an extensive exploration of the many rightful justification of war, Sutcliffe explicitly declares "unjust" all wars "undertaken through ambition, and anger, and such like affections" (9). Commanders are expected to make calculated decisions rather than emotional ones. Of course, Sutcliffe also specifies that soldiers are prohibited from killing "women, children, and old folkes" (12). So, it may seem that the English had cause to exact proper retribution for the

pageboy murders. However, Sutcliffe notes that the laws of martial order call for "moderation even in the execution of justice" and stipulate that "it is no victory to kil an enemie disarmed, nor justice to kill our prisoners in colde blood" (11). Meron has cross-references all available accounts of the event and determines that the marauding French legally raided the English camp and killed only a small number of servant boys who resisted the French raid (34). In addition, he reports that the French soldiers were justified in killing the pages because they were more likely adolescent youths than young children, and their age would make them legal combatants at the moment of resistance. Meron also points out that the French prisoners would have been without helmets or weapons and completely defenseless when the English soldiers cut their throats (38). Thus, there are multiple dynamics at work in the pageboy scene, but no scenario that legally exonerates the king, particularly when one considers the historical facts.

Unable to prove legal justification for killing the prisoners, Shakespeare adjusts the narrative to target his audience's propensity for emotional bias. Admitting that the servant boy murders were less substantial and more justified would sacrifice some of Henry's legitimacy in issuing the order to kill the French prisoners in Act 4.6. Thus, Shakespeare exaggerates the number and circumstance of pageboy deaths, using Gower to ensure that the audience knows there was "not a boy left alive" and that the "slaughter" was committed by "cowardly rascals that ran from the battle" (*HV*.4.7.5-6). Gower's exchange with Fluellen comparing Henry to Alexander the Great is comedic, even farcical, but it momentarily diverts the audience's attention from Henry's violation and allows the king's second order to kill the prisoners to appear as if it is issued in a moment of chivalric rage. As with the prayer scene, Shakespeare takes care to purify the king's role, embellishing his motives and making

it seem as if the transgression were more a practical need and justifiable reaction than the historical records suggest. The result of these adaptations is that they increase the likelihood that theatergoers would excuse the POW revenge killing.

Admittedly, Shakespeare cannot completely cleanse Henry of the POW transgression, any more than he could undo the questionable deposition that gave his father the throne, or erase Henry V's tenuous Salic Law defense. However, in each case, the playwright invents or adapts history to lessen Henry's burden of responsibility and rationalize his actions. This is not to assert that *Henry V* presents an uncomplicated look at war; certainly, many of the commoner scenes raise introspective questions about the costly nature of war and how it is waged. In fact, examining the ways through which the play adheres to the structure of Just War Theory within a context of ambiguous ethics and suspect motives speaks to a tension between the possibility of a war's being both legally justifiable, according to its rules of governance, and yet still morally problematic in terms of its demands on personal sacrifice and potential for misuse. In terms of JCT, however, this more complicated version is not what Shakespeare provides. Instead, he follows *jus ad bellum and jus in bello* tenets closely and constructs a narrative that preserves the king's triumphant heroism. By the time Shakespeare crafts *Henry V,* the Agincourt victory is part of Tudor England's national consciousness.[27] Shakespeare directly targets this collective identification by using the just cause doctrine as a framework for the drama, meticulously following these theoretical foundations to clarify Henry's position and editing the historical narrative to purify further the English king. Shakespeare stages repeated affirmations of cause by religious, legal, and

---

[27] Salomon records that the Agincourt victory and Henry V's speech had been the subject of many popular ballads and two dramatizations performed only a few years previous to the first recorded performances of Shakespeare's play (Salomon 255). Sutcliffe's military manual identifies the role of the archers at Agincourt in making "the name of this nation famous" (190).

civic counsel. He parses out the components of just war, spreads responsibility for the decision to war to secondary characters, and frequently affirms that the English side fights on the side of ethical right. *Henry V* follows the rules of war, even if those rules uphold a problematic status quo that gives too much power to religious and sovereign authority. For the playwright, there is safety in structure. By following the rules, the play leads the audience securely through the conflict and allows them to become a vicarious part of the Agincourt legacy. It offers philosophical introspections on both the utility and futility of war but does so within the established laws of war and boundaries of social conduct. Because Shakespeare takes such care to follow the process, these critiques would not evoke the same kind of existential discomfort in the immediacy of a tension-filled play that arises when heroes and villains are less clearly delineated.

Jus ad Bellum: *Alcazar* and Just Cause

By contrast, George Peele's *The Battle Of Alcazar* (1594) provides a more structurally complex dramatization of the challenges inherent within just cause appeals. Based on the historical battle between Portugal and Morocco in 1578, *Alcazar* is a play of civil unrest and conflicting lineage claims. Muly Mahamet, the oldest son of the previous Moroccan king, has declared himself as rightful heir and killed his uncle, Abdelmunen, to take over the Moroccan throne. Following an ancestral decree that established session through agnatic seniority (crowning younger brothers before sons), Abdelmelec, Abdelmunen's brother, overthrows his nephew and names himself king. Both men raise armies that face off at the Battle of Alcazar. Abdelmelec's army is comprised mostly of soldiers loyal to the previous Moroccan kings. Muly Muhamet, on the other hand, must recruit support and turns to the Christian nations of Portugal and Spain, promising to let them

spread Catholicism in pagan Morocco. Meanwhile, English adventurer, Thomas Stukeley, has gathered a small group of mercenary soldiers with the intent to invade Ireland but gets shipwrecked off the coast of Portugal. The Portuguese king, Sebastian, coerces Stukeley to commit his men to fight with him and Muly Mahamet in Morocco. What ensues is a clash of competing causes—succession, religion, and opportunism—each claiming legitimate authority.

Peele directs the audience's loyalties with the Presenter in much the same way as Shakespeare's Chorus provides a metanarrative for *Henry V*; however, *Alcazar's* dramatic action resists giving its audience a hero with whom they can easily identify. Patriotic nationalism does not provide structural dichotomies for Peele to exploit, and the resultant convergence of pagan and Christian appeals challenge assumptions about Christian justice, rightful cause, and anointed kingship. By emphasizing the grand heroism of Abdelmelec and Muly Mahamet Seth, Peele expands the concepts of just cause and rightful battlefield victory from the authority of Christian virtue, depicted in the play by Thomas Stukeley, to broader justifications of humanistic integrity and moral decision-making. Although his verse lines are lofty and histrionic without the poetic eloquence or turn of phrase that Shakespeare offers, Peele also dramatizes the fundamental conventions of Just Cause Theory. However, his narrative remains largely entangled in convoluted *jus ad bellum* proclamations and relies upon the final execution of war as a tool for meting out justice and allowing the audience a clarity that he keeps unavailable until the final scenes of the play. Applying the *jus ad bellum* tenant that a war must be waged for a just cause, Peele presents competing legitimations of royal lineage and religious faith that invite his audience to be swayed by one cause before learning of viable justifications for the opponent side, challenging the concept of legitimate

authority and making it difficult to determine which side has legal and moral leverage in the battle.

Jus ad Bellum: Just Cause and Legitimate Authority

Although the play is set in an exotic location, *Alcazar* is a commentary on European Just Cause Theory, questioning the reliability of religious righteousness and English national allegiance. Specific to the JCT precept that requires a legitimate authority to wage war, *Alcazar* presents a conflict of ambiguity that highlights the subjective nature of succession laws far more than *Henry V'*s quick dismissal of Salic Law. Both Abdelmelec and his nephew, Muly Mahamet, can claim legitimate authority to the Moroccan crown. Peele attempts to malign Muly Mahamet in the Presenter's prologue; however, for an Elizabethan audience accustomed to succession through the firstborn son, agnatic primogeniture, these persuasions would not necessarily resolve the legal ambiguity. In his speech before Act I, the Presenter identifies Muly Mahamet as the villain, labeling him a "usurp[er]" (*Alcazar* Prol.1.11), "tyrant" (4) and "traitor" (25) and upholding his uncle, Abdelmelec, as the "wronged" (9), "brave" (12), and rightful heir. While these introductions work to steer the theater audience's perceptions, they remain disconnected from the main characters in both race and religion since Abdelmelec and Muly Mahamet identify as African pagans. The level at which Peele's audience would see a logical connection would be in the rules for succession, and Peele allows each man to present a rational claim to the Moroccan throne. Abdelmelec declares first, announcing that he tells his story so "That you may understand what arms we bear," then quickly qualifies "What *lawful* arms" (1.1.49 and 56, emphasis added). The "you" in line 49 addresses Abdelmelec's family members and his military general who, presumably, would already know the circumstances under which the conflict

arose; thus, the pronoun becomes a direct address to Peele's theater audience so that they will "understand" his legal right to be king. Abdelmelec then lists his ancestral genealogy, explaining the "perfect law" (71) that his father, Muly Mahamet Sheikh, established mandating succession by agnatic seniority that passes through all sons, eldest brother to youngest, before grandsons (73-74). Abdelmelec then makes the audience aware that his older brother, Abdallas, decided to change the law so that his oldest son, Muly Mahamet, would next inherit the throne. According to Abdelmelec, this amendment "disannul[ed] the law our father made" and was a "disinherit[ance]" and a "wrongful" proclamation (79-81). However, other than these subjective descriptions, Abdallas' change reads as no less arbitrary than his father's original declaration. Both were sitting kings of Morocco, and both made legitimate decrees on the law of succession. Thus, when the nephew, Muly Mahamet, argues his right to the throne in a conversation with his son, he invokes his father's decree, not his grandfather's. Muly Mahamet proclaims himself a "lawful king" (1.2.36), and his son proclaims his father "Abdallas' lawful seed" (64). If not for the Presenter's remarks to direct the audience's loyalties, both potential heirs have reasonable legal authority. Stylistically, Abdelmelec's speech reads like a lineage list from the Bible, a literary device that would be familiar to an early modern Christian audience and might work to make his appeal seem more credible. Yet, an English audience would be unaccustomed to a law where monarchical rule transfers fraternally rather than patrilineally and might view Muly Mahamet's claim as more rationally legitimate. Thus, in the first act, *Alcazar* destabilizes just cause claims grounded in ancestral decree and defense against insurgents.

Civil wars present distinct challenges when it comes to determinations of legitimate authority: if both sides can argue legal cause, then knowing which side has a rightful claim to

the title often becomes a matter of religious or ethical credibility. Such is the case in *Alcazar* where an Elizabethan audience would have no predisposed loyalty to the embattled Moroccans, but to the two European characters who provide grounds for a religious and national allegiance. King Sebastian of Portugal represents a Christian ethic, and Captain Thomas Stukeley tempts viewers by providing an Englishman to champion. Although Muly Mahamet has committed murder and been labeled a usurper, he salvages some moral legitimacy when Sebastian and Stukeley join his campaign. A Renaissance audience would more easily identify with the religious right of God espoused by Sebastian than they would the pagan ideals invoked by Abdelmelec. However, this prospective allegiance is tenuous since Sebastian desires to "plant the Christian faith in Africa" on behalf of Rome (2.4.165). A victory for Sebastian means a territorial foothold in Africa for Catholicism and potentially a new enemy for Protestant England. The Englishman, Stukeley, withholds any direct claim to Catholicism but easily joins Sebastian in faithful pursuit. More problematic than the fact that he fights on behalf of the Catholic cause is the conflicted nature of Stukeley's national loyalty. Peele's audience would likely find an easy connection with their fellow Englishman, but Stukeley is a traitor who began his expedition with plans to usurp Elizabeth's sovereignty in Ireland. Therefore, Sebastian's claims to a Catholic just cause are problematic for Peele's publically Protestant audience, that is denied the national cohesion that would otherwise allow for a patriotic identification with Stukeley. With the requirement that a legitimate authority must wage a just war, *Alcazar's* setting confuses legal and moral claims to rightful war. Abdelmelec and Muly Mahamet both have what seem to be legal claims to the throne and thus legitimate authority as kings. Sebastian's desire to spread Catholicism violates the JCT rule that prohibits waging war for merely imperial motivations but not if he is working

as an authorized agent for religious expansion. Stukeley has no individual claim to legitimacy, but fighting for a Christian cause against a non-Christian leader gives his side a moral advantage. Thus, *Alcazar* is more situationally complex from the play's beginning, thereby denying its audience a direct *Henry V*-style champion of rightful cause, despite the Presenter's narrative guidance.

Jus ad Bellum: Proportionality and Christianity

The just cause doctrine of proportionality requires a king to weigh the end goal of war against the risks and means used to achieve that end. In *Alcazar*, this assessment becomes more challenging because it requires the Christian forces to look beyond their presumption of God-sanctioned cause to evaluate accurately reasonable prospects for success. During the sixteenth century, codified rules of war only applied to conduct among developed, "civilized" nations. The Christianity appeal often presupposes an absolute moral authority over non-Christian regions. Peele's representations of Sebastian and the Spanish King Philip demonstrate both irresponsible and responsible considerations of righteous proportionality but further complicate the issue for his audience by espousing the ill-advised leader and disparaging the more judicious monarch.[28] Sebastian too easily joins Muly Mahamet's cause without proof or careful evaluation of territorial law. He requires only the promise of expanding Christianity to Morocco. The Portuguese king needs only his assurance that God "justly" intends "to fight for Christ" (3.1.31) to assert rightful cause. Since Sebastian believes himself to fight for God, he has no concern for rational proportionality. The otherness of the Moroccans and the presumed superiority of the Christian characters allow Peele's English audience to associate a natural dominance with Sebastian and Stukeley. The Portuguese First Captain speculates, "if the right rest in this lusty Moor" (12), then Sebastian will "...propagate

---

[28] Boruchoff's term for this is *pietas patriae*, "pietistic conceits used in the name of national interests" (809).

religious truth / And plant his springing praise in Africa" (3.3.17-18). The statement recognizes Muly Mahamet as "lusty," and the "if" acknowledges that there has been no confirmation of whether Muly Mahamet fights for a just cause, but the purpose of propagating "religious truth" overrides these contingencies. Ultimately, Sebastian's character reveals the inherent danger with righteous absolutism and religious just cause appeals. He has no reason to apply Christian laws of proportionality, allowing for callousness and a lack of noble respect for Abdelmelec as an acceptable treatment for non-Christians in the sanctified pursuit of Christian expansionism.

This element of the play is challenging because Philip ultimately makes the wise choice to avoid the war, yet Peele depicts the self-righteous Sebastian as more honorable and Philip as a traitorous coward. In making this choice, Peele further tempts his audience to align with the Portuguese king, setting up a conflicting final denial of victory. Initially, Spain takes up the Catholic cause just as quickly as Portugal. In response to Sebastian's request for help, Philip's First Ambassador echoes their desire to "plant religious truth in Africa" (3.1.9). In his declaration, the Second Ambassador calls it a "war with Moors and men of little faith" (3.1.19). This response reveals why Sebastian and Philip so hastily join the war against Abdelmelec, as the Catholic kings show no respect for the non-Christian nation.[29] Muslim Morocco is merely an opportunity to expand the Catholic empire into North Africa. Ultimately, Philip makes the more prudent decision, heeding Abdelmelec's advisory letter and keeping Spain out of the conflict. Although reflexive of cautious leadership and rational proportionality measures, Philip's decision gets a dishonorable representation. Before the

---

[29] Meron confirms that "the customary rules of *jus armorum*, or *jus militare*, regulated the conduct of soldiers within Christendom, but not between Christians and Muslims or other non-Christians" (3). It would not be until the United Nations is established in 1945 that rules officially changed so that distinctions could no longer be made between civilized and "uncivilized" nations in terms of international laws of conduct.

battle, Don de Meneses reports to the Portuguese captains that Sebastian's late arrival is

because Philip "Pretends a sudden fear and care, to keep/His own from Amurath's fierce

invasions" (3.3.37-38). Spain's failure to fight is depicted as cowardly and disingenuous.

Peele does not risk trying to convince an Elizabethan audience of Spanish virtues, but his

representation also dismisses reason and prudence in favor of religious absolutism. Sebastian

is so certain of his own veracity that he ignores Abdelmelec's warning and easily dismisses

Philip's decision not to join the battle as mere inconstancy and fear. His greeting upon first

meeting Muly Mahamet demonstrates this confidence:

> And if our Christ, for whom in chief we fight
>
> Hereby to enlarge the bounds of Christiandom,
>
> Favour this war, and as I do not doubt,
>
> Send victory to light upon my crest. (3.4.15-18)

Again, Sebastian's Christian absolutism supplants the need to weigh proportionality to make

sure his end purpose of spreading Christianity justifies the battle in which he is about to

engage. Fighting "…wars,/Wars, wars to plant the true succeeding prince" (3.4.68-69),

Sebastian uses religion as a dangerous persuasive tool because it allows him to ignore

rational decision-making. Rather than hold Sebastian accountable for his ill-advised decision,

Peele's Presenter characterizes Portugal as victims of Muly Mahamet's deception, "the brave

Sebastian and his noble peers" invited to this "bloody banquet" (4. Prol. 6-7). These words

excuse from Sebastian examining the truth of Muly Mahamet's cause as if he had no

conscious choice, no free will, once assuming the virtuous duty of spreading Catholicism.

The lessons of Sebastian and Philip offer Peele's audience the conflicting message that

Christian morality excuses poor judgment but also introduces the possibility of human error

and false legitimacy in just cause decision-making.

Jus ad Bellum: **Public Declarations**

By presenting the inherent difficulty of determining legitimate authority within civil

war circumstances, conflicted representations of legal and moral just cause, and inadequate

formal declarations of war, Peele's *Alcazar* fails to adhere to *jus ad bellum* conventions.

Muly Mahamet first receives notice of Abdelmelec's decision to go to war from his son, who

cryptically "declare[s] the circumstance" as "war, war and revenge" (1.2.12-25).[30] The son

explains the situation more as a status report than a measured re-declaration of cause. He says

that Abdelmunen's widow and the other women have convinced Abdelmelec to avenge his

brother's death with "Bloody revenge, bloody vengeful war" (47). He finishes by affirming

his father's right as "Abdallas' lawful seed" (65), but his emotional speech does nothing to

clarify rightful cause or legitimate authority. Peele does have a formal messenger deliver an

ultimatum to Muly Mahamet, but his statement has none of the markers of a formal

declaration that would be required by the rule of an orderly European just cause

proclamation. Unlike Exeter's pronouncement to Charles in *Henry V*, there is no formal

address, no third-party presentation of legal, natural, or religious grounds for war, only a

stipulation of consequences should Muly Mahamet decide not to relinquish the throne and an

instruction to flee or "look here to breathe your last" (76). These cursory announcements of

war, the emotional proclamations of rage and revenge, skipping steps for formal

pronouncements—all further emphasize the Moroccan Moors as removed from the civilizing

role of just cause principles. They are barbaric, non-Christians who would not be governed

---

[30] Edelmen's note identifies that part or all of the son's declaration likely belonged to a messenger who would
have entered at this point to deliver the information (see note for lines 13-26, p. 73). The third-party messenger
would have been more conventional, an historical point of which Peele is either unaware or chooses to ignore.

by the laws of war nor expected to know their formal conventions. Although it might make sense to Peele's theater audience that Abdelmelec would mishandle a formal declaration, it also makes unavailable the order that men attempt to impose on war by means of Just Cause Theory. By not having an ordered process to trace, Peele's audience witnesses more of the immediacy and unsettling tumultuousness of war reinforced in this instance by abrupt, unreasoned war decrees.

Jus ad Bellum: War as a Last Resort

Without the formal components for a declaration of war and inclusive only of the ultimatum that Muly Mahamet should avoid the battle or face his death, the Messenger's speech functions more as an instance of Abdelmelec's more effort to avoid the war than a ceremonial address. Peele depicts Abdelmelec as the only character who works to avoid the battle, a decision that continues to uphold him as the play's virtuous protagonist and one that distances the theater audience from the risks of Christian absolutism. Admittedly, as the sitting king of Morocco, Abdelmelec stands the most to gain by encouraging a peaceful resolution; however, his actions reflect more a desire to forestall the unnecessary loss of life than an expectation that he would be able to avoid the inevitable battle with his nephew, Muly Mahamet. After the Messenger's brief decree, Abdelmelec makes no more attempts to dissuade Muly Mahamet, and Muly Mahamet never considers giving up his claim. Peele's more nuanced treatment of the *jus ad bellum* rule to treat war as a last resort appears in his comparative portrayal of the European characters: Stukeley, Philip, and Sebastian. Stukeley's pursuit is founded on self-serving ambition, under the umbrella of Rome. Although disappointed that he would have to delay his invasion of Ireland, the English captain gives unwavering support to Portugal with little hesitation. Initially, he defers to his fellow leaders,

each of whom elect to fulfill their vow to Pope Gregory VII and stay true to their original

Irish pursuit (2.4.144-154). When Sebastian reminds the other men that they are his captives

because their ship wrecked on Portugal's shores, Jonas expresses their continued reluctance,

but Stukeley sees the change as merely another potential conquest: "Saint George for

England, and Ireland now adieu, / For here Tom Stukeley shapes his course anew" (2.4.166-

167). Stukeley never acknowledges that his invasion of Ireland would have been an act of

treason, and even though his battle cry declares a renewed loyalty to Saint George and

England, his final remarks are a reminder that Stukeley fights only for himself and "his

course." The audience is never allowed to receive their countryman as anything other than an

opportunist with no respect for avoiding conflicts. On the other hand, the divergent ways in

which Philip and Sebastian respond to Abdelmelec's cautionary letters against joining in his

family's feud reveal another layer in how Peele obeys just cause protocol while actively

manipulating his audience's national loyalties. Philip is the wiser king in making the decision

not to join the battle, and Abdelmelec credits him as a "Catholic king / [who] Would not

assist a careless Christian prince" (3.2.15-16). However, as examined above in the discussion

on proportionality, Peele resists giving the Spanish king a position of respect, characterizing

his decision as a sudden "fear" and "pretended" concern for his men. It is not surprising that

the playwright would deny Spain an honorable depiction, his play composed near the time of

the Spanish Armada victory, c.1589; nonetheless, the result is that the one European leader

who makes the prudent choice is unavailable for audience identification.

Although both relationships are complicated by the plot developments, Stukeley

presents a figure of national allegiance for Peele's Elizabethan audience, and Philip, as the

King of Spain, excites a natural animus. Sebastian, on the other hand, represents a more

peripheral point of connection that allows his response to Abdelmelec's letter to function

more as a warning against reckless expansionism and individual accountability. Abdelmelec

overtly identifies Portugal as less of a threat than Spain, calling Sebastian "a careless

Christian prince" in comparison with the "Catholic king" Philip. The more general reference

to him as Christian broadens Sebastian's symbolic representation to apply outside of

Catholicism. Such a shift permits Peele to honor Sebastian throughout the play as well-

meaning but foolish, even comparing him to Achilles (3.3.40). By making Sebastian

Christian and not specifically Catholic, Elizabethan audiences can accept his positive

attributes with less resistance than if the playwright tried to give such respect directly to

Spain. Sebastian's decision to remain in the fight becomes an occasion for absolution. Feeling

that he did the dignified thing by warning Sebastian, Abdelmelec expresses sympathy and

"pity" for Portugal (3.2.14) before washing his hands of Portuguese blood: "Sebastian, see in

time unto thy self, / If thou and thine misled do thrive amiss, / Guiltless is Abdelmelec of thy

blood (3.2.28-30). Both Shakespeare's Henry and Peele's Abdelmelec perform conscience-

clearing acts that foreground the importance of pre-war preparation and acknowledge the

reality that loss of life is unavoidable once the battle begins. Abdelmelec's final *jus ad

bellum* event is not the spiritual contrition that Henry's prayer scene was; it is more

compassionate in its concern for enemy lives but also more resolute and unapologetic. The

emphasis is on choice. In Act 4 of *Henry V,* Shakespeare highlights only the choice of

purifying one's soul; the battle is God-sanctioned. Peele more directly points out that

uncertainties of soul do not arise if leaders act cautiously and responsibly. Sebastian serves as

a warning against the persuasiveness of religious absolutism. He is also a lesson on the need

to prioritize care for the commonwealth above imperialistic pursuits, perhaps a cautionary

tale for Peele's contemporary queen, herself fighting against the threat of Catholic uprisings at home and abroad and intermittently lending her English forces to the assist the Protestant Dutch rebels against Spain.[31]

Jus in Bello: **Non-Combatants and Accountability**

Once the fighting begins, Peele continues to write his primary characters as motifs of legitimacy and moral responsibility rather than depicting direct transgressions against enemy non-combatants. There are no threats of rape or killing of POWs as in *Henry V*. In *Alcazar, jus in bello* is not just behavior in war but rather the process of ethical resolutions and the dissemination of rightful justice. While Shakespeare modifies history to justify Henry's potentially disreputable actions and allow his audience to retain a feeling of triumph, Peele devotes only one scene to Act 5 and uses it to resolve the battle as a moral judgment on legitimacy. This final scene declares Muly Mahamet and Stukeley to be the play's antagonists. Muly Mahamet symbolizes complete disgrace. He began the play by proclaiming his rightful authority, a claim that has some legal merit. Yet, he was a war-hungry, self-serving, lying civil murderer (in contrast to the sanctioned killing in war). His drowning, apparently "A death too good for such a damnèd wretch" (5.1.246), is not enough to exonerate these wrongs. Ultimately, the post-mortem treatment of his corpse avenges his moral corruptions. Flayed, salted, stuffed with straw and paraded throughout the kingdom to deter others from attempting such usurpations, Muly Mahamet meets a horrific end. Peele

---

[31] Other critics have examined Sebastian in the context of sixteenth-century historical events. Jack D'Amico argues that England's support of Don Antonio's attempt to reclaim Portugal from Spain in the late 1580s may have made English audiences more sympathetic to Sebastian's character, in *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama*, Tampa: Univ of South Florida Press, 1991. On the other hand, Roby asserts that the spread of Catholicism may invoke fear from an Elizabethan audience worried that Catholic Portugal would have a foothold in a trade and military port (35). Neither examines Sebastian as a cautionary tale for religious absolutism as my reading offers.

has done little to secure any empathy for the usurping Moor, and the audience remains un-conflicted by his death.

Stukeley's character is the most obvious identification challenge for an audience familiar with Just Cause Theory because he adheres to none of its organizing principles. With initial intentions to invade Ireland and crown himself king, Stukeley betrays England and the tenet requiring war to be waged by a legitimate authority, yet he is not amoral. He values upward mobility, opportunity, and a practical concern for his earthbound life more than a spiritual concern for his soul. Stukeley is constant and unapologetic about his desire for personal gain.[32] His soliloquies reveal a conscience defined only by ambition, but they also capture the most candid and self-reflexive moments in the play. After determining to join the battle in Africa, Stukeley declares, "There shall no action pass my hand or sword/That cannot make a step to gain a crown" (2.2. 69-70). In the fifteen-line speech, he goes on to repeat "crown" twice more and includes seven references to becoming a "king." He prioritizes ambition over national loyalty: "king of a mole-hill had I rather be/Than the richest subject of a monarch" (2.2. 81-82). This desire for self-determination is seemingly incompatible with the deathbed acceptance of Fate. Stukeley dies at the hands of his own men, two Italian soldiers angry that the captain dismissed the rules of proportionality and led them into this ill-advised battle. As a non-enemy killing without due process, this murder is a clear violation of *jus in bello* rules; however, it is also a metaphorical attack from Catholic Rome on Protestant England that might capture the sympathies of Peele's English audience who

---

[32] Comparing Stukeley to Tamburlaine, Roby claims that their model "suggests that English audiences were in fact able to enjoy the dramatic representation of extravagant heroic feats regardless of the protagonist's problematic identity" (Roby 40-41). Perhaps the affinity for both characters does correlate with their soaring ambitiousness; Roby misrepresents Stukeley in her attempt to elevate him. *Alcazar* depicts no actual heroic feats by the captain. His rhetoric is ambitious, lofty and soaring like Tamburlaine's, with a less-justified ego and less-eloquent speech, but Peele depicts Stukeley as opportunistic and failing in comparison to Marlowe's conquering emperor.

would identify with Stukeley as their countryman, if not with his narcissism and betrayal. On the other hand, the audience might also be both attracted to and conflicted by Stukeley's aggressive individualism. He ascribes his death to the "stars" (5.1.122) and "Fortune's rule" (179), asserting "But from our cradles we were markè d all/And destinate to die in Afric here" (169-172). His belief in fate suggests why Stukeley has no loyalties and makes no effort to consider the justness of his cause. Death is predestined, so his cause is just as long as it pursues the advantages of a mortal life.[33] Paradoxically, Stukeley champions both free will and predetermination. This concept of death, and by extension afterlife, as predestined perhaps belies his religious allegiances and links him back with his Protestant homeland, but Stukeley remains elusive, willfully subversive and unabashedly elevating worldly achievements over concerns for justice or immortal salvation.

Juxtaposed against Muly Mahamet's disgrace and Stukeley's ignominious murder are the two characters that receive heroic final honors: Sebastian and Abdelmelec. Muly Mahamet Seth's order to give Sebastian a military funeral respects the fallen king as a national leader. Calling him once more a "Christian king," Muly Mahamet Seth commands his general "To see the soldiers tread a solemn march, / Trailing their pikes and enSigns on the ground, / So to perform the prince's funeral" (5.1.256 and 258-60). Sebastian's is a symbolic tribute that does more to dignify the new Moroccan king than to validate Portugal's cause. This ending gives Muly Mahamet Seth the appearance of being a kind and forgiving monarch rather than a vindictive, un-principled savage. He even respects rules of hospitality by wishing a safe voyage to the Portuguese soldiers and extoling the "mighty king of

---

[33] Jorgensen examines the intersection of fate, religion, and war in "A Formative Shakespearean Legacy: Elizabethan Views of God, Fortune, and War." *PMLA* 90.2 (Mar., 1975): 222-233. JSTOR. Web. 16 Sep 2011. He identifies that Fortune is on the opposite end of the spectrum to individual responsibility and free will. As humans begin to accept their own agency, faithful reliance on Fortune decreases. Stukeley here appears to offer a pragmatic acceptance of fate in terms of death but a strident defense of self-determinism in life.

Portugal" (5.1.223). Ultimately, these final acts of mercy are not meant to pardon Sebastian's irresponsible leadership. He wielded the religious cause as a weapon of ungoverned absolutism and disrespected the rules of proportionality. His actions demonstrate a disregard for the Moroccans as legitimate authorities of their own land. Both Muly Mahamet and Sebastian die off stage, silenced and denied a final deathbed speech. While Sebastian receives a soldier's commemoration, the victory is for Morocco and their ascendant king. Muly Mahamet Seth is the distributor of justice, showing intolerance and swift punishment for his traitorous nephew while extending compassion and pity to a misguided monarch who should have remained outside the action. By ordering an honorable burial for Sebastian, Muly Mahamet Seth presents Peele's audience with a vision of noble humanity far greater than what was shown to him by the supposedly more civilized Portuguese king.

Abdelmelec's character, though, is the one that most challenges European assumptions about virtuous nobility. The Moroccan king receives the most valiant representation throughout the play, described as "Courteous and honorable" (1.1.20), "thrice puissant and renowned" (1.1.99), "brave" and "thrice noble" (5.1.31). His death before the battle could have been a tragic momentum shift for his army or a point of unanticipated deflation for Peele's audience. Instead, his younger brother and next in-line to the crown, Muly Mahamet Seth, puppets the fallen king, maintaining morale and inspiring the Moroccan victory. Thus, Abdelmelec's heroism triumphs, even in death, and solidifies his rightful legitimacy. This conclusion is the greatest challenge to Eurocentric assumptions about dignified ethnicities. Critics often take Stukeley's character to be the most subversive. Roby, for example, considers whether the audience would feel threatened by Stukeley's egocentrism and poses the question, "How much more threatening is the Other when masked behind the

same color skin?" (34). I take Roby's point as a valid one: latent Catholicism within England was a genuine threat, and Stukeley could embody that instability. Yet, how much more alarming is the Other when he is allowed difference and still portrayed as the figure to be emulated and unequivocally identified as heroic? Although I see Stukeley as a challenge to national identity, I argue that it is Abdelmelec who is the most difficult identification for Elizabethan audiences.

Conclusion

As a dramatic portrayal of Just Cause Theory, Peele's *Alcazar* presents a more complex presentation of martial justice than does Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Shakespeare not only stages a close following of just war principles but also his protagonist fully emerges as the consummate national hero. If considered in a context of performative immediacy, viewed by an audience already familiar with England's victory, *Henry V* offers a clear allegiance to and a faithful adherence for the laws of war. It is not without complexity, but these complications reveal themselves more readily through literary examination, re-reading, and reproduction than in watching the drama unfold as an audience member. In contrast, Peele directs his audience's loyalties toward Abdelmelec but makes straightforward allegiances unavailable. Peele compositional choices complicate the sociocultural prejudices that brand non-Christians as undeserving of just treatment and incapable of following just war constructs create. A Euro-centric, biased atmosphere would assume, at least initially, a victory for the Christian cause. Stukeley and Abdelmelec are enticingly problematic characters. Stukeley is a traitorous Englishman who assumes the Catholic cause not out of religious conviction but to increase his personal power. Abdelmelec surfaces as the rightful leader, legitimate in his claim to the throne, compassionate in his desire to avoid wasteful

loss of life, and inspirational as a battlefield hero. Non-Christian, dark-skinned, and African, he resists comfortable associations and challenges the Renaissance audience to face feelings of cognitive dissonance that identification with him arouses. Certainly, in eloquence, imagery, and poetic artistry, Peele is no match for Shakespeare; nevertheless, Shakespeare clarifies existential complexity to create his hero while Peele allows an obfuscation of rightful cause, moral justice, and audience identification to create a foreign hero with whom audiences are hesitant to align and an opportunistic countryman who offers only an allegiance of shame.

Chapter 4: "Not Mutinous in Peace, Yet Bold in War": Constructions of Masculinity and Deconstructions of Knighthood in *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI*

The earliest Renaissance war manuals reveal a growing concern for the changing nature of war and fears for an England grown complacent after decades of peace. As tactics shifted away from hand-to-hand combat with the invention of firearms, war was becoming less a platform for feats of strength and physical heroism. The rise of the courtier culture meant that fewer learned men and men of nobility committed themselves to military training. Shifting economic opportunities marked a turn toward individualism with overseas conquests that functioned more as ventures of capitalism and profiteering than nation building or defense. As England become more civilized on the path to modernity, writers of military science saw these shifts as effeminizing trends that threaten England's martial fortitude. The relative peace ushered in after more than a century of near constant combat with the Hundred Years War and the War of Roses inspired the scientific innovation and cultural flourishing that came to signify the Renaissance. These developments included advancements in England's approach to arming its forces, such as the invention of gunpowder and the movement from hired men-at-arms to a citizen military. Not everyone considered these changes to be positive, and a thematic analysis of sixteenth-century military manuals reveals a self-conscious discomfort with the philosophical shifts taking place. Consistently, these texts gender their anxieties, expressing calls for increased manhood and warnings against feminizing habits. Manual writers express a near universal fear that their country's enthusiasm for war was merely a passive consumption of entertaining narratives instead of a renewed commitment to the soldierly professions and peacetime combat training. They often dismiss poetry as part of the deterioration of English masculinity; however, history plays reconstruct these anxieties into characters that embody the social dynamics at work and

reflect not only limitations of the current system but also forward-thinking organizational changes not represented in the nonfiction manuals.

Defining Martial Masculinity

Military treatises in the early Renaissance engaged in a discourse that expressed nostalgia for England's lost warrior class in response to a perceived feminization of the country's war-footed preparedness. They defined manhood as intrinsically linked with the Medieval warrior construct and, specifically, with characteristics of chivalry and knighthood. Continuing the analysis of battlefield *topoi*, this chapter examines the rhetoric of manhood and effeminacy within these texts and as exemplified in Shakespeare's first three history plays: *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster* (1590-91) [*The Contention* or *2HVI*], *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York and the Good King Henry the Sixth* (1591) [*Richard Duke of York* or *3HVI*]; and, *The First Part of Henry VI* (1592) [*1HVI*]. Writers of these conduct manuals criticize the weakened state of England's military forces, framing this weakness as feminine, and work to revive the country's dominant, and by extension masculine, past; however, they struggle to adapt to the pressures of modernity, resulting in a palpable but directionless anxiety about the state of manhood in sixteenth century England. In Shakespeare's three parts of *Henry VI*, Jack Cade, Joan la Pucelle, and Queen Margaret arise as battlefield rebels and as problematizers of traditional, aristocratic martial leadership. Juxtaposed to these dissidents are two archetypal extremes: King Henry VI as a caricature of effeminate peace and noble leniency and Sir John Talbot as a caricature of warlike masculinity and chivalric nobility. Shakespeare's fictionalized characters offer a progressive reframing of the neoclassical martial idealism expressed in the military treatises. They put on public display fears of unpreparedness and

effeminization, and they both depict acceptable means for response and containment and hint at how this instability requires a change in martial philosophy rather than a resurrection of past structures.

Most relevant to this study is the way in which English-authored military manuals define masculinity and the requirements for manly leadership. They challenge the state of national strength and defense, pointing out Significant weakness among England's war readiness and specifically among the nation's martial leadership. Thomas Proctor's *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres* (1578), Barnabe Riche's *Allarme To England* (1578) and Sir John Smythe's *Certain Discourses* (1590) along with those who published English translations of ancient texts, i.e. Richard Morrison's translation of Frontinus' *Strategems of War* (1539), Peter Bentham's translation of Purlilia's *The Preceptes of Warre* (1544) and John Sadler's translation of Vegetius' *de Rei Militarie* (or Sadler's title, *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus*, 1572)—all define an epistemology of manhood as a function of physical, intellectual and mental competence. One could recognize and gain manliness through specific training to master strategic skills, martial knowledge, and warrior spirit. According to these manuals, because war requires such strength and control, it is the exclusive realm of men, who were thought to be more physically capable for combat than women and to have better control over their bodily functions and emotions.[1] Like the interrelatedness of craft (*technê*) and knowledge (*epistêmê*) in classical rhetoric, the requirements of good generalship include skills specific to the art of war and others that were part of the specialized discipline of warfare. The *technê* and the *epistêmê* were intertwined levels of preparedness and separate applications of theory and practice found in modern

---

[1] See McCracken on the early modern belief that men's blood was the heroic blood of war; women's blood, most notably menstrual blood, is limiting and weak because it is uncontrolled (627).

disciplines. Thus, being "battle-ready" required devoted attention to both craft and knowledge, to rehearsing war drills and improving one's military intelligence by studying history and martial handbooks.

While the physical and intellectual elements of war readiness were tangible exercises of skill and study, mental strength was more abstract and remained dependent on idealized notions of medieval chivalry and heroism. The specific virtues (*aretê*) that defined the warrior spirit included prowess, courage, and the willingness to fight. Proctor, Frontinus and Bentham all reference a manly "prowesse" that allows soldiers to conquer seemingly overwhelming forces. This notion of prowess defines manhood as a show of skill and bravery but one only actualized through the public demonstration of war that builds a man's reputation. In *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres,* Proctor gives an example speech from Alexander the Great in which Alexander promises his men fame and renown if they win the battle. The victory will earn them "the moste hyghe honour of your countrey all Prynces & nations shall knowe the manhoode and prowesse of the Macedoniens, and where soever you goe, the fame thereof shall followe you." Not to win, according to Alexander, would make their efforts "frustrate and fruitelesse," leaving the soldiers to "runne home deluded, and laden wyth shame" (Fol.38b). Although the battlefield victory would result from an army's more advanced physical force and military knowledge, the result would be less tangible psychological gains. The individual soldiers receive fame, but the greater achievement is for the country that has proven its "manhoode and prowesse" to all other nations, solidifying its international reputation. Yet, manhood is not only marked by acts of prowess and willingness to be heroic but also contingent upon securing the actual victory, without which soldiers and the nations they represent are left fruitless and impotent.

An initial degree of manhood is necessary to secure victory, and a soldier could increase his innate masculine prowess by gathering intelligence on the enemy, being a veteran at war or fighting with valiant men who have had victorious experiences, and having a skilled commander who could dispel fear in his soldiers and exhort them to fight. At their most basic level, all soldiers, regardless of social status, could develop the appropriate virtues of manhood through physical preparation and study. In Frontinus's *Strategems of War*[2] Book 1, Chapter XI on "How an Army is to be encourag'd to Fight," Frontinus presents a pre-battle speech from Caesar that includes an appeal for the men to "behave themselves manfully" to win glory and valor and avoid shame and grief (p.35). Caesar's remark defines manhood as a function of willful behavior, implying that his men could choose to demonstrate "manful" behavior. Thus, masculinity is intertwined with expectations of courage. Frontinus explains that Caesar's speech was an effort to alleviate the fear he detected among his men. Yet, conceiving manliness as willful courage does not necessitate the absence of fear; on the contrary, fear is a natural and acceptable emotion during war. According to Vegetius, "...battaile is pleasaunt to suche as have not tried it...[It] is geven naturally almoste to all men to be afraide, when as they come to joyning of battaile" (Sadler Book 3, folio 39a). Since fear is inevitable, manhood requires the maximization of those qualities that increase preparedness, experience, and courage. Because its fundamentals can be increased, manhood is not entirely a matter of nature in which a man is born with a measured and limited amount; rather, manhood is elastic and can be strengthened or weakened with exercised instruction and training for the strategies and skills of war. The trouble with Renaissance men, according

---

[2] These passages are from the 1686 printing of *A Collection of the Brave Exploits and Subtil Strategems Of several Famous Generals Since the Roman Empire. With a Discourse concerning Engines of WAR.* Although it is the 1686 version, Morisson's 1539 version was highly circulated and available during the late 1500s, when Shakespeare composed his histories. Frontinus, Julius Sextus. *Strategems*. Trans. Richard Morrison. (1539).

to the sixteenth-century English-authored treatises, is that they no longer committed to these preparations. They neither participated in martial exercises, nor studied the history and strategems of war, nor had they any disciplined experience with war.

Change as Threatening: Firearms and the Rise of the Courtier Culture

These "deficiencies" were not entirely symptomatic of a pervasive lack of masculine prowess. The English military underwent two changes—one to its weaponry and the other to its leadership structure—that undermined trusted martial practices. First, still in its nascent stages, the invention of firearms and gunpowder seemed to threaten manly strength and physical prowess. Guns required less muscle, physical skill, and little specialized training; they were simple to use and more lethal than medieval armaments. By the mid-sixteenth century, archery, historically an indispensable weapon of the English armory, had lost its position of preeminence and had become mostly a leisure sport for the noble classes. Education scholar, Roger Ascham, presents a lengthy defense of the longbow in his *Toxophilus* (1545) and sparks a renewed interest in archery as a skilled discipline, but Ascham's text only affirms its use as a noble sport rather than as martial training. It is during this time that the concept of sport, which originated as preparatory training for combat or martial arts, begins its transition to the modern notion of sport for recreational activity and entertainment. Archery becomes a competitive pastime for the leisure classes, a measure of skill and precision but no longer a simulation of war.[3] Writers of military science, however, viewed this shift from archery to firearms as a threat to England's military strength and

---

[3] See Semenza's "Sport, War, and Conquest in Shakespeare's Henry VI" (2001) for a more thorough examination of sports as models of conquest. Semenza examines the falconry scene in *2HVI*.2.1 between Gloucester and Winchester as an example of sport with no military counterpart, unlike hunting or field sports like wrestling and running (1253). Semenza describes this nostalgia for historical weapons as a rise of a new-classical military science that aligned with the simultaneous development of advancements in modern weapons and the decreased need for physical strength (1260).

discipline. Long sections in Smythe's *Certain Discourses* (1590) argue for the superiority of the longbow. Smythe associates the power of a weapon with how much effort, physical strength, and skill is needed to use it effectively. On this scale, firearms did not compare to the longbow because they were simple to use, required little strength, and were highly unreliable. To a military veteran, this new weapon was a fancy piece of equipment that made English soldiers weaker and undisciplined. The relegation of trusted weaponry like the bow to peacetime physical activity in exchange for guns and volatile gunpowder perpetuates the notion of growing weakness and disorder among Renaissance military.

Even as advancements in military science move the study and conduct of war toward modern weaponry, military handbooks express a neoclassical nostalgia for knightly order and a frustration with the rising courtier culture. To these authors, the increasing tendency for well-born nobles to shun martial training in favor of rhetorical exercises more conducive to a life at court than one on the battlefield Signifies a shift in social values that jeopardized the military's leadership structure. In his preface to *On the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres* (1578), Proctor advocates for an increased literary focus on military science. Regretting that only Vegetius and Machiavelli had been translated into English at the time he composed his treatise, Proctor marvels at the number of men who were choosing to compose and study poetry, fantacies, and rhetoric rather than texts that would enhance a man's war-mindedness:

> Yet amonge so manye bookes, as are written daylie, of dreames & fantacies, introductions to pleasure, familiar fruiteles talkinges, eloquent, formall orations...in earnest, there is least labour layd on that arte, wheareby, kinges rule, & are ruled and conquered, which erecteth, buyldeth establisheth estates... (Preface)

Proctor's remarks identify a clear frustration with the turn towards courtly arts and the devaluation of military preparation. According to Proctor, increased attention to language and art sacrifices martial readiness and leaves England in a submissive position, more susceptible to "Captivitye, Ruyne, Dishonour, and desolation" (Preface) because England's healthy, young gentlemen are no longer becoming high-ranking officers for the military. In *Allarme to England, foreshewing what perilles are procured when people live without regarde to Martiall Lawe* (1578), Riche agrees with Proctor, explaining that the problem with contemporary militarism resides in the court of Elizabeth in which men seek patronage instead of conquering and proving their manly prowess. Riche grants that monetary wealth "...is not in souldierfare, & therefore makes [men] to become either Courtiers, Lawyers, or Lovers" (D.y.). Riche assures his readers that there are sufficient men in England to supply their military forces but that these men lack qualified aristocrats to lead them: "For Gentlemen descended of honourable families, in these dayes, give themselves rather to become Battalus [effeminate] knightes, then Martiall knightes, and have greater desire to be practiced in Carpet trade, then in the kinde of vertue, which extendeth it selfe to the common profite, and preservation of the countrie" (G.iiii). For Riche, a captain in the English army, the absence of warlike men has made England's nobility effeminate (i.e. Battalus knights). Riche's comments identify an important transition in the nature of knighthood during the Renaissance, from noble knights who serve their countries in battle to a more symbolic knighthood based on non-combat service to one's country. If manhood is measured in athleticism, martial knowledge, victories in battle, and a willingness to war, this new order of men, with their devotions to law and poetry, destabilizes recognizable masculine identity and weakens the country's leadership.

Idleness and Disorder: The Paradox of Peace

Adding to the tensions created by the philosophical shifts in the conduct of war were mounting anxieties about the dangers of long-standing peace. Sadler's translation of Vegetius' *De re militari* (1572) recalls that in the twenty-four years of peace after their first victory against the Carthaginians, the Romans were weakened "throughe idlenes and disuse of Armoure" [and] "warrelye exercise ha[d] been neglected, dissembled, and then brought into oblivion and forgotten," enabling Hannibal to overtake them in the second war (Fol.11b and 12a B.iiii). While peace remained the end-goal of martial conflict for the English manual writers, the paradox presented by living too long in peacetime is that it dulled martial readiness and risked complacency. War-beaten after nearly 150 years of fighting, the England that survived the Hundred Years War and the civil unrest from the War of the Roses had, by 1590, experienced almost the same amount of time in relative peace. Rather than being comforted, authors of Elizabethan military treatises worried about the dangers that brewed beneath the calm. Already alert to the physical and mental atrophy occurring among the noble classes as discussed above, Barnabe Riche and Sir John Smythe, both officers in the English military, were concerned that such an extended time without real tests of military prowess would breed not merely a reasonable desire for peace but a more dangerous apathy and distaste for war as a practical necessity. However, they hesitated to raise their objections because wasteful, ruthless, and divisive decades of large-scale war had created a public disinterest in martial engagements that would disrupt the nation's peace. Riche acknowledges this sentiment in his preface:

> I knowe there be some will condemne me (as I have saide) to write any thing
> of warre, in this so peaceable a time...for there be many unto whome the name

of warre is so odious, that with a good will they would never heare them

spoken of: and will conjecture that I rather allow of warre then peace, that will

so busie my selfe to write any thing of them, now while there is no neede.

(*Allarme To England*, F.iii)

Riche's comments identify that his readers see war as completely oppositional to peace such that his writing about war automatically implies a preference for it over peace. Instead of allowing this false dichotomy, Rich situates his text in a middle ground "to wish that in England we were expert warriors, though not warre lovers: and that we had many that were wise, rather than willing souldiers" (F.iii). He writes not from a desire to incite war or create overeager warmongerers but from a fear of what happens to countries in which people allow the decay of warlike discipline, countries in which "peace is so inordinately desired, that in preferring therof they forgett all Martiall exercises, which is the very preserver, and mainteiner of peace" (F.iii). According to Riche, English men grew weak during peaceable time by their "owne neglecting the feates of armes" (H.iiii), so his text issues an alarm against this careless passivity.[4] Transitions to firearms from bows, to noble courtiers from martial nobility, to peace from commitments to war readiness—this combination of technological and sociopolitical change converges in the late sixteenth century, creating an atmosphere for innovation and creative expressions but also inciting deep concern from those devoted to the English military who interpret the shifts as a threat to the nation's martial strength and masculine prowess.

---

[4] In Rhetoric of Motive (1950), Burke would extend the notion of war not merely as a means for keeping men war-ready but actually as a conscious choice made by men to "treat 'war' as a '*special case of peace*'—not as a primary motive in itself, not as *essentially* real, but purely as a *derivative* condition, a *perversion* (*Motives* 20). In this conception, Burke asserts and calls into question the rhetoric of war as a form of peacekeeping.

Of course, the years preceding Shakespeare's composition of the *Henry VI* plays were

not entirely peaceful, but these engagements were sporadic and perceived as lacking the

orderliness and discipline of a properly trained army. From 1585 to 1604, England did not

engage in large-scale, sustained conflicts that the country faced during the Hundred Years

Wars and the War of the Roses conflicts; instead, conscripted men responded to sporadic

rebellions from Ireland and provided military support during the French Civil War and the

Dutch's battles against Spain.[5] Even as there was an increased national pride after the

Armada victory, there was also a growing public concern that England's resources were over

extended. In the dedication of *Certain Discourses* (1590), Smythe extends the trope of peace

as a playground for idleness to repeatedly assert the inadequacy of these "disordered" martial

situations for preparing the English soldiers. According to Smythe, England has already

"verie much decaied, or rather forgotten all our aunient orders and exercises Militarie, with

the wonderfull evills that have in other ages, and do now (through long peace) threaten us

againe to happen." Smythe acknowledges that the English did engage in occasional conflicts,

especially the wars of the Low Countries,[6] but he claims that these experiences offered little

opportunity "to learne any Art or Science Militarie" in these unstructured wars but learn "the

contrarie, that is, disorder and confusion." Excessive peace decays skill and allows once

battle-ready men to forget both strategies and histories of warfare; this deterioration results in

---

[5] The actual war for Dutch independence began in 1568-1648; these dates represent the timeframe in which England most actively joined in the Dutch's revolution against Spain, from the Earl of Leicester's 1585 expedition to the Netherlands to the 1604 Treaty of London. Caldwell identifies 1589-1595 as six years in which England's citizens showed a marked increase in patriotism even as Elizabeth committed nearly 20,000 troops to France and the Netherlands to shore up defenses against Hispano-Guise threats. She notes that tensions increased with Essex's failed attempt to secure Rouen and efforts not to retain Normandy (63).

[6] Although my focus here is on associations of manhood with war-mindedness in the Henry VI chronicles, there is engaging criticism that examines these plays for their sociopolitical context. See Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley: Univ of California P, 1988) on reading *1, 2, & 3HVI* as a commentary on battles with Spain and Guise and as a loss of focus on France; also, Caldwell relates the Cade Rebellion in *2HVI* with the extended and unsuccessful foreign wars as an exploration of the social and economic consequences of these failed efforts and *1HVI* as a reflection on Elizabeth I's "obstruction" of the contentions in France.

disorder and confusion, making it more difficult to demonstrate the disciplinary principles

necessary to master the art of war. Smythe continues his admonition with the example of

Egypt who, from too long peace, fell from a warlike nation to one that had "growen

effeminate without anie order and exercises Militarie." Thus, disorder and inactivity are

gendered feminine, and mismanaged or unmanaged peacetime is the feminizing agent.

Much of this language of effeminacy is an effort to understand the structural changes

taking place in the sixteenth-century English military. Strict allegiances to chivalry and

Christian codes of conduct previously controlled within the knightly order were becoming

outmoded and unsustainable. Titles of knighthood shifted from promotions of martial service

to civilian/secular rewards for courtly conduct, leaving the country without a sure pool of

potential warriors. Although a rise in nationalism and conscription of homegrown armies

meant a decreased dependence on mercenary hires, England would not have a standing army

until the end of the seventeenth century. The military needed a new officer structure that was,

as yet, unformed.[7] The process of renegotiating the roles of leadership and weaponry within

the military also led to a growing anxiety about the potential for disorder, especially among

commanders of lower ranks. Uncertain and potentially destructive, this liminal phase made

the practice of war increasingly volatile and chaotic.[8] Without the patriarchal anchor of a

male monarch, the English nobles were the nation's martial leaders, and the decreased focus

on war-footedness from the noble ranks was a structural breakdown that increased anxieties

---

[7] See Underdown's discussion on fears of an impending breakdown of social order that he calls a "crisis in gender relations" in "The Taming of the Scold" the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England,* Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds.
[8] MacCaffrey and Frye both acknowledge that the Elizabethan military was reliant on poor, hungry and ill-equipped soldiers, conscripted from the margins (MacCaffrey 47 and Frye 114). Semenza cites Paul A Jorgensen 1956 *Shakespeare's Military World* Berkeley: Univ Cal P. on early modern warfare as "precariously ordered" and "it threatened to revert to chaos" more than "peace-inspired institutions like civil government and marriage" (35). Renaissance armies were unruly and vicious even to their own citizens. Hale notes it as a break from the rules and restraints of civilian life in "War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *Past and Present.* 22. 1962: 18-35.

about England's ability to protect itself, much less uphold its position as a military power. Results of these changes included a nostalgia for old, seemingly ordered ways, and a hesitancy to accept tactical and organizational transitions. However, while Riche and Smythe lament the loss of a formal aristocratic training and commitment to leadership, their texts, perhaps subconsciously, underscore the ideology that manhood and victory are not the sole purview of the well-born classes. Their manuals ground masculine achievement in more abstract notions of knowledge, prowess, courage, and the will to fight. If so inspired and led by valiant examples, even yeomen and laborers could attain this esteemed glory (temporarily on the battlefield if not permanently as citizens). Yet, even as they extend the abstractions of martial honor to non-noble classes, Riche and Smythe maintain the supremacy of the noble classes for ordering military action. It is this reliance on nobility that clouds the manual writers' vision for a new leadership structure, even as the aristocrats on which they once relied turn to professions of law and politics and as requirements for knighthood become disconnected from expectations of military service.

Dramatizing Manhood and Martial Anxieties: *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI*

Fruitless fifteenth-century war efforts staged naturally as a familiar theme to an Elizabethan audience who were seeing little reward from England's contemporary foreign policies, yet the tensions dramatized in *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI* are not merely points of historical comparison. Rather, they depict the beginning of the Significant structural changes that were being fully realized within the Renaissance military, changes that jeopardized patriarchal hierarchies tied to medieval knighthood and required a new order of command officers. With no professional allegiance to the military, Shakespeare is not limited by the same cognitive dissonance that prevents manual writers like Riche and Smythe from

completely escaping their dependence in archaic notions of noble virtue. As such, the *Henry VI* plays portray masculine anxiety as a negotiation between the efforts to reestablish the medieval status quo and the opportunities for reframing the military structure and re-envisioning modern responsibilities of manhood. Specifically, the main characters Queen Margaret, Joan la Pucelle, King Henry VI, Jack Cade, Alexander Iden, and John Talbot embody the real and perceived threats to the patriarchal institution of manhood expressed in the military manuals. Together, Margaret, Joan, and Henry uncover the source of anxiety as less a fear of female leadership and more a belief that effeminacy was invading the traditional command structure while Cade, Iden, and Talbot personify legitimate ideological transitions taking place in the English military. Shakespeare's depictions of these characters and their distinct applications of martial language, ultimately, deconstruct conventional definitions of aristocratic masculinity and open doors to modern, albeit anxiety-producing, reconstructions of com*man*dership and combat identities.

Often examined for their treatment of political divisiveness and civil strife in the vacuum of their weak central monarch, the three *Henry VI* plays also expose sixteenth-century apprehensions about the changing nature of warfare. Major themes dramatized by Shakespeare overlap with central anxieties expressed in the military treatises: challenges to masculinity, shifts in martial leadership in military, a willingness to engage in combat, the end of knightly heroism, an increased dependence on common soldiers, and depictions of civil strife that preys on the fears of protracted peace. While the historical chronology positions *The First Part of Henry VI* (1592) [*1HVI*] before *The Contention* (1590-91) [*2HVI*], and then *Richard Duke of York* (1591) [*3HVI*], there is structural value in reading the plays in order of their composition, with the *The First Part of Henry VI* viewed at the end of the

sequence. In this treatment, the storyline progresses through the physical forfeiture of martial prowess with the final loss of French territories in *2HVI*, to embattled patrilineality and unfulfilled filial legacy in *3HVI*, to a prequel in *1HVI* that depicts an unavoidable end to the noble warrior-class model and cautions a nation on the precipice of impending, but still recoverable, failure. My analysis focuses on the structure of *1HVI* as the last written and illustrative of a critical transition in England's military history. The actual analysis follows a thematic organizational structure based on the characters examined rather than a chronological one: female commanders, pacifist king, insolent rebels, and valiant but timeworn knight. First, the study evaluates Joan and Margaret as literal embodiments of "womanish" warfare, reading them as untraditional commanders but ones who never legitimately threaten war as a masculine realm. Next, is a reconsideration of Henry VI's pacifism in view of the heightened sensitivity to the dangers of effeminate peace and the vulnerabilities of patrilineal heroism. The analysis concludes by considering the bookending narratives of Cade and Talbot as critiques of professional titles and the evolution of martial leadership from the domain of the male aristocracy into a chain of command that was as yet undetermined and uncontrolled.

Women at War: Queen Margaret and Joan la Pucelle

Ostensibly, Queen Margaret and Joan la Pucelle perform literal representations of femininity at war; however, their presence on the battlefield often depicts them in accord with conventional masculine virtues. Both women demonstrate warlike courage in their willingness to fight when propelled into action. The victorious Lancastrian army becomes the "army of the Queen" (not King) in the first battle of 3*HVI*. Margaret takes over when King Henry fails to act, asserting an awareness of danger by too much sacrifice in efforts to avoid

conflict (3*HVI*.1.1.). Joan shows physical prowess by defeating Charles the Dauphin in a combat test (1*HVI*.1.2.) and disarming Talbot (*1HVI*.1.7) to recapture Orléans. By participating in war, Margaret and Joan represent a destabilizing adoption of war-minded aggression, traditionally safely masculine, by non-traditional commanders. They do not belong in a position of martial leadership and must, ultimately, be controlled in order to stabilize the battlefield structure. Admittedly, although they were exceptions to the rule, female warriors were not unprecedented and were recognized in the Elizabethan military treatises. In Book 1 on the important virtue of "Courage" for a general, Proctor admits that there have been "straunge and rare examples"[9] of women who were "good guides of warre without any great force of body," identifying a history of "wemen of weake bodies, and yet of high & victorious myndes, [who] obtained great victories, under their owne conduct, being present in the fielde" (Fol.4b). Proctor includes Joan of Arc among this list as "...the ungracious Pucelle of Fraunce [who]...by the meanes of the superstitious myndes of the Englyshe men prevayled more in divers journeys & attempts against them, then any generall or French Captaine before could doe by force" (Fol.4b). Notably, Proctor understands women like Joan as successful in spite of their weak bodies. Theirs are victories of the spirit, not their exceptional physical strength or military expertise. This trope of women as unnatural warriors is a key to understanding why Margaret and Joan, although physical representations of martial femininity, are not the strongest characterizations of the masculine anxiety identified at the start of this chapter. The two female commanders remain aberrations throughout their narrative roles. Neither woman presents a legitimate threat to the notion of war as a masculine realm because established literary motifs that frame women as mothers,

---

[9] In fact, McCracken identifies that women have had a recorded presence on the battlefield throughout premodern Western history and that the tradition of exclusion is relatively modern (627-28).

whores, and witches already exist to disarm and contain "strange and rare" instances of female overreach.

In his recreation of Margaret, Shakespeare provides a literal illustration of women taking over in a vacuum of proper masculine leadership, but he does so in a way that resists giving the queen true or lasting authority. The language Margaret employs to assume and execute power is an extreme representation of femininity at battle, using mechanisms that are appropriately female and always distant from any genuine threat to masculinity. Margaret rises to military leadership through purportedly maternal motive: the defense of her son. Seduced by and susceptible to womanly emotions, she is puppetted by Suffolk through much of the first play, a pawn in his political game until the Battle of St. Albans at end of 2*HVI*, when she begins to take on commandership by giving Henry the strategy for leaving the battlefield (*2HVI*.5.4.3-12). Yet, Margaret remains mostly complicit and dependent on Suffolk, not becoming a self-possessed agent until the abdication scene in 3*HVI*.1.i. The scene that justifies Margaret's warrior tenacity is rooted in a very natural and maternal instinct to defend her son's rightful kingship. Responding incredulously to her husband's request to "be patient," Margaret issues the admonishment that carries her to command:

> Margaret: Ah, wretched man, would I had died a maid
>
>   And never seen thee, never borne thee son,
>
>   Seeing thou hast proved so unnatural a father.
>
>   Hath he deserve to lose his birthright thus?
>
>   Hadst thou loved him half so well as I,
>
>   Or felt that pain which I did for him once,
>
>   Or nurse to him as I did with my blood,

> Thou wouldst have left thy dearest heart-blood there
>
> Rather then have made that savage Duke thine heir
>
> And disinherited thine only son. (*3HVI*.1.1.217-226)

Margaret plays to the trope of a fighting mother, willing to sacrifice herself in defense of her son. The theme of blood at once underscores her maternal bond, formed by the pain of childbirth and the "blood" transfer of breast feeding, while also reinforcing her willingness to fight and Henry VI's "unnatural" betrayal of his own blood bond. Ironically, by not protecting his crown and legacy, it is the King who is unnatural, not the ascending female warrior. The topic of patrilineality and its connection to manhood is discussed more fully below as the analysis shifts to the key male characters in the plays. In order to read the abdication scene as a non-threat to conventional masculinity, it is important to understand that Margaret rises to her command position for the preservation of her family—an acceptably feminine motivation for combat. Her martial leadership is purposeful and temporary, a response to instability and the King's neglect of his patrilineal role. She symbolically divorces Henry and takes over his army only as long as it would take to restore her son as rightful heir to the throne.

Framed in the fighting mother narrative, Margaret's combat ethos is one of furious desperation, intense and slightly out of her control. The male voice undermines her major martial accomplishments, denying her the dignity of a true noble warrior and weakening the simple, otherwise noble, maternal defense. The most acrimonious illustration of Margaret's disempowerment follows her first battlefield success in Act 1. When she taunts York and offers him a handkerchief dripping with the blood of his youngest son, Rutland (3*HVI*.1.4.79-84), York erupts with a string of vilifying invectives: she is a "she-wolf of France" (112), "ill-beseeming" of her sex (114), "an Amazonian trull" (115), "shameless" (121), a "tiger's heart

wrapped in a woman's hide" (139), a "false Frenchwoman" (150), "inhuman" (155), not

beautiful or virtuous or moral enough to be respected as a woman (129-134).[10] York's

derision is partially licensed by the fact that Margaret is not proper English royalty; he

reminds the audience that she is from lower-status, French aristocracy, establishing his class

superiority. This verbal abuse also reasserts York's masculine dominance. York's verbal

punishment elevates himself and diffuses Margaret's power. Throughout the play, numerous

male characters treat Margaret as York does, belittling her and undercutting her leadership

power. Edward frequently blames Margaret's politically disadvantageous marriage to Henry

as motivation for his family's sedition and the resulting civil war (3*HVI*.2.2.177). Warwick

nearly ruins Margaret's efforts to secure reinforcements from the French King Louis by

arranging for Edward to marry Louis' sister, Bona. Only the news of Edward's marriage to

Elizabeth Gray makes Margaret's suit successful (3*HVI*.3.3). Shakespeare does not even

allow her autonomous martial eloquence. Margaret's oration before the final battle in

3*HVI*.5.4 is merely a mimetic reproduction of the speech Friar Laurence delivers in Arthur

Brooke's narrative poem *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* (1562) when he

entreats Romeus to demonstrate manly fortitude in the face of banishment and despair (50-

51).[11] Margaret's battlefield exhortation is not an homage to the poem but rather a near

replica of the Friar's speech: its most skillful stylistic conceit, the shipwreck metaphor,

coming directly from Brooke's text. Shakespeare's desperate queen is not given the rhetorical

---

[10] *OED* "whore"; Susan Dwyer Amussen notes that sexual insults "became increasingly common for both men and women over the period [1560-1640], but throughout (if the general charge of being a whore is included), they were of greater concern to women" (*An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England.* p. 102, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988). Discussed below, this degradation rises to a new level in the male response to Joan la Pucelle.

[11] Although *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* was not as popular Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1595) which used the poem as its primary source, J. J. Munro asserts that the Romeo and Juliet narrative would have been "well known" among English audiences largely because of Arthur Brooke's text (xxi). Brooke, Arthur. *Brooke's "Romeus and Juliet,": Being the Original of Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet."* J. J. Munro, Ed. New York, NY: Duffield and Company, 1908. The text of the speech occurs in lines 1349-1382.

freedom to create or even adorn her own rally oration. Her words allude to a character who, although credited as skillful and wise, nevertheless, delivers a speech that inspires ill-fated hope. Romeus's ultimate determination to be "governéd by Friar Laurence' skill" (56) results in tragedy, an association of futility easily available to Shakespeare's audience who would know the historical outcome. By denying Margaret self-possessed eloquence, Shakespeare portrays her as unrefined, contrived, and inadequately suited as a sustainable commander. However, Margaret's function is not to displace masculine leadership. Her martial victories are necessarily usurped by male hegemony, and she maintains her inspired role as mother-protector of her family. In the face of his scathing comments, she kills York without remorse. When Henry expresses pity at York's death, the Queen says to stop this "soft courage" and instructs her husband to knight his son. Her maternal defense is a forced extreme of womanhood, rather than an assumption of manhood, which is why her warrior role is complete with the death of her son, not her husband.

In *1HVI*, Joan la Pucelle also presents a literal figure of women at war, but with her character, Shakespeare exploits sixteenth-century fears of a disordered military by juxtaposing masculine self-destruction with ordered practices that demonstrate relative ease of female containment. Like Margaret, Joan la Pucelle takes up arms in direct combat and battlefield strategy for a cause greater than herself. Unlike Margaret, Joan has no royal leverage nor does she have a wronged son, and she fights for the "wrong" country. She must actively prove her aptitude and worthiness for battle. Her combat test in Act I proves not simply her physical skill but also her mental fortitude and desire to be seen as, if not an equal, at least an accepted addition to the French military.

> Joan: My courage try by combat, if thou dar'st,
>
> And thou shalt find that I exceed my sex.
>
> Resolve on this: thou shalt be fortunate,
>
> If thou receive me for thy warlike mate. (1*HVI*.1.2.68-71)

Joan is not asked to prove her divine visions, yet her skill and prowess are inextricably packaged in the supernatural. Her qualifications align with traditional definitions of manhood as she must prove valor, courage, and a competency for military command. She is a charm of fortune, sustained and eventually contained by this metaphysical connection. Her death at the end of 1*HVI* cleanses the battlefield of feminine sorcery, but alongside the loss of French strongholds, it is a pyrrhic victory, securing the war as a masculine realm while highlighting a weakness of martial leadership that is never clearer than in this culminating play.

In order to understand Joan's part in the narrative of masculine anxiety and warfare, it is necessary to trace the path through which her martial efficacy deteriorates over the course of the play. Initially, she performs physical representations of manly traits, i.e. swordsmanship, dressing in armor and directing the first siege. However, as her association with the supernatural increases, her worthiness as a martial opponent quickly decreases, and her tactical strategies become both passive and marginalized. By the first battle of Orléans, Joan has already lost the physical skill and martial valor that earned her military position. Instead of being attributes to Joan's prowess, the French victory gets framed as witchcraft and mystification.[12] Confused when his men retreat because they are chased "by a woman cladding armour" (*1HVI*.1.7.3), England's great warrior, John Talbot observes:

---

[12] See Gabriele Bernhard Jackson, "Topical Ideology: Witches, Amazons, and Shakespeare's Joan of Arc," *English Literary Renaissance*, 18 (1988), 40-65; Nancy A. Gutierrez, "Gender and Value in *1 Henry VI*: The Role of Joan de Pucelle," *Theatre Journal*, 42 (1990).

My thoughts are whirléd like a potter's wheel.

I know not where I am nor what I do.

A witch by fear, not force, like Hannibal

Drives back our troops and conquers as she lists.

So bees with smoke and doves with noisome stench

Are from their hives and houses driven away.

They called us, for fierceness, English dogs;

Now, like two whelps, we crying run away. (*1HVI*.1.7.19-26)

Joan's weapons (i.e. her cross-dressing and her sorcery) are performative. They bewitch, confuse, and disorient, but "fear without force," "bee smoke" and "dove stench" are all indirect and passive descriptions. Since victory is part of the definition of masculinity, losing to Joan threatens Talbot's understanding of himself: "I know not where I am or what I do" (*1HVI*.1.7.20). However, her powers do not represent the manly war that Talbot reveres nor do they garner Joan any respect as a more capable warrior. The prowess demonstrated in Act 1's combat test, evidence of actual military skill never manifests on the battlefield in a way that is recognizable to men as legitimate martial efficacy. Her power is not physical but rather metaphysical and illusionary. Talbot need only to figure out how to "know" himself again, dependent on reestablishing his dominant position as commander and man, to gain control over Joan. Her role as a threat to masculine warfare is a red herring that obscures the real identity transformations occurring in the English military.

Significant work has been written on Joan's armored cross-dressing as emblematic of female subversion and assumption of masculine privilege during the Middle Ages.[13] Most

---

[13] My focus is on definitions of manhood and not subversiveness of cross-dressing. For examinations of cross-dressing and transgression, see Bullough 1974, "Transvestites in the Middle Ages"; Hotchkiss, 1996, *Clothes*

important for this consideration of martial manhood, however, is not Joan's act of manning herself but the sociopolitical context that opened the door to this subversion. To the English soldiers, Joan's cross-dressing is confusing, peculiar, perhaps even transmogrifying as she becomes both armored and potentially masculinized. In response to Bedford's surprise that Joan is only a maid, Burgundy replies, "Pray God she proves not masculine ere long/If underneath the standard of the French/She carry armour as she hasth begun" (1*HVI*.2.1.22-24). Burgundy's remark is an external evaluation of Joan: *she* is at risk of becoming masculine. This characterization actually weakens her subversive strength. Her physical appearance is not a threat to men, so much as a masking of her femininity. Joan's cross-dressing is a facade, an affectation reflecting her desire to be accepted on even standing and respected as the "warlike mate" she asked to be in Act 1. This is not the anxiety expressed in the military conduct books, which is a fear of effeminacy and concern that English manhood is decreasing. That Joan enters the war at all is a Sign of lost masculine control, but her increasing "otherness" re-exerts that control, portraying her not as a man but as a weird, bastardized version of a woman.

Joan's martial prowess, like her adornment, gets relegated to illusion rather than individual strength and skill. Shakespeare further neutralizes Joan's subversive power through conventional hegemonic mechanisms by framing Joan's strength in supernatural and hypersexual forces, actions outside of properly controlled, feminine behavior and beyond rationally known, human capacity. Talbot and his men do not understand the source of her martial puissance but they know how to disarm it. Acts of valor or heroism in the female

---

Make the Man: Female Cross-Dressing in Medieval Europe. The New Middle Ages, Vol. 1. Feinberg 1996, *Transgender Warriors.*

protagonist dissolve again into malicious name-calling and vilification: "*Pucelle*[14] or pucelle"

(*1HVI*.1.6.85); "devil or devil's dam" (*1HVI*.1.7.5); "high-minded strumpet" (*1HVI*.1.7.12),

"treason...[and] treachery...that witch, that damnéd sorceress...this hellish mischief"

(*1HVI*.3.4.1-5); "vile fiend and shameless courtesan" (*1HVI*.3.5.1-5); "Foul fiend of France

and hag of all despite" (12); "damsel" (16); "railing Hecate" (*1HVI*.3.5.24); "demonic"

(1*HVI*.5.3). Noblemen, gentlemen, war-like men—all demonize and shame her for her role in

the wars. Joan's military utility, once proven by physical skill, is reduced to passive

persuasion. She convinces Burgundy to join the French in Act 3.7 by "bewitch[ing him] with

her words" (*1HVI*.3.7.58) until he is "...vanquishéd. These haughty words of hers/Have

battered me like roaring cannon-shot/And made me almost yield to my knees" (*1HVI*.3.7.78-

80). This verbal conquest is an advancement over Margaret's undermined recruitment of

King Louis in *3HVI*, but Joan's rhetorical eloquence remains "bewitching" and "haughty."

She mystifies and seduces rather than convincing through clear-headed, masculine appeals.

She does not belong; she cannot become just one of the boys, regardless of her outward

dress; the fact that she has even tried to do so authorizes cruelty against her. By her final

scene, Joan denies her own father and renounces her maidenhood in a desperate attempt to

save her life. These acts only expose her to further slut-shaming as a means for controlling

her influence.[15] By controlling Joan and Margaret, the play resists female takeover and

---

[14] While "la pucelle" describes Joan as being a "maid," the *OED* puzzel (as this line appears in most versions of 1HVI) as a "harlot" or "courtesan."

[15] This strategy of witchcraft and prostitution labeling as a common response to threatened masculinities is well examined, particularly by scholars in the late twentieth century such as Nina S. Levine in *Women's Matters* (1998) and Howard and Rackin in *Engendering a Nation* (1997). Breitenberg says that by degrading the female protagonist for her transgressions, men are able to restore the normative order (33). Greenblatt identifies that the threatening other is often framed as heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, or antichrist that must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed (note 19, Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980, p. 9.). Although I do not attribute the same level of strength to Shakespeare's female commanders, Deborah Willis presenting a positive interpretation, acknowledging that Margaret and Joan do not subvert patriarchy but asserts that their "phallic

preserves the battlefield as masculine; however, normative order is far from restored by the end of the plays because the efforts to control female overreach only masked the systemic issues destabilizing martial manhood.

Women were neither an authentic nor a sustainable threat to the masculine warrior ethos or the martial status quo; mechanisms for containment by turning them into caricatures of femininity, such as ferocious mother or sorceress or whore, were already in place and socially acceptable. The final play that Shakespeare wrote for the series, 1*HVI*, turns back time to demonstrate that female intrusion on the battlefield is defeated with near effortlessness when men function as an organized and unified military. In Act 2, a well-executed strategy allows the English army to recover Orléans swiftly and drive back the undisciplined and underprepared French soldiers. Thinking clearly in the presence of a "normal" woman, Talbot easily overpowers the Countess of Auvernge with the mere Sight of his army (*1HVI*.2.3). Although the masculinization of Joan is more provocative, the brief encounter between Talbot and Auvernge is particularly inSightful because it foreshadows the true crisis of masculinity at work in the *HVI* plays. When Auvernge scoffs that Talbot is physically weaker, smaller, and less imposing than she expected, he proves he is in fact "the man" (*1HVI*.2.3.47) by presenting his army, the "substance, sinews, arms, and strength" of his manhood (*1HVI*.2.3.63). England's great warrior is only such because he has the organized power of his military behind him. By extension, Talbot's downfall, discussed more fully below, arises not from an inability to defeat one cross-dressed woman but from a failure of unified leadership. The transition from medieval to modern military practice was not the incorporation of women into armies that would occur centuries later. Falsely interpreted as a

---

power" opens a pace for female inheritance and self-assertion (101-103): "Shakespeare and the English Witch-Hunts" in *Enclosure Acts*: *Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England*. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer, eds. Ithaca, NY: Corness UP, 1994, 96-120.

trend toward weakness and effeminacy, early modern pressures on military practice were socio-economic, cultural, and technological. English nobility was losing its place in the military hierarchy, and the characters of Margaret and Joan are emblematic of a desperate power grab that distracts from this transitional social structure. [16] Ultimately, attacking women as other may help soldiers to feel a stronger connection to their constructed manhood, but it does little to address and adapt to these structural changes.

Pacifism and the Lost Patriarchal Core: King Henry VI

To get too lost in the male response to Margaret and Joan as women in battle is to miss the systemic problem illustrated in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays. Non-traditional commanders threaten and take over because the English military is in the process of losing its aristocratic nucleus and has yet to establish an alternative core. A focused analysis of three male figures—King Henry VI, Jack Cade, and John Talbot—and an isolation of specific textual moments dramatize the complex dialectic between recognized constructions of martial prowess and the crisis of masculine identity acknowledged in the military manuals. First, King Henry VI articulates the political tensions fueled by pacifism and a loss of the historically patriarchal core at work in the play with a specific attention to Henry's reaction to York's death and the father-son soldiers' scene in 3*HVI*, Act 2. Next, Cade captures the cultural economics of the turn toward courtly professions and the search for new martial leadership. The examination finishes with a closer look at John Talbot as the representative end to institutional knighthood and medieval understandings of chivalric conduct.

---

[16] See Susan Bordo's understanding of the period as "gynophobic" (note 40, "The Cartesian Masculinization of Thought," *Signs*: *Journal of Women and Culture* 11 (1986): p. 453). Bordo describes the disillusionment that took place after the end of the medieval period as a culture in which the known and trusted world order had dissolved. According to Bordo, women became part of this mysterious unknown, "other," resulting in what she calls a "seventeenth-century gynophobia" (454).

Politically, Henry VI is in the position to provide the English forces with a unified core; however, he lacks the constitutive elements that define medieval manhood. When Shakespeare's audience is first introduced to Henry in *2HVI*, the young king has already lost control. In Act I, he cannot keep possession of England's French territories and symbolically loses his manhood when he forfeits his land through "contracted peace" (*2HVI*.1.1.38). Henry is "please[d]" (60) by the treaty negotiations, but Gloucester's oration after the king's departure reinforces the definitional measures of martial prowess and the atmosphere of anxiety created by Henry VI's leadership choices. In his exordium, "Brave peers of England, pillars of the state" (72), Gloucester invokes images of structural strength, a nation built on the men who fought with Henry V to win the French lands. They are "pillars," "peers" as equals but also homonymous with piers as fortification and support. He cites accepted virtues of bravery, vigilance, and martial success, four times referencing the importance of victory or conquest. The bulk of his speech is devoted to the tangible ideals of martial leadership demonstrated by a properly commanding king. The England that won France, he recalls, was willing to sacrifice for the country: the king expending "valour, coin, and people" (76), himself "lodge[d] in open field" exposed to harsh weather (77-78), and the men labored in "deeds of war" (79) with "deep scars" to show for their efforts. Gloucester acknowledges the role that wise counsel and the active study of foreign policy played in keeping the French "in awe" (89) of the English forces. He interprets Henry VI's treaty and marriage to Margaret as blatant inattention to the fundamental importance of legacy:

Gloucester: ...cancelling your fame,

Blotting your names from books of memory,

Razing the characters of your renown,

Defacing monuments of conquered France... (96-99)

Willingness to sacrifice, respect for counsel and knowledge, and a conscious effort to

preserve legacy—all are characteristics of true martial leadership that would require only

courage and active determination from Henry VI. Yet, the negotiated peace appears the exact

opposite to Gloucester, arousing anxiety and fear that Henry's actions are "Undoing all, as all

had never been!" (100). The repeated comparison of Henry to his warrior father, Henry V,

confirm higher expectations for the young king but also make his martial deficiencies more

distressing. He fails to meet the conventional standards for manhood with an infuriating

desire for peace and seeming disinterest in international diplomacy. The king, however, is not

simply an inexpert general; he does not want to hold a command position.[17] In light of the

military treatises' heightened sensitivity to effeminizing peacetime, Gloucester's "passionate

discourse" (101) regarding Henry's preference for peace identifies the perceived weakness

that prevents the king from holding the masculine center for national defense and allows

dissidents to angle for this dispersed power. There is no place at the head of the kingdom for

a pacifist when the political demands of the day call for war.

Henry's failures demonstrate the inseparable link between constructions of manhood

and a king's patriarchal responsibilities as head of a nation, but his failure as head of his

family directly reflects societal fears of lost male legacy. Specifically, Henry's reaction to the

news of York's death in *3HVI,* Act 2 reframes language from Barnabe Riche's *Allarme To

England* (1578). Writing against the hazards of too long peace, which includes civil strife and

the rise of individual ambitions, Riche warns that most contemporary men are consumed with

"their gentilitie" instead of understanding that the true "inheritaunce that fathers leave to their

---

[17] See Howard and Rackin on Henry VI's failed masculinity, effeminate devotion to a woman, lack of self-control, inability to fight, distaste for and avoidance of the battlefield, and passive and unwise decision-making.

children...is the glorie of vertue, and worthie deedes....[through] exercises of vertuous actes" (Sig. G iiii-H). Henry might as well be responding directly to Riche when he presents a counter interpretation of a father's legacy in reaction to Clifford's defense of war as appropriate "mighty force":

> King Henry: I'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind,
>
> And would my father had left me no more.
>
> For all the rest is held at such a rate
>
> As brings a thousandfold more care to keep
>
> Than in possession any jot of pleasure. (*3HVI*.2.2.49-53)

Henry sees "virtuous deeds" in his pacifism and war as emblematic of greed and ambition. His position is untenable by sixteenth-century measures of manhood.[18] Both men connect war to ambition, but Riche views war as a rightful action to stave off ambitious threats and preserve patrilineal legacy. His perspective is the prevailing one in Shakespeare's play as Henry's pacifism serves only to get him removed from the battlefield.

The battle scene in *3HVI,* Act 2 depicts the king on a hill above the battlefield, literally marginalized as one who does not fit, removed even from access to manliness. In this position of ultimate powerlessness, the king witnesses the two father-son soldier pairs, an allegorical perversion of war but also of the fractured patrilineality resulting from Henry's failed public leadership. Often, this scene is evaluated as an authorial commentary on the futility of war, "the wind that profits nobody" (3*HVI*.2.5.55). Certainly, the tragedies of a father accidentally killing his son and a son unknowingly killing his father present images of purposeless loss; however, it should not be ignored that the war at hand is the result of civil

---

[18] One could argue that the same measures hold in the twentyfirst century where conceptions of manliness still include a willingness to fight, if not for one's country, then at the least to defend one's family.

unrest. While the battle manuals do not focus on civil wars, they do warn against the dangers

of peace as promoting weakness and inviting internal insurgency, as exemplified in Riche's

quote above. By their nature, civil wars Signify fracture and internal volatility. Without a

strong and martial authority to make political choices and maintain stability, a nation at peace

literally dissolves into "un"-rest. The father-son soldiers scene depicts the complete loss of

normalizing control. Shakespeare denies Henry even empathetic leadership, as the king turns

from the mourning son and father to indulge in self-pity as more "woeful" than they are (111-

112 and 123-124). Although punctuated by quiet moments, like the prior scene in which

Henry extols the contemplative simplicity of a shepherd's life, the majority of 3*HVI* rages

against the king's passivity with more battle scenes than any other Shakespeare play and all

deaths dealt by the hands of countrymen. Fault for the unnatural war, for the unnatural killing

of a father by his son and son by his father, for the unnatural Queen who must take arms to

defend her son—these faults are Henry's and directly the result of his failure to satisfy his

filial and patriarchal responsibilities.

Redefining Knighthood in the Search for Leadership: Jack Cade and Alexander Iden

The discourses of war in *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI* represent the dissolution of a core and

the dangers of peace at the sacrifice of war-readiness; however, Renaissance England was no

longer dependent on the warrior king on the battlefield to anchor its military. Decades of

peace after the War of the Roses and the long reign of female monarchs had shifted the

leadership to a secondary tier of nobles and redefined knighthood as generalized service to

country. Ultimately, the *Henry VI* series represents more closely the evolution of the noble

English warrior, the loss of a trusted structure, and the search for a new leadership model that

was taking place in the sixteenth century than in its medieval stage setting. Shakespeare

illustrates an ideology that has already been destabilized: medieval knighthood no longer anchors the Elizabethan military—a reality that reveals itself in the nostalgic themes traced above in the conduct books. In this framework, Cade (*2HVI*), Alexander Iden (*2HVI*), and Sir John Talbot (*1HVI*) exemplify a renegotiation of martial leadership and the downfall of medieval knighthood.

The Cade revolt and its representation of an emerging merchant class are certainly subversive political themes in *2HVI*; however, the play also makes available an examination of Cade's character as a representation of changes in early modern military science. In its performance context, *2HVI* reflects the sociopolitical concern that English military writers expressed about the presumed effeminizing influence of courtier culture on the nation's wellborn classes. Cade is emblematic of the search for a versatile new guard as the conventional definitions of manhood as strength, victory, and martial willingness further disassociate from social status and titles. On his march to London, Cade faces off against noblemen in three key scenes: victories over Stafford in *2HVI*.4.2 and Lord Saye and Crowmer in *2HVI*.4.7 and a defeat by Iden in *2HVI*.5.1. The physical journey also reads as a metaphorical expedition through the uncertain layers of aristocratic martial leadership. First, Cade's and his band of rebels' encounter with Sir Humphrey Stafford in *2HVI*, Act 4 calls into question the meaning of knighthood as a combat rank. The absence of an official title does not diminish his physical strength, courage, and willingness to fight for purposeful causes, all Signs of manliness, according to the military manuals. Yet, in preparation for Stafford, Cade knights himself so that they are both "equal" (*2HVI*.4.2.66-67). He completes his own dubbing ceremony as a dismissive act to trivialize Stafford's title, but it is Significant that Cade must raise himself because he cannot lower Stafford's rank. Even if purely

ceremonial, knighthood Signifies martial leadership, and Cade's false ceremony symbolically elevates his social status. He is already physically prepared for command. York introduces him to the audience in Act 3 as having so much stubborn determination that he would fight "so long till that his thighs with darts/Were almost like a sharp-quilled porcupine" (*2HVI*.3.1.362-363). Cade is a champion for his people, sounding quite like a stumping politician:

> There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny, the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it a felony to drink small beer. All the realm shall be in common...—there shall be no money. All shall eat and drink on my score, and I will apparel them all in one livery that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their lord. (*2HVI*.4.2.67-72; 74-77)

His promises are economically absurd, but his egalitarian campaign successfully inspires the rebels, who now can see him as demonstrating physical martial strength and promising political ideals. Cade even exhorts his followers with a fairly solid battle oration, beginning with a unifying address with "you that love the commons" (181), issuing a conventional challenge tying prowess to manhood by instructing them to "show yourselves men" (182), and giving a clear, targeted enemy to fight against all lords and gentlemen, except the low-born men that he elevates to the level of nobility in this sentence as gentlemen who "go in clouted shoon" (184). Although exaggerated, Cade understands how to perform as a commander, but his is a military founded on upheaval as his battle cry illustrates: "...in order when we are/Most out of order. Come, march forward!" (*2HVI*.4.2.188-189). It is this element of being out of order that ultimately disqualifies Cade from credible leadership because he lacks the virtue of a temperance desired in a military captain. Rebellions can have

a measure of success with mob rule, but sustainable national defense requires ordered

preparation and disciplined execution.[19] Ultimately, Cade must also be contained but not

before rising above his status, even symbolically, to subvert knighthood and defeat nobility,

beginning an unraveling of aristocratic title as requirement for battlefield command.

Cade's tracking and triumph over Lord Saye further separates martial leadership from

England's nobility; however, this time, masculine strength and tenacity reject the courtly

professions and their associated effeminacy. In view of discourse that packages military

power and war as the epitome of heroic masculinity, commoners like Cade were more

physically capable soldiers than the rising class of noble courtiers. In *De Re Militari*,

Vegetius had banned "womanish" professions from the battlefield in the fifth century, and

Sadler's sixteenth-century translation declares a nation's smiths, carpenters, butchers, and

hunters of the hart and wild boars as the most suitable professions for war readiness (Book 1,

F3a ir). Citing Vegetius and re-embracing these ancient standards, Proctor explains that

"...suche occupations, as are accustomed most to labour with the strength of their armes"

make the best soldiers (Fol. 22).[20] Thus, soldiers should be conscripted from professions that

require physical strength, but these requirements could not extend to the officer ranks since

these positions were reserved for well-born gentry classes. The crisis point arises with the

decrease in martial commitment from this critical leadership group. Riche, himself a captain

---

[19] My use of "order" here is not to invoke a Tillyardian reading of the first tetralogy as a providential reestablishment of order; I refer instead to the pragmatic and essential command structure that is Cade's insurgence (and Margaret and Joan's rise to command) exposes as weak. E. M. W. Tillyard's *Shakespeare's History Plays.*

[20] Patricia Cahill cites this passage as evidence of evidence that manuals like Proctor's elevate the lowborn Englishman as the "repositories of [England's] Endangered martial stock" (45). Arab also connects the source of the rebels' power with the common tools of their profession and their bellicose masculinity as valued during the Renaissance as a quintessentially English trait (5). In addition to Vegetius, Proctor, and Riche, Matthew Sutcliffe in *The Practice, Proceeding, and Lawes of Armes* (1593) also wrote of manual occupations as being uniquely suited for war with the exception of those that are "weake, tender, and effeminate" (M2r). Sutcliffe's treatise is not a direct part of this chapter because his work was published after the accepted composition of *1HVI* (1592), the last of Shakespeare's Henry VI plays.

in the English military, laments the soft reputation that the new noble class is giving to their country:

> [Being] furnished with three or foure Frenche, Italian, or Spanishe wordes, thinking that the whole glorie consisted in being newfangled in their apparell, straunge in their conceiptes, and as daintie in their dietes, as dame Follie her selfe....To be shorte, in Englande, Gentlemen have robbed our women of their mindes, and our women have beereved us of halfe our apparell. (Giiii-H)

From a soldier's perspective, England's gentlemen were indulging in dainty things more suitable for women by privileging the cultural arts of courtly life (i.e. foreign languages, noble dress, and poetic speech) over skill at the art of war. Thus, this new breed of courtly nobleman was dismissed as a viable source for military leaders.

This rejection of courtly leadership is parodied in the dramatic meeting between Cade and Lord Saye. Although Cade and his men represent an extreme championing of illiteracy, the message of the scene in relation to martial discourse is a castigation of self-serving eloquence that detracts from the importance of maintaining a war-minded vigilance. The scene compares Saye, a courtly English gentleman, to Cade and his band of men "who work in their shirts" (*2HVI*.4.7.49). The rebels belong to masculine professions where men labor with their hands as butchers and weavers and clothiers. Saye, on the other hand, is one of Riche's English gentlemen with womanly minds who try to impress with his rhetoric and knowledge of Latin, "'tis *bona terra, mala gens*" (*2HVI*.4.7.53). When he condemns Saye for opening grammar schools and voices his distrust of literacy, Cade targets the nobleman not simply because he is learned but because he uses words as a weapon of suppression.[21] A war

---

[21] Cartelli argues that the commoners revile the arts of literacy out of a faith in their role in exposing society's clear socio-commerce inequalities (59); Arab extends this calculating activism to identify that the rebels

of words is unfair and dishonorable, an intellectual abuse of power that garners no respect

from physical working men. When Saye lists his professional accolades, Cade responds

dismissively, "Tut, when struck'st thou one blow in the field?" (*2HVI*.4.7.78). Only physical

combat "in the field" validates masculinity. Saye unsuccessfully defends the metaphorical

reach of his influence, and the Rebel responds with incredulity, "O monstrous coward!"

(*2HVI*.4.7.81). Underlying Rebel's comic misunderstanding is a martial truth: Saye's pursuit

and abuse of the intellectual life instead of one that requires manly strength and integrity

actually makes him a "monstrous coward" by military measures. Cade makes an example of

the courtly aristocrat and of his son-in-law, William Crowmer, "lest they consult about the

giving up of some more towns in France" (*2HVI*.4.7.126-27). Asserting anger of the

embarrasing martial loss of French territories, the rebels put Saye and Crowmer in a post-

mortem state of visible emasculation, their heads paraded on pikes and made to kiss in public

as a taunting triumph of virility and manhood.

However, Cade cannot be the new source of England's military command. Although

he meets the masculinity measures of physical strength and the willingness to fight, he

demonstrates an ignoble intemperance that disqualifies him. Cade's version of leadership is

untenable. His is a battlefield without a chivalric code of conduct and only a symbolic martial

structure. In addition to the previous claim that he and his men are "...in order when [they]

are/Most out of order..." (*2HVI*.4.2.188-189), which demonstrates a lack of respect for the

structural control necessary in a functioning military, Cade's dissemination of justice in the

Butcher-Sergeant scene further illustrates his failings as a fair and rational commander.

When Sergeant accuses one of Cade's men, Dick the Butcher, of rape, Cade gives the

---

selectively burned restrictive legal documents and thus not anti-literacy (12). Caldwell points to the Saye scene
as deriving from the Peasant's Revolt of 1381 in which the rebels, led by Jack Straw and Wat Tyler destroyed
legal and administrative state documents (58).

Butcher permission to continue violating Sergeant's wife in her own home: "Dick, follow thy

suit in her common place" (2HVI. 4.7.133). Although rape was still a component of the

spoils of war during the Middle Ages, by the Renaissance, rape was actionable offense. In his

1589 military handbook, de Bellay lists it as a violation of just war behavior punishable by

death (262-263).[22] Shakespeare's audience would likely have seen Cade's authorization of

rape as a transgression against chivalric codes of conduct, and certainly the Butcher's actions

would not have been sanctioned as part of a social uprising. Evaluating this exchange and the

increasing misrule of Cade's band, Ronda Arab categorizes these men as a type of "dangerous

masculinity" (10). According to Arab, the rebels are strong candidates for soldiers who must

physically defend the country, but their unpredictability also makes them potential threats to

national stability.[23] In my theory of war in relationship to manhood, Cade and his men do not

merely demonstrate dangerous masculinity, but they actually behave beyond the realm of

civility that governs masculinity. While the martial discourses indicate fear that courtly life

was jeopardizing the physical strength and war-mindedness of England's men, the aim was to

restore and maintain the dignity of the military profession. Cade's failure is not his

viciousness but that this ungoverned aggression and masculine prowess are disrespectful of

rational rules for ethical order and are uncivilized and, therefore, unmanly.

Reading the *Henry VI* series as a quest for martial leadership, both in the fictional

vacuum of command structure provided by the king and as a commentary on the historical

transitions occurring in Renaissance England, Alexander Iden emerges as a principled and

---

[22] For more on rape and its place in medieval warfare, see Meron (*Bloody Constraint* 29-30) and Kelly Askin in *War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution in the International War Crimes Tribunal*. Cambridge, MA: Kluwer Law International (1997).

[23] Arab clarifies her point to say that this brutality does not detract from the reflection of Cade's warrior ability and may even contribute to his aesthetic appeal as a character on stage. For other critics who label Cade as "brutal" see Richard Wilson, "'A Mingled Yarn': Shakespeare and the Cloth Workers," *Will Power: Essays on Shakespearean Authority*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State UP, 1993 and J.M. Brockbank, "The Frame of Disorder: *Henry VI*." In *Early Shakespeare,* John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris, eds. London: Edward Arnold, 1961.

ordered new model of leader. While Cade's character confirms that traits required for war are

not the exclusive purview of aristocracy, Cade's encounter with Iden illustrates that

England's defense has not been entirely separated from a noble command structure. Yet,

compared to the ambitious plotting and infighting of most of the play's noblemen, Iden

demonstrates national loyalty and a willingness to take up arms to honor his role as subject to

his king. However, this new leadership is a different kind of nobility than those represented

by Stafford, Saye or any of the Yorkists or Lancastrians. Iden is a landed noble who rejects

the ambitious politics of courtly life; his existence in the drama balances the brutality of war

with an honorable civility and mercy that Cade and the nobles engaged in civil war do not

possess. Iden retains the virtues of loyalty, generosity, fairness, and service to country that

characterized traditional codes of chivalry. Upon catching him stealing from his garden, Iden

has no desire to fight Cade and even proclaims that he has a reputation for feeding the poor

even though he has not much to spare, coming from only a humble inheritance (2*HVI*.4.9.18-

23). He kills Cade out of a sense of justice not to avenge the theft but to defend his honor

when Cade challenges him and his men: "yet come thou and thy five men, and if I do not

leave you all as dead as a doornail I pray God I may never eat grass more" (38-40). The

language Iden uses upon learning that his opponent is the rebellion leader, Jack Cade,

elevates the battle from defense of personal honor to a performance of national duty. Iden

calls Cade a "monstrous traitor" (66), invoking both the notion of betrayal and the idea that

Cade's is uncivil marauding has taken him outside the realm of human behavior. In praising

his bloody sword as the eternal symbol of his "honour" (67-70), Iden dignifies the violence of

war and reinforces the ideology of warfare as a path to historical transcendence. Although

not on a traditional battlefield, Iden assures the king that he killed Cade "in combat"

(2*HVI*.5.1.67). His assertion affirms his willingness to take up arms for the good of the commonwealth. His is a clear and stable moral compass, not fueled by an unrestrained rebellion against social inequity or an ambitious desire for elevated social status. Iden's conquest was the martial act of a loyal subject, committed to defending his king and country. He is a "poor esquire" (2*HVI*.5.1.75) but not as a formal rank of service to a medieval knight.[24] Rather, Iden's is a modern order of knighthood, emblematic of how martial leadership would evolve by the late 1700s with the emergence of standing national armies and professional, non-mercenary soldiers and when the title of knighthood would become increasingly an honorary, often non-military service to country.

Death of the Medieval Warrior: Sir John Talbot

Yet, Shakespeare's series does not leave his audience with the hopeful vision of Iden's triumph; instead, his final Henry VI play that Elizabethan audiences would view, 1*HVI*, depicts the anemic final gasps of Sir John Talbot, a dying class of devoted martial leaders, inseparable from the noble class warrior ethos. While Iden may be the future of the English military in *2HVI,* Shakespeare ensures that playgoers understand that the transitional period of disillusionment and adjustment is far from complete as the play concludes with York's official challenge to the throne and the opening battle in the War of the Roses. By the time English playgoers are introduced to a quintessential knightly warrior in Talbot, they have also watched a volleying civil war divide the nation in *3HVI* and bring about the complete end to the Lancastrian rule. Conceivably, Talbot's resurrection is a triumphant return to institutional knighthood and medieval chivalric conduct; however, the broken historical chronology of Shakespeare's first history plays denies this triumph and makes Talbot's tale

---

[24] Interpreting Iden's dubbing ceremony at the end of 2*HVI*.5.1, Arab sees Iden as the inauguration of a "non-courtly hierarchical institution of agricultural commerce" (22). I do not disagree that Iden's victory symbolizes an important economic evolution, but it cannot be separated from the significance of its combat setting.

more pitiable and futile. As much as the Elizabethan audience may have enjoyed watching their national hero, he fights a losing battle, not only against Joan la Pucelle and the French army but also against the forces of modernity and the need for a new, more versatile era in England's military.

Talbot represents a vain nostalgia for the devoted soldier, inseparable from his knightly ethos. Extending previous assertions of Talbot as emblematic of lost medieval chivalry, this study upholds Talbot as a meaningful punctuation to the sixteenth-century discourse of strained masculinity present in the military handbooks.[25] On one hand, Talbot represents archetypal manhood as defined by the manuals—strategic, skilled, willing, not entirely physically imposing but backed by martial support as shown in the Auvergne challenge. Amid the cultural atmosphere of anxiety, Talbot rises as a folk hero to rescue England from the depths of effeminacy. Defending the importance of theater in *Piers Penniless his Supplication to the Devil* (1592), Thomas Nashe elevates the history play as a genre:

> ...borrowed out of our English chronicles, wherein our forefathers [*sic*] valiant actes (that haue lyne long buried in rustie brass and worme-eaten bookes) are reuiued, and they themselves raysed from the graue of obliuion, and brought to pleade their aged honours in open presence.... (59-60)

Writing specifically about Talbot's revival on the stage of 1*HVI*, Nashe embraces Talbot's triumphs as just the vision needed to embolden a new generation of Englishmen in sharp "reproofe to these degenerate effeminate dayes of ours" (60). On the other hand, however, while Talbot's victories may be inspirational, his death is not so, and the full story of

---

[25] Hattaway and Taylor both make this association in the introduction to their *1HVI* editions.

England's warrior in 1*HVI* underscores the death of chivalric heroism and echoes the need for a new breed of military construct reflected in the previous plays.

More clearly than in previous plays, what *1HVI* does is close the door on the return to aristocratic knighthood as the source for a new leadership construct. By maintaining a gendered discourse and patriarchal hierarchy in Talbot's reactions to Sir John Fastolf and in Talbot's final death scene, Shakespeare calls for a redirection of the masculinity debate even as he reveals the model of knightly leadership in military command as merely functional and not an inherent truth about noble courage, expertise, and national allegiance. Having fled from the field of battle before the play began, "not having struck one blow" (1*HVI*.1.1.134), Fastolf introduces the theme of noble betrayal in the first scene as the reason for the "general wrack and massacre" (1*HVI*.1.1.135) of the English forces and the capture of Talbot and other English nobles. Although this first mention is fleeting, it foreshadows the cause of Talbot's eventual fall and shines a glaring light on how the challenges of ambition and dissention without a means for unifying control can deteriorate an assumed code of ethics. The importance of his not having struck a blow in the fight is reminiscent of Cade's negative appraisal of Lord Saye as not having engaged in the physical combat expected for a nobleman in a position of leadership. When Fastolf flees again in Act 3.5 and is confronted by the Captain, his reply disassociates his position as an English knight from any inherent sense of duty and selfless commitment:

> Captain: Wither away, Sir John Fastolf, in such haste?
>
> Fastolf: Whither away? To save myself by flight.
>
>   We are like to have the overthrow again.
>
> Captain: What, will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot?

> Fastolf: Ay, all the Talbots in the world, to save my life.
>
> Captain: Cowardly knight, ill fortune follow thee! (*1HVI*.3.5.63-68)

Fastolf's ineptitude at evaluating martial settings is further exposed when Talbot and the English win back Rouen in the next scene, successful this time in spite of Fastolf's desertion. Talbot's strategy to secure Rouen hits on weakness in England's leadership, but Talbot (as well as his Renaissance manual writing colleagues) is not yet ready to envision a non-aristocratic structure. Before returning to the king for his next orders, Talbot determines to "...take some *order* in the town, / Placing therein some *expert officers*" (*1HVI*.3.6.12-13, emphasis added). Order is sorely needed, but England's current group of "expert officers" fail in their ability to maintain that order.

  Talbot's final standoff with Fastolf dominates Henry VI's coronation scene in the most overt commentary on the dissolution of knighthood. Ironically, this upbraiding and demotion is juxtaposed with the official crowning of a weak and non-warlike king most in need of martial support and most ignorant to the brokenness of its historically aristocratic structure. At the coronation, Talbot confronts Fastolf and tears his garter from his leg, calling him a "base knight," and declaring that cowards like him should not wear the "ornament of knighthood." This exchange tells Shakespeare's audience that Fastolf was not only a knight but was a member of the first English order of chivalry, Order of the Garter. As such, his cowardice is a representative disgrace that strikes to the foundational core of knighthood. Gloucester's emphasis that Fastolf's actions are not only shameful for "the knight, the captain, and a leader" but are in fact "ill beseeming any common man" (*1HVI*.4.1.32 and 31), underscores the greater expectation on noblemen as well as the connections between legitimized manhood and martial courage. On its own, Gloucester's depiction extends

masculine honor to commoners as well as aristocrats, yet Talbot cannot fathom the separation

of chivalric virtues from their noble ties. He reminisces about the times "when the order was

first ordained" (33) and the men "were of noble birth" (34), valiant, virtuous, courageous,

war-proven, unafraid of death (35-36) and willing to face understandable fear (i.e. "distress,"

line 37). His definitions for manly virtue mirror those of the Elizabethan military manuals but

maintain a strict line for nobility:

> Talbot: He then that is not furnished in this sort
>
> Doth but usurped the sacred name of knight,
>
> Profaning this most honourable order,
>
> And should – if I were worthy to be judge –
>
> Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain
>
> Have doth presume to boast of gentle blood. (39-44)

Fastolf's dishonor, according to Talbot, is as disgraceful as a servant of low-born or unknown

birth who pretends to come from noble blood; it taints nobility specifically, not manhood in

general, because Talbot has no vision for the existence of these virtues in common men. In

calling Fastolf a "stain to thy countrymen" (45) before banishing him, Henry channels a more

visionary, albeit brief, source of England's leadership that extends to all his country's men.

Semanza characterizes the tension exposed in 1*HVI* in scenes like this as "the historical shift

from an idealistic political system based on the chivalric code to a more cynical one

governed by the demands of *realpolitik"* (1254). I agree with Semanza that the rise of

personal ambition, highlighted throughout the first tetralogy, indicates an increase in political

pragmatism in the transition from medieval to early modern societies, but if we keep the lens

on what these shifts mean for the construction of masculinity and its relevance to martial

leadership, the message is not so much an increase in individualism as a necessary disentanglement from the assumed noble roots of masculinity.

Talbot's inability to make this shift Signifies his obsolescence and reliance on titles based on medieval rank as antiquated and failing. The internal discord that results in Talbot's death Signals the end of status and patriarchy as an inherently functional martial structure. Talbot, who once proved his fortitude by flexing the "at will" readiness of the English military, dies because of infighting and dissention among his fellow noble commanders when York and Somerset fail to send reinforcements. With his only son dying by his side, Talbot's end symbolizes the complete loss of his particular brand of martial chivalry. The exchange that takes place between Talbot and his son as each tries to convince the other to leave the battle serves as a ringing reminder of the dynamics of filial loyalty and patrilineality that have transpired throughout the three *Henry VI* plays. Young John Talbot remains at the battle to avoid the humiliation of people's assumption that "he is not Talbot's blood." Young John's fear of being made a bastard connects martial displays of courage to proof of paternity; thus, the young man proves his mother was not unfaithful and that he is truly Talbot's son by having the courage to fight. This theme revisit's Henry's own failure in not upholding his father's warrior legacy and letting his wife fight the battle for him; it also resurrects notions of young Rutland and Prince Edward who died in their efforts to honor or restore honor to their families. As John and Talbot debate, they reveal a strikingly masculine assumption of motherhood, that John's mother/Talbot's wife would rather lose both her husband and her son in this battle than be "shamed" if one should leave the field (*1HVI*.4.5.34-35). Margaret's defeat after the death of Edward demonstrates that this patriarchal fallacy is untrue, yet it is indicative of the chivalric ethos alive in both Talbots. After he rescues his son from the first

battle, Talbot encourages the boy to flee, now that he is "sealed the son of chivalry" (*1HVI*.4.6.29). We learn from the French that the younger Talbot met Joan on the battlefield and refused to fight her "as unworthy fight" (*1HVI*.4.7.43), another affirmation of his chivalry reinforced by Burgundy's judgment: "Doubtless he would have made a noble knight" (44). In deciding to fight with his son, Talbot both secures and ends the role of knighthood in martial strategy. Analyzing Tablot's character in his introduction to *1 Henry VI,* Michael Taylor describes this paradox as Shakespeare's effort to offer a nostalgic representation of chivalry while "mocking its tenets with word and action" (40). This mockery is perhaps most evident after Talbot's death when Lucy looks for him using all of his titles, and Joan scoffs at the long list as "so tedious a style" (74). Certainly, Shakespeare's depictions of female leaders, pacifist monarchs and baseborn rebels complicate the definitions of manhood expressed in the military handbooks, where masculinity is defined by physical strength, courage, martial knowledge and a willingness to war, but it is notable in this scene that Joan mocks the titles themselves and not the honor or symbolic nobility of battle. Even as it caricatures antiquated notions of knighthood, this paradox marks a further disassociation of class-based labels from authentic masculine efficacy. Talbot's death Signals the end to knighthood and title as guarantors of masculine prowess, but it is not an absolute end to chivalric codes of honor and ordered conduct.

In *1HVI*, Shakespeare offers a critique of nostalgic idealism over the bygone era of medieval chivalry, yet the series does not direct its audience to align with King Henry's disillusioned pacifism. It is not an absolute admonition of war but rather preserves the legitimacy of just war. Talbot's chivalry is naive and unsustainable in its elitist absolutism, but he and the other warriors of the plays—Margaret, Joan, Iden, even Cade—fight in

defense of ideologically righteous causes. Their leadership successes are limited either because their roles still lack legitimacy in the military command structure or, in Talbot's case, because history has progressed beyond his relevance. The final lines of *1HVI* presage an opportunity to restructure and possibly avoid the complete dissolution or national order that happens without a unified core. Gloucester's culminating line, "Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last" (*1HVI*.5.7.102), reminds theatergoers that this play is chronologically first but performed last. The line invites audiences to recall the grief-filled, bloody civil war dramatized in the first two plays, while also returning them to the moment before the internal fighting begins. Although its tone is certainly not hopeful, *1HVI* does end with the external pretenses of a nation at peace. Yet, peace itself is a threat to military fortitude, a risk of idleness and a playground for ambition, and Shakespeare's audience would know of the conspiring rise of Richard III, another illustration of militant masculinity without a stabilizing code of honor.

The dialectical tensions between martial prowess and the perceived crisis of masculinity presented in the English-authored Elizabethan military manuals play out in Shakespeare's dramatizations in *Henry VI*. Conventional codes of conduct and pathways to leadership had changed, but martial philosophy had not yet adapted. Military command remained intrinsically tied to social position, even as the men of appropriate social status pursued other professions. As these ties loosen with changes to weaponry, conduct, and social expectations, the conduct manuals begin to reflect an anxiety that these transitions would result in disorder. "Weaker" classes were increasingly in command positions, and wellborn men were seemingly less committed to maintaining their martial readiness according to traditional standards. Peace, albeit the desired end of war, raised fears that

passivity and inactivity would atrophy focused knowledge (*epistêmê*) and skill (*technê*) which, in turn, would lead to compromised noble virtues (*aretê*). Neither Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays nor the Renaissance military manuals have yet determined what the new leadership structure would look like, but Shakespeare's participation in this discourse proposes that the answer to the unstable masculinities is not the neoclassical resurrection of medieval knighthood supported by the manuals. In fact, as fictional objects of material culture, the *Henry VI* plays offer a more complex portrayal of the dynamics of manhood martial identity than the limited frame presented by the military manuals. As unconventional female warriors, Margaret and Joan manifest the literal fear of effeminacy at war but as an extreme of paranoid anxiety because they are never legitimated or long-tern threats. King Henry VI and Sir John Talbot are both mocked as tragic and pitiable noble leaders, ineffective in a martial setting where pacifism is counterproductive and medieval frameworks fail under the weight of modern individualism and personal ambition. Laborers, lawyers, and landed men provide prototypes for the possible next class of social, political and military leaders but these characters leave the plays with a fractured conception of the new leadership with varying interpretations of national loyalty and integrity. In this sense, *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI* retain the Renaissance manuals' definition of manhood as measures of courage, knowledge, skill, and a willingness to fight for a worthy cause, but they fracture these traits and reimagine the bodies in which those virtues are located.

Chapter 5: "Tak[ing] Marters of Warre in Hande": Metaphors of War and Knowledge in Sixteenth-century Military Manuals

Rhetoric theory historically perceives metaphor as a poetic figure that proposes characteristics of similarity between two seemingly unrelated objects. During the Renaissance, metaphor functions as a figure of speech constructed as a part of the canon of style (*elocution*), often as technique for embellishment. However, even as the intentional use of metaphor may have been as a stylistic trope, the figurative associations created by the comparisons are not limited to mere ornament. These conscious, artistic metaphors work within a conceptual system that generates extended associations that, at once, expose and guide perceptions of the original, non-figurative concept. Understanding the subconscious elements at work within a metaphorical system requires that traditional rhetorical approaches incorporate the scholarship of cognitive linguistics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Introduced in the late twentieth century, CMT asserts that, more than stylistic ornamentation, metaphors reflect thought and have practical and ethical consequences for authors and audiences. Althought these reflections generally extend only to conceptual or cognitive metaphors, that is to say unconscious metaphorical images latent within everyday language, this study extends the tenets of CMT to both traditionally poetic metaphors and literal associations to analyze the contemporary conceptual system of war as depicted in Renaissance military manuals. The goal is to examine how overt figurative metaphors and subconscious conceptual metaphors found in the treatises function within the definitional understandings of warfare as art and science to frame sixteenth-century constructs of war. Close examination of the metaphors used in combat rhetoric reveals the metalinguistic ways that Renaissance manual writers structured their understanding of war and re-packaged that conceptual framework for their audiences. This type of persuasion targets the political favor

of its intended audiences, often noblemen and national leaders, with particular focus on efforts to increase militarism through revived interest in and legitimization of military science without advocating increased military engagement.

CMT Background and Literature Review

CONCEPTUAL SYSTEMS AND BASIC METAPHORS

Research in Conceptual Metaphor Theory began in the late twentieth century when George Lakoff and Mark Johnson first formulated the idea of conceptual systems in "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language" (1980) and *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). By examining common linguistic expressions, Lakoff and Johnson concluded that how human beings conceive of the world, how they think and act, is inherently metaphorical in nature. In other words, human thought and action are linked to how we structure the world, and that effort to structure or organize our world uses largely metaphorical concepts. The term "metaphor," here and throughout this essay, refers to Lakoff and Johnson's general definition of a metaphor as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (*Metaphors* 5). To say that conceptual systems are essentially metaphorical is to argue that humans understand and experience their world by interpreting things, events, behaviors, etc. in terms of things, events, and behaviors. These interpretations are systematic: they follow logical patterns. Thus, the foundation of CMT is the claim that humans regularly use metaphorical constructs to organize and make sense of the world. As I will illustrate below, these constructs can form basic metaphors, poetic metaphors, or large-complex conceptual metaphors.

Unpacking a basic metaphor illustrates the concept of a metaphorical system and helps to clarify relevant CMT terms such as the notions of source and target domains,

entailments, and mapping. A "basic metaphor" refers to any conceptual metaphor whose use

is conventional, unconscious, automatic, and typically unnoticed" (Lakoff and Turner 80).

For example, the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a basic metaphor that has been

conventionalized and absorbed into the English language to the point that we use its

constructions without much notice.[1] We "travel" through life. We face "crossroads."

Sometimes, we lack "direction" or need "guidance" to get "back on track," or maybe we

"know where we are going." The metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY allows for an understanding of

the abstract experiences of living in terms of the concrete experiences that one may have on a

journey.[2] In CMT, the abstract concept (life) represents the "target domain," and the concrete

concept (journey) that is applied to make sense of abstract experiences is the "source

domain." Each conceptual domain has elements that correspond to components of the other

domain. The following are examples of correspondences for the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

LIFE (target domain)	JOURNEY (source domain)
person	Traveler
purposes	destinations
difficulties	impediments to travel
progress	distance traveled
choices	crossroads

---

[1] In this sentence, "LIFE IS A JOURNEY" is in small capitalizations to keep with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory convention of representing formed conceptual metaphors with small capital letters. For consistency within this examination, I also extend the practice of small caps to poetic metaphors throughout the remainder of the text; see WAR IS A STORMY SEA, COMMANDER IS A SEA CAPTAIN, COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN, etc.

[2] I provide only brief examples for illustration in this section. Lakoff and Turner examine the basic LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and its poetic extensions throughout *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor.* Most of my examples borrow Lakoff and Turner's models.

Combining these correspondences creates an illustration of the metaphorical "entailments" generated by the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. To comprehend life as a journey is to understand that this metaphor *entails* such things as:

> The *person* leading a life is a *traveler*.
>
> The person's *purposes* are *destinations*.
>
> *Difficulties* in life are *impediments to travel*.
>
> *Progress* made in life is a *distance traveled*.
>
> *Choices* in life are *crossroads*.[3]

To speak of a set of correspondences between two domains, CMT refers to the source domain characteristics as being "mapped" onto the target domain characteristics. Thus, we would say that crossroads are *mapped* onto choices. In this case, part of the mapping superimposes a metaphorical understanding of decision-making as a change in direction, which carries with it normal feelings about change – that it is meaningful, that it can produce anxiety, that it will present new experiences, etc. Not all entailments are metaphorical—life, like a journey, has a literal beginning (birth) and end (death)—but our ability to understand life in terms of a journey depends on our conventional knowledge of the source domain. Because we already understand how journeys work, we can use that concept to organize our understanding of how life works. These are embedded cognitive conceptions that we use often unconsciously, and occasionally employ for conscious metaphorical constructions.

Early in the twentyfirst century, the theory of cognitive blends emerged to explain how metaphorical concepts could entail new meanings that were not a part of the original source or target domains. Gilles Fauconnier and Turner first proposed the idea of blending in the mid-1990s, offering the idea of a "many-space" model to replace CMT's conceptual

---

[3] For a more complete list of LIFE IS A JOURNEY entailments, see Lakoff and Turner, 3-4.

domains ("Conceptual Integration" 183). By the time they wrote *The Way We Think* (2002),

they had formalized their terminology and shifted the mapping of metaphorical entailments

from Lakoff and Turner's source and target "domains" into what they called "conceptual

spaces." Rather than projecting elements of one space onto another, Fauconnier and Turner

propose a model in which two source spaces combine to form a new blended space, creating

cognitive inferences not originally available in either source domain. Unlike with CMT, the

emergent blended space does not depend on precise one-to-one correspondences. While

Fauconnier and Turner's blending model is useful for retaining the integrity of the two

original domains, incorporating four conceptual spaces rather than mapping one onto the

other, I prefer Lakoff and Turner's terms, source and target domains. This language functions

well for both traditional stylistic metaphors and conceptual metaphors. Both Blending Theory

(BT) and CMT work to explain the same linguistic data, and I do not find their

methodological differences Significant enough to differentiate between blends and

extensions of CMT theory metaphors in this study.[4] Lakoff and Turner's sensory connections

with humans' embodied physical and cognitive experience of their world also fits more aptly

with the categories of metaphors at work in military manuals as explained above.

Conceivably, the notion that metaphorical language generates emergent inferences is not

unique to Fauconnier and Turner and rather is implicit in the natural human inclination to use

metaphor for understanding and the nature of poetic metaphors to extend accepted linguistic

conventions.

---

[4] The two theories, while still distinct, largely overlap in the basic conceptual structures that make them effective. Turner, who was instrumental in developing both CMT and BT, now sees of almost all poetic metaphor as a result of blending; whereas, the original CMT would conceive of these as creative extensions, elaborations, or compositions of basic metaphorical concepts. For a concise overview, Josephe E. Grady, Todd Oakely, and Seana Coulson compare the similarities and differences between both theories in "Blending and Metaphor" (1999).

POETIC OR FIGURATIVE METAPHORS

Poetic metaphors arise when a speaker or author pushes a basic metaphor beyond its conventional, everyday use. The Significance of what CMT brings to the analysis of metaphorical figures in poetry is that CMT advocates accepting intentionally creative metaphors as grounded in cognitive processes in the same way that unconscious metaphor use is tied to common human experiences. Lakoff and Mark Turner originated this theory by analyzing poetic metaphors in *More Than Cool Reason* (1989). Their findings extend Lakoff and Johnson's conclusions about basic metaphors to demonstrate that poetic metaphors, too, are reflective of the cognitive metaphors used in everyday language. Both are tied to how humans experience their world and try to make sense of it. Because we experience life as having a beginning and an end, with choices, difficulties, progress toward desired goals, and the ability to look "back" at past events, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor fits. Thus, we can use the JOURNEY structure to give structure to LIFE. Because human beings share this conventional understanding of JOURNEY, writers can use this basic metaphor and introduce unconventional elements to create poetic or figurative metaphors. In their section on "The Conceptual Power of the Poetic Metaphor," Lakoff and Turner point out that the power of poetic thought comes from its ability to extend, elaborate, question and combine the basic metaphor beyond its ordinary conventions (67). For example, the opening lines of Dante's *Divine Comedy* present a poetic metaphor that employs the LIFE IS A JOURNEY construct: "In the middle of life's road / I found myself in a dark wood" (Lakoff and Turner 9). This poetic metaphor uses the same structure discussed for the LIFE IS A JOURNEY basic metaphor, but Dante takes the conventionalized concept and expands it in the following ways:

Extension   – The basic concept of life as journey now includes the

possibility of darkness.

Elaboration – The speaker is not simply on his journey, but, more

specifically, he is in the "middle" of it, and his journey has

taken him into the "wood[s]."

Question   – The introduction of darkness and the metonymic use of "wood"

for forest call into question the general assumption that one

will be able to continue along his journey and invoke the

anxieties one might face at "mid-life."

Composition – The introduction of darkness creates a composite metaphor by

combining two conventional metaphors: LIFE IS A JOURNEY and

LIGHT IS CLARITY.

These concepts are examples of conscious extensions, compressed into two lines, and

intentionally created by the poet. The Significant contribution of CMT to interpreting Dante's

metaphor is the notion that both the poet's ability to construct the metaphorical concept and

the reader's ability to understand it are grounded in our shared cognitive. It is because of the

way that Western culture defines and experiences JOURNEY that we easily map components

of a journey onto our interpretation of LIFE.

EMBODIMENT AND IMAGE SCHEMA

While poetic metaphors intentionally create novel associations from basic

conventions, conceptual metaphors arise in everyday language and utilize embodied image

schemas. The concepts of embodiment and image schemas are critical for understanding

CMT and the theory's three categories of conceptual metaphors: ontological, orientational,

and structural. As with basic and poetic metaphors, complex cognitive metaphors are grounded in our human experiences. Building upon Michael Reddy's initial formulation of "systematic" metaphors in "The Conduit Metaphor" (1979), Lakoff and Johnson explain "conceptual" metaphors as a function of human thought and action, present within everyday language.[5] Like basic and poetic metaphors, conceptual are grounded in systematic correlations within the common experiences of thinking and acting as human beings; these experiences are said to be "embodied" because they come from the bodily experience of being human. In addition to the source-domain/target-domain metaphorical projections discussed above, Johnson's *The Body in the Mind* (1987) illustrates the idea of embodied understandings with references to common image schemata.[6] According to Johnson, "an image schema is a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that give coherence and structure to our experience" (xiv). In other words, humans perceive the world with repeated patterns and then use those patterns to interpret and organize their perceptions. The patterns are image schemas. For example, Johnson identifies the VERTICALITY schema as emerging from our human tendency to see UP-DOWN orientations. We understand the structure of verticality from its many repetitions in every day life, such as standing upright, climbing stairs, measuring our children's heights, experiencing the level of water rising in the bathtub. These image schemas then allow for imaginative abstractions. For example, because we often need to lie down when we are sick, or because a dead person cannot stand upright, we create the conceptual metaphors HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN:

---

[5] Lakoff and Johnson develop CMT in "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language" (1980) and *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).
[6] Johnson uses the plural schemata. I will most often use schemas. Both are acceptable uses in CMT.

<u>UP</u>	<u>DOWN</u>
He is at the *peak* of health.	He *fell* ill
Lazarus *rose* from the dead.	His health is *declining*
He is in *top* shape.	He came *down* with the flu.[7]

These examples illustrate how the structures of image schemas are so embedded in our culture and language that we remain largely unconscious of the fact that their constructs are metaphorical. Lakoff and Johnson separate embodied experiences into three conceptual categories: ontological, orientational, and structural (*Metaphors* 14-32).[8] Ontological metaphors construct events and actions as objects or substances. For example, Reddy's conduit metaphor implies that LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS. The CONTAINERS carry meaning from a sender and deliver the message to a receiver. Orientational metaphors, like the HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN metaphor, align events and actions with spatial directionality. Structural metaphors are the most involved because they are not limited to ontological or orientational constructs, which rely on essential but relatively simple image schema (containers, quantities, verticality, paths, etc.); rather, structural metaphors use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to give shape to another highly structured, complex experience.

COMPLEX STRUCTURAL METAPHORS

The metaphorical constructions found in everyday language are unconscious but not arbitrary; they are a natural attempt to give order to abstract concepts. The most challenging

---

[7] Although they do not yet apply the term "image schema," Lakoff and Johnson offer these and numerous other examples of embodied UP-DOWN metaphors in their discussion of orientational metaphors in *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 14-21.

[8] Lakoff and Johnson originated these three categories when they first proposed the Cognitive Metaphor Theory in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Although they later acknowledge these categories as arbitrary and artificial in their revised afterword of the 2003, I continue their use in this study because they fittingly describe the conceptual metaphors that arise in sixteenth-century war manuals.

of these metaphorical constructions are the large-complex conceptual metaphors, or structural metaphors. A basic metaphor like LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a simple conceptual metaphor, and Dante's example above is a poetic metaphor that adopts the basic LIFE IS A JOURNEY structure. The large-complex conceptual metaphor, on the other hand, is reflected in everyday language with a wide variety of seemingly normal linguistic expressions that work together in a logical system. The complex metaphor, ARGUMENTS ARE A BUILDINGS, illustrates these logical systems. Below are common linguistic expressions that emerge from the ARGUMENTS ARE A BUILDINGS metaphor:

> The thesis statement provides the *foundation* for your argument. Your argument needs more *support*. You need to *construct* a stronger argument for that paragraph. So far we have put together only the *framework* for your theory. What is the *foundation* for your argument? How do you plan to *structure* your argument?[9]

These metaphorical entailments allow us to conceptualize arguments in terms of the concrete, physical, readily identifiable structure of buildings. Conceiving of arguments as buildings highlights organizational structure, thesis statements, and supporting evidence, but what it does not emphasize is the idea of debate. That conception is more readily captured in the ARGUMENTS ARE A WARS metaphor that introduces notions of *defending* one's claims, *engaging* with one's *opponents*, and *winning* the debate. Considering arguments as wars emphasizes victory, it does not necessarily highlight a commitment to truth in the way that, say, the common twentifirst-century metaphor ARGUMENTS ARE RATIONAL CONVERSATIONS would. This brief comparison of complex ARGUMENTS metaphors demonstrates that one target domain (ARGUMENTS) can be structured with different source domains (BUILDINGS,

---

[9] Adapted from Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors 46*.

WARS, CONVERSATIONS). Each of these source domains is part of our twentyfirst-century conceptual system for ARGUMENTS.

FRAMING AND CULTURAL RELATIVITY

The discussion of ARGUMENTS metaphors also illustrates two final principles of CMT. First, they demonstrate how metaphors – basic, poetic, and complex – can highlight some aspects of the target domain while deemphasizing or even hiding other aspects. ARGUMENTS ARE A WARS, for example, emphasizes opposing positions and winning the argument but perhaps deemphasizes, or even intentionally hides elements of reliable research and avoidance of logical fallacies that would make for structural stability in the ARGUMENTS ARE A BUILDINGS metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson identify this aspect of metaphor as part of the metaphorical systematicity. The concrete, systematic structure that allows us to conceive of one characteristic of an element in terms of another necessarily masks other characteristics that do not fit into the invoked system ("Everyday Language" 458-460). Lakoff's work with what he calls "political framing" evaluates intentional use of the highlighting/hiding component of conceptual systems within political discourse. In his paper presentation "Metaphor and War" (1991), Lakoff analyzes the conceptual metaphors used by the Bush administration to justify the first Gulf War. In this early work, he does not yet introduce the language of "framing," but uses verbs like "presents" and "defines" to argue that political metaphors generated by the White House as justification for war, such as WAR AS POLITICS and POLITICS AS BUSINESS, were used with "pernicious" intent to "hide realities in a harmful way."[10] While my examination of war metaphors does not presume hidden malicious intent, many of my findings agree with Lakoff, particularly his concept that "strength for the state is

---

[10] See also *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know That Liberals Don't*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1997. Print; and, *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate—The Essential Guide for Progressives*. White River Jct: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2004. Print.

military strength" and his questioning "the fairy tale of the just war." Although the discipline

of rhetoric has not integrated cognitive metaphor analysis to the degree that the theory is

applied in cognitive science or linguistics, this notion of highlighting some concepts while

hiding others does align with the rhetorical analysis of conscious language constriction.

Philip Eubanks has completed the most extensive studies on the use of conceptual metaphor

and political framing. His early work examined poetic metaphors and conceptual metaphors

that are used to describe the writing process.[11] Most directly related to the project at hand is

his collaboration with John D. Schaeffer, comparing the "traditional" (poetic) metaphors

from George W. Bush's "axis of evil" speech to the cognitive conceptions in the language of

the president's 2002 State of the Union Address. Eubanks and Schaeffer work to establish a

relationship between traditional rhetoric and cognitive rhetoric and postulate that,

historically, rhetorical studies tend to focus on extraordinary exemplars of linguistic

eloquence while cognitive studies tend to analyze commonplace language but that both fields

could benefit from a greater focus on the stylistic register of the other, that is, more study of

cognition in poetry and more examination of rhetorical moves in everyday language. With

the development of cognitive poetics as a literary theory, cognitive linguistics has been

quicker to formalize this notion of a more dialectical exchange between the two fields. My

work aims at the second half of what Eubanks and Schaeffer propose. I treat the poetic

metaphors contained within the military manuals as poetic figures, and I examine the

everyday language use closely to uncover the rhetorical motives at work within the

unadorned metaphorical conventions. The result is a rhetorical examination of both

---

[11] See also "The Story of Conceptual Metaphor: What Motivates Metaphoric Mappings?" *Poetics Today* 20.3, Metaphor and Beyond: New Cognitive Developments Autumn 1999: 419-442. JSTOR. Web. 27 Aug. 2013; and, "Understanding Metaphors for Writing." *College Composition and Communication* 53.1 Sep 2001: 92-118. JSTOR. Web. 03 Sep 2011.

extraordinary poetic constructions and ordinary everyday use in order to understand the intentional and unconscious ways that sixteenth manual writers frame conceptions of war.

What makes my findings important are not the individual examples by specific authors but the CMT notion that, in order for metaphorical language to be effective, it must cohere with the conventions embedded in the culture for whom the text was written. To illustrate my meaning, I will summarize the relevant CMT principles for basic, poetic, and conceptual metaphors in terms of the WAR IS A CONTAINER argument that I advance later in the chapter. First, conceptual metaphors are functions of everyday language and, therefore, are not conscious figurative constructions. The manuals make frequent reference to people, rules, weapons, and other components for use "in" war as common and seemingly unremarkable usage. Second, conceptual metaphors are grounded in organized, "embodied" experiences that re-externalize as image schema. The repetition of "in war" invokes an IN/OUT image schema that helps define the boundaries of the CONTAINER construct. Since it frames the activity of war as an object, this is an example of a basic ontological cognitive metaphor. Third, source domains (CONTAINER) structure target domains (WAR) through metaphorical entailments that help to increase understanding of the target domain. Because containers are constructs that hold or "contain" things, manual writers can use language that attributes certain characteristics as being the contents "of" and "in" the container; thus, they write on the "rules *of* war" and "conduct *in* war," for example. Fourth, these entailments map certain elements and hide others. Identifying war as a container implies that the experiences of a war stay in its container. This concept coheres with the manual writers' argument for why preparing to "enter" WAR does not belong within the container, but it hides the fact that soldiers transition IN and OUT of the container space, carrying the experiences of WAR with

them. This hidden entailment is particularly notable during the sixteenth century when men have regular professions and are, therefore, more present in Renaissance society while professional soldiers would remain somewhat isolated. Finally, cognitive metaphors structure the fundamental values and concepts of a culture since they are based on embodied experience and reinforced when the language becomes conventionalized.[12] Specifically, Lakoff and Johnson assert that "the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture" (*Metaphors* 22). While the use of "in war" seems unconventional to twentifirst-century readers more accustomed to the spatial orientation "at war," its frequent use within the manuals, in non-poetic constructions, identify it as a common phrase for sixteenth-century usages. Thus, this WAR IS A CONTAINER usage, the others that I uncover, and their emergent entailments reveal fundamental values of the Elizabethan culture in which the treatises circulated. Poetic metaphors indicate intentional efforts to shape values; literal language identifies conventional understandings; and, cognitive metaphors unveil the embedded, unconscious sociocultural and political motivations.

Poetic Metaphors

CMT retains the conception of literary or poetic metaphors as figures of ornament; however, the theory also asserts that in addition to their stylistic function, poetic metaphors also utilize structured conceptual domains in much the same ways that cognitive metaphors do. The correlation between the two can easily be seen by comparing the classical definitions of metaphor to the modern tenets of CMT. Aristotle described the need for metaphors to be "fitting" and to correspond to the thing Signified, creating a harmony between two things

---

[12] For a more complete discussion of metaphor cultural values, see Lakoff and Johnson's "Metaphor and Cultural Coherence" in *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 22-24.

(*Rhetoric*. III.ii.1405a).[13] This notion that a metaphor needs to "fit" defines appropriate use of

metaphors: they must not be too absurd, too grand, or too obscure (1410b). So, "fit"

metaphors are appropriate and identify similarities between concepts just as CMT identifies

correspondences between conceptual domains. As we will see in the figurative examples

below, traditional poetic metaphors also have entailments or features that highlight certain

associations within the comparison and hide others. These entailments construct and organize

featured aspects from the source domain to the target domain; they structure our perception

of the non-figurative concept in terms of the figurative one. These constructions, in turn,

inform the success of the metaphor's aptness or "fit" as a means for increasing understanding.

Since all metaphor is cognitive because it manipulates the schematic structure of

ideas, pairing poetic versus cognitive presents a false dichotomy. What makes poetic

metaphors stand out is that they move from conventionalized concepts to introduce new

extensions to the schematic structure. This notion, too, is not unique to CMT. Aristotle

includes metaphor among his list of "unfamiliar terms" that make diction "non-prosaic" and

"deviates from ordinary speech" (*Poetics* 1458a). Yet, even with poetic metaphors

conventionalization is important; things that are repeated are no longer unique or interesting.

The basic LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, for example, remains prosaic without creative

extension, embellishment, questioning, or composition. Intentional poetic metaphors might

be opposed to unconscious language or "literal language" that does not appear

metaphorical.[14] CMT scholars often describe this conscious figurative construction as less

complex than the cognitive metaphors embedded in our subconscious use of everyday

---

[13] Aristotle gives most attention to metaphor in the *Poetics* (1457-1459). He addresses metaphor briefly in *Topics*, but his first mention of the need for metaphors to be "fitting" appears here in the *Rhetoric*.

[14] Grady, Oatley, Coulsen explained more fully why some metaphors seem more poetic than others in "Blending and Metaphor" (1999). They also argue in this text that Blending Theory is a better tool for poetic metaphor analysis because it focuses more on novel examples that arise in cross-conceptual space relationships.

language.[15] While I value the important contribution of CMT for exposing the metaphorical nature of everyday speech, I argue that figurative metaphors are valuable and inseparable components of cognitive metaphor systems. One is not better or more complex than the other, but rather they often interweave and reinforce one another as reciprocal constitutive influences on a culture that structures Significant beliefs and events. Since conceptual metaphors are unconscious, they do not communicate the same aesthetic intentionality existent in poetic metaphors. Aristotle calls upon figurative metaphors to be "beautiful to the ear, to the understanding, to the eye or some other physical sense" (*Rhetoric.* III.ii.1405b); the authors of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* demand that a metaphor create "a vivid mental picture" (Book IV.xxxiv 268 in H & B). Unpacking the intentionally creative entailments of poetic metaphors reveals emergent associations similar to those described by Fauconnier and Turner's more nuanced description of conceptual blends.[16] Thus, examining poetic and cognitive metaphors exposes Renaissance configurations of warfare. The following poetic metaphors most clearly illustrate the conscious entailments that military manual writers use to frame war for their readers: WAR IS A PERFORMANCE, WAR IS A STORMY SEA, and COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN.

WAR IS A PERFORMANCE

Although the metaphor "theatre of war" is a twentieth-century concept, the idea that wars are "performed" was already part of sixteenth-century lexicon. In *Certain Discourse*

---

[15] In fact, Eubanks says that the traditional view of metaphor has "hindered metaphor theory" because the tools for feature-mapping and prediction of which features will be mapped, which he sees as the primary functions of figurative metaphors, are "fundamentally inadequate" ("Conceptual Metaphor" 420-421).

[16] In making this statement, I agree with Couser on the continued utility of metaphor as a literary device to make an un-relatable concept relatable, that its definitional function is to *employ* a familiarity. According to Couser, "if it does not *extend* a familiar term, it will not be figurative" (144), in G. Thomas Couser. "Seeing Through Metaphor: Teaching Figurative Literacy." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly.* 20.2 (Spring 1990) 143–153. See also, Kenneth Burke on the assertion that metaphor "brings out the thisness of a that, or the thatness of a this" (503), in *A Grammar of Motives* Burke, (1969). University of California Press: Berkeley.

Military (1590), Smythe writes that men learn how to war through three means: directly seeing actions of arms and of war "performed," conferencing with men who have been in war, and by studying the discourses written by men of experience and "the histories of things in times past performed and done as for example" (48). Literally, Smythe refers to actual actions completed on the battlefield, but his use of both "performed and done" indicates a distinction between "doing" an act and "performing" one.[17] The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides a definition that captures one possible distinction. During the sixteenth century, perform meant "To complete by the addition of ornament; to finish off, decorate, or trim (*OED*, v[1]. 8.b.).[18] Thus, in Smythe's usage, actions of war "performed" may indicate not only the act of participating in battle but also of doing so with an elevated style and polish in order to provide a model or "example" to others. This idea of modeling also presents an element of performativity and audience implicit in activities of war.

Vegetius employs poetic metaphors of WAR IS A PERFORMANCE to advocate continued rehearsal not for stylistics and modeling to one's own soldiers but as consistent readiness, even when an audience is not present. Maintaining one's craft is a display of force and discipline. Writing of the need to "perfectly know and continually exercise martial affairs and feats of warre," Vegetius compares soldiers to actors:

> ...the cunning stage plaiers do not leave of their exercises, loking onlye for prayse and commendation of the common people: a souldiour then chosen and admitted by a solemne othe...ought not to ceasse, discontinewe or bee slacke in the exercise....especially seinge there is an olde and wise saying, that all maner of sciences doe consiste in continuall studie and exercise. (xxiiij.D.i)

---

[17] The word "act" here also has performative connotations.
[18] The appearance of an underlined word identifies a term defined from the *OED* words.

Vegetius again connects performing "feats and affairs" of war to doing more than would

impress "common people." War, like acting, requires sufficient rehearsal to be convincingly

"cunning." Sadler's translated use of the English word "cunning" matches with the relevant

sixteenth-century definition of performing <u>art</u> as "Crafty or cunning conduct; human or

artificial agency" (*OED,* n[1]. III.) and as "A stratagem, wile, or cunning device; a contrivance"

(*OED,* n[1]. 11.b.) The literal relationship of war to arts and sciences is explored more below;

however, Vegetius' *De rei milirari* (c. 4th-5th century) demonstrates that there is a

longstanding conceptual association between martial skill and "cunning" theatrical

performance. The influence of Vegetius' text can be seen in the acceptance of show and

dissembling in other handbooks of war.[19] Vegetius' early example reveals that humans

understand war not only as strategic manipulation but also, at least partially, as an act of

display to show strength, dominance, and control.

This notion of control extends the association between war and performance from the

entailment of war as a display activity to correspondences that highlight the acting human

agents in both domains. Proctor's extensive WAR IS A PERFORMANCE metaphor illustrates a

competition of roles at work in the poetic conception, directing the action versus participating

as an actor. Proctor presents a pre-battle oration that he attributes to Alexander the Great. The

speech begins with Alexander's metaphorical proclamation that "Our enemies are come to

make a shewe or maske" and subsequent resolution that his men must "make them daunce &

runne also....[Because] it is better to have woodden shyeldes then wodden men to beare

---

[19] Dissembling is commonplace within the military manuals. Machiavelli's *The Art of War*. Trans. Christopher Lynch (1563, 1572 & 1588); di Porcia's *The Preceptes of Warre*. Trans. Peter Betham (1544); Proctor's *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres* (1578); Vegetius. *De Re Militari*. Trans. John Sadler (1572); Smythe's *Certain Discourses Military* (1590); Styward's *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (1581); and, Sutcliffe's *The practice, proceedings, and laws of armes* (1593)—all suggest dissembling as a method of effective commandership.

them."[20] In his figurative conception, Proctor's Alexander tells his soldiers to "*playe* the men," real men not puppetted, wooden characters, in order to control the spectacle (i.e. make the Persians "daunce & runne") and gain the victory (cap 6; seconde booke, fol 39, emphasis added). The metaphor considers elements of dramatic artifice that have warlike components, such as wooden props/weapons and actors/soldiers, but asserts that the key to victorious is in controlling the act rather than becoming part of the show. Thus, the power comes from knowing how to order and execute the event. Proctor's metaphor fits with Smythe's and Vegetius' as WAR IS A PERFORMANCE poetic metaphor examples that map the following implied entailments from the source domain WAR to the target domain PERFORMANCE: that elevated knowledge and skill entails an element of high art ornament and cunning; performances have an audience and serve as examples to other soldiers; achieving perfect knowledge demands rehearsal/exercise; the "shewe" of war is both interactive and orchestrated; and, success is a result of controlling the performance.

WAR IS A STORMY SEA

Similarly to how controlling the performance is a measure of success in the WAR IS A PERFORMANCE metaphor, the WAR IS A STORMY SEA metaphor also emphasizes the lead agent in the act of war. In the conception of WAR IS A STORMY SEA, control comes in the form of technical expertise. Occurrences of this poetic metaphor in the military manuals reveal that knowledge of war is at least partially understood in terms of enforcing order on nature. In the sixteenth century, war was seen as a natural, and often God-sanctioned, event. Often, the figurative depiction of this natural event is the comparison of wartime to a stormy sea. For example, Vegetius presents the oppositional notions that PEACE IS A QUIET SEA and WAR IS A STORMY SEA that disrupts the quiet waters. "For as after calme & pleasant weather when

---

[20] Proctor's text is absent of signature marks or page numbers.

sodainly a tempestuous strorme doth ryse...as fayre weather manye times is altered with stormes and tempests, so peace oftentimes is changed to warres (Sig. C.i). Vegetius' description underscores the idea of war as sudden and violent. He emphasizes war as natural but also unpredictable, a force that separates capable captains from incompetent ones. Vegetius ends by reasoning that captains need training even during peacetime to maintain readiness for unanticipated storms of war, noting that a captain's expertise is tested the moment the storm rises with no more time for preparation: "if hee lacke skill & knowledge, the shippe and all therin is like to perishe: if he be cunning and expert, he may delivery it from shipwracke....(Sig. C.i). This focus on personal agency extends the metaphor WAR IS A STORMY SEA to include the entailments COMMANDER IS A SEA CAPTAIN. According to Vegetius' excerpt, success depends on military leadership and specifically on skills, knowledge, cunning, and expertise. Storm metaphors often reinforce this need for continuous preparation. Rich applies the WAR IS A STORMY SEA metaphor to identify this attention to training as a fundamental leadership principle: "And as I know it is but the part of a foole at the sea, to wishe for a storme, when the wether is calme: so I knowe likewise in the time of calme, to provide for a storme, is the poynt of a wise mariner" (*Allarme* Sig. F.iiy). Rich concedes that a military captain should not wish for a war during peacetime no more than a ship captain should wish for a storm during calm seas. To do so would be "foolish," yet wisdom means preparing and being ready for a war/storm, should one arise. In this conception, a skilled military commander is a "wise mariner" prepared with the expert knowledge necessary to navigate stormy seas during "sudden" tempest and secure the safety of his men and ship. Both Vegetius and Rich use the literary figure WAR IS A STORMY SEA to depict war as something that can happen suddenly and unexpectedly. These poetic examples

map the following entailments from the source domain WAR to the target domain SEA: calm and stillness characterize PEACE IS A QUIET SEA and peaceful tranquility may quickly change to WAR IS A STORMY SEA. Their metaphorical constructions instantiate war as unpredictable and natural but also able to be navigated by a skilled commander.

However, although war is a natural event, battle outcomes were not completely a matter of Divine fortune, and growing secularism also increased understanding of individual agency. By intentionally framing war in this way, Vegetius and Riche hide the active part humans play in starting wars and instead foreground the COMMANDER IS A SEA CAPTAIN metaphor. The captain is the controlling force. De Pizan also presents the idea of a commander as the stabilizing core by warning that disorder or lack of confidence can cause men to "drift" away from their captain (56). In her usage, de Pizan removes the ship and implies that the soldiers are themselves at sea. The captain's success depends on his ability to maintain order and prevent the men from drifting. None of the authors who use the poetic construction that WAR IS A STORMY SEA advocate sailing a ship in search of a storm or desiring the storm, but in constructing war as natural and unpredictable, like a storm, their metaphorical conceptions avoid philosophical questions of whether wars are just in favor of foregrounding the need for properly prepared and expert commanders.

<div align="center">COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN</div>

While the focus on knowledge and skill for war is clearly part of treatise writers' desire for political patronage, this emphasis does not appear to be an attempt to sanitize the brutality of war. Instead, the aim seems to be an effort to glorify the position of commander. This distinction becomes more apparent in the COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN poetic metaphor. Rich issues the sober warning that an "unexpert Captaine" is like an "unlearned phisician":

both "...doo buy their experience at to deere a rate, for it is still purchased, with the price of mens lives" (*Path-Way* Sig. C.3r). Rich does not focus on the professional roles played by captains and physicians because these entailments do not align: a captain's role is to train and lead men in warfare, while a physician's job is to heal the sick or wounded. Instead, Rich emphasizes the great responsibility both men have for doing their jobs well. Instead of downplaying the dangers of war, Rich reinforces the need for captains to secure as much expertise as possible through learning and preparation rather than being unprepared on the battlefield where, like a physician's table, "mens lives" depend upon his learned skill.

Platonico, on the other hand, does connect martial command to the healing qualities of a physician, but he does so by focusing not on the captain's physical skills but on his linguistic ones. Platonico states that the well-chosen words of a captain can "comeforte the...afflicted" and "be as a medicine." He extends his COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN metaphor to assert that the captain's words are "more to be desired then the industrie of surgeons" because they not only "heale" but also take on a leadership role, unlike surgeons who follow behind the camp and "take no charge" (Platonico Fol. 12-14, B.iiir). The final comparison from Platonico's excerpt is more literal than figurative. In elevating the military commander above the role performed by the army medic, Platonico asserts that military commanders are more culturally valuable than surgeons, an appraisal that is supported by the repeated references to war as art and science in the military treatises. These COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN poetic metaphors map the following entailments from the source domain COMMANDER to the target domain PHYSICIAN: leadership in war involves responsibility for human life; learned expertise is of critical importance, and eloquent commanders have the power to provide psychosocial healing.

It is perhaps not surprising that most military manuals include self-referential observations about the art and science of war. The poetic figures that compare war to performance, sea navigation, and the medical profession consciously highlight aspects of war that fit both disciplines of arts and sciences.[21] It is important to recall that figurative metaphors function not simply as comparative stylistics but also as methods for structuring thought and behavior. PERFORMANCE, SEA NAVIGATION and PHYSICIAN ideas as figurative analogies make abstractions of war more relatable, but they do so in ways that intentionally reinforce conceptions of war as a discipline of art and science. A closer examination of the contemporary definition of these terms reveals a meaningful shift that begins to take place between definitions of art and science in the early modern period. The evolution of this shift, in combination with the poetic figures and cognitive metaphors at work in the manuals, structure Renaissance perceptions of war in ways that are both politically motivated and culturally significant.

Definitional Classifications

In their literal configurations, both art and science align as disciplines involving specialized or professional skill. During the Middle Ages, theirs was an overlapping relationship with both describing legitimate branches of study.[22] While both art and science retained their connections with knowledge, art was more "a practical application of knowledge" (*OED,* n[1]. 3.a.), science often referred to the actual "knowledge acquired by study" (*OED,* n[1]. 2.a.). Thus, by identifying war as art and science, the military handbook

---

[21] Although not in extended figurative metaphors, Rich adds to these professions, comparing skilled soldiers to bishops "tellinge a learned discourse in a Pulpette" and lawyers "makinge a good Plea at the Barre" (*Path-Way*).
[22] The *OED*'s definition for science identifies that the seven liberal arts were often referred to as the seven liberal sciences (*OED,* n[1]. 3), i.e. the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* of medieval education. Distinct were the three new medieval crafts: *ars praedicandi, ars poetriae, ars dictaminis*. Although still ambiguously overlapping, *ars* in this sense is more closely aligned with *technê* and the act of producing a craft or skill than *epistêmê* which more closely captures the divergent sense of science as studying the craft.

authors invoke both definitions: knowing how to apply and acquiring specialized knowledge

for war. Importantly, the literal definitions of <u>art</u> and <u>science</u> during the Renaissance do not

yet carry our contemporary assumptions of art as imaginative craft or science as empirical

investigation. For <u>art</u>, connections with aesthetic appeals to beauty were available in mid-

sixteenth century,[23] but it was not until the seventeenth century that art became associated

with modern notions of artistic production or performance.[24] Just as art is not yet descriptive

of creative products, science is not yet a discipline for objective experimentation and will not

become so until the eighteenth century.[25] The significance of these distinctions is that <u>art</u> and

<u>science</u>, as applied in the military manuals, mean mastering war-craft with expert skill and

organized knowledge and not creative artisanship or research experiments.

In the sixteenth century, art becomes increasingly less conflated with science, and the

two terms begin to take on the oppositional connotations of practice versus theory. <u>Art</u>, as

identified above, is the practical application of knowledge and thus has an element of "doing"

that was not part of <u>science,</u> which was still largely concerned with studying rather than

experimenting. The important distinction here is not necessarily between <u>art</u> and <u>science</u>: the

manual writers universally agree on applying both within the handbooks, and science

remains linked with the act of acquiring knowledge. It is this nascent connection of <u>art</u> with

<u>practice</u> that reveals a subtle rhetorical strategy at work.[26] Numerous English-authored

manuals use "practice" in their titles, e.g. Thomas Proctor's *Of the Knowledge and Conducte*

of Warres (1578); Barnabe Rich's *A Path-way to Military Practise* (1587); Matthew

---

[23] "Skill in an activity regarded as governed by aesthetic as well as organizational principles" (*OED,* n[1]. 6.).
[24] The first cited reference to performance as visual art is in 1611. <u>Performance</u>: "The action of performing a play, piece of music, ceremony, etc.; execution, interpretation" (*OED,* n[1]. 4.a.).
[25] 1725—Systematic observation of observable facts with rules and methods (<u>science</u> *OED,* n. 4.a.).
[26] See Canterbury's lines in *Henry V* 1.1.90-91 for an example of a late sixteenth-century distinction between art as elevated skill and practice as application, both separate from theory/science: "So that the art *and* practice part of life/Must be the mistress to this theoric" (emphasis added).

Sutcliffe's *The Practice, Proceedings, and Laws of Armes* (1593). However, within the body of their texts, most refer to the "art" of war or the need to "exercise" soldiers in the skills of war rather than the need to "practice"[27] the craft by actually carrying out wars. The most explicit effort to maintain this distinction shows up in Whithorne's translation of Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre* (1588). In Book 1, Lord Fabrizio explains to Cosimo that a "good" captain must be able but must "not take the practice/exercise of warre as their arte" (8). He goes on to use himself as an example:

> ...and say that I never used the warre as an arte, for as much as my art, is to govern my subjects, & to defend them, and to bee able to defend them, to love peace, and to know how to make warre and my king not so much to reward and esteeme me, for my knowledge in warre, as for the knowledge that I have to counsel him in peace. (11)

Fabrizio's value as a captain and a counselor lies in the fact that he is "*able* to defend" his subjects and "*know[s] how* to make warre"; war is his art in that he possesses the ability for it, but he does not make use of it as his primary profession. This distinction is particularly important for a country's stability during the Renaissance because there is no firm distinction between soldier and civilian, other than declared mercenaries. As countries depend more on their own citizens during martial engagements, these men are only part-time soldiers. Their full-time service is as ordinary craftsmen, shopkeepers, and landownersin their home regions. They needed to know war in case of conflict, but more often they were actively engaged in the normal functioning of English society. War, then, was a present part of everyday social consciousness in a way that it would no longer be once military men were separated as

---

[27]Exercise: "The use of or method of using (a weapon)" (*OED*.n.1.b.) and "habitual occupation or employment" (*OED*.n.2.). Practice: "The carrying out or exercise of a profession..." (*OED*. n.1.).

members of standing national armies. In the sixteenth century, the soldier fighting against Spain and Ireland was also the local butcher. Their military service was important during war, but sustained conflict took them away from their ordinary roles. Thus, Machiavelli and other manual writers carefully maintain a space where <u>art</u> is a "practical application" but not yet a devoted professional "practice." This distinction allows them to promote simulated exercise (i.e. performance) and the study of war as a disciplinary field without advocating war itself.

Framing war as a matter of practical craft and knowledge maintains its connection with other arts and sciences and allows treatise authors to draw comparisons that rank war as superior to other disciplinary fields. As writers of handbooks that were dedicated to monarchs and nobles, manual authors have a vested political interest in promoting the knowledge of war, if not the actual practice of war above other priorities of a nation state. De Pizan asserts that "*knowing how* to fight is the art most praised...preferred before all other" arts and sciences (29, emphasis added). Smythe references Cicero, saying that the philosopher "so highly commended and esteemed the Art & science Militarie, that he preferred it 'before al other sciences' that 'it is of greatest honor and dignitie, & more noble then the science of the Law civill'" (*Instructions*). Rich mixes this comparative sentiment with a figurative metaphor, giving credit to war as the "mother of all artes and sciences" (*Allarme* G.ij). These comparisons expose political motivations within the treatises in their efforts not merely to compare war to other professions but to elevate it above them. Selling this position to a war-weary nation required manual writers to perform a balancing act that encouraged the study of war and legitimized it as a discipline for peacetime without appearing to advocate a disruption of peace or the start of a real military engagement.

Reinforcing the need for knowledge by highlighting terms and concepts that emphasize the importance of knowledge and skill (i.e. art, science, expertise to perform surgical or navigation-like skills), the manuals create a demand for knowledge, in turn, reinforcing the importance of their texts and the power, or aptness, of their original metaphors.

Conceptual Metaphors

By employing figurative metaphors and literal comparisons that reinforce war as art and science, military manual writers at once reveal and shape early modern perceptions of war as a craft. A significant contribution of cognitive science to the study of metaphor is the assertion that metaphors are culturally bound. Eubanks, in fact, argues that CMT is more accurate than traditional figurative metaphor theory because it "acknowledges the cultural import of metaphors" and allows for a productive and comprehensive examination of metaphoric "aptness" relevant to individual cultures ("Conceptual Metaphor" 421). While I agree that conceptual metaphors work below the level of consciousness and therefore belie a more embedded instantiation, cultural relativism extends beyond unconscious image schema and also encompasses intentional metaphorical figures and literal terminology. The goal of the previous two sections has been to demonstrate ways in which a culture, i.e. sixteenth-century martial culture, intentionally structures its experience of a concept through the purposeful selection of poetic metaphors and literal taxonomic classifications. These conscious choices interconnect with cognitive metaphors to organize perceptions of war into a conceptual system. Understanding Renaissance configurations of war and the cultural biases and rhetorical motivations suggested by them requires examination of deliberate linguistic constructions, poetic and literal usages, in combination with unconscious cognitive

expressions of war. The first having been explored above, I turn now to the latter and a focused investigation of the conceptual metaphors at work in the military handbooks.

Conceptual metaphors organize the systematic experience of warfare in ways that are unconscious but just as rational as conventional figurative metaphors. At the beginning of this discussion, I illustrated how constructions such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS DOWNWARD, and ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS occur regularly in everyday language and that these concepts are grounded in embodied human experiences—encountering a crossroads, lying down when one feels ill, or understanding that a firm foundation provides stability, for example. We use our knowledge of the concrete source domains (JOURNEY, DOWNWARD, and BUILDINGS) to impose or "map" structure onto the abstract target domains (LIFE, DEATH, and ARGUMENTS) in order to organize and make sense of these experiences. Not every metaphor depicts the entire conceptual system; rather they highlight some entailments and hide others (ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS leaves out the notions of debate, opponents, victories that ARGUMENTS ARE WARS captures). Because some entailments are foregrounded while others are hidden, which cognitive and poetic metaphors get used can indicate how a speaker/writer is framing the topic, unconsciously and consciously. Ultimately, that metaphors can be understood coherently by the speaker/writer and the listeners/readers reflects the culture in which the metaphors are formed (ARGUMENTS ARE CONVERSATIONS as a twentifirst-century Western cultural construct, for example). Using these principles to examine the conceptual metaphors that arise in Elizabethan military manuals, then, reveals the authors' unconscious efforts to understand and communicate the complex concept WAR in terms that reflect concrete, relatable human experiences. What I found with this examination is that the everyday metaphorical expressions work in concert with occurrences of intentional poetic

and literal language use to frame the activity of war as needing specialized skill and knowledge distinct from the available experiences of ordinary life. This discourse becomes a subjectively recursive process, repeatedly foregrounding some aspects and concealing others in ways that reinforce desired cultural perceptions that war as certain things but not others. Specifically, the sixteenth-century military handbooks apply conceptual metaphors that fashion war as a part of the interrelated cognitive system: WAR IS A CONTAINER/PEACE IS A CONTAINER, KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A SUBSTANCE, and NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD. An overview of this system would be summarized by the logical progression that war and peace have separate boundaries, but elements of warfare, particularly the training and knowledge of martial tactics/strategy, must be included in the boundary of peace in order to sustain a nation and avoid its downfall. The images invoked explain the cognitive abstraction WAR as concrete, embodied human experiences of bounded space, ingestible substance, and directional pathways that correspond to the ontological and orientational conceptual metaphors.

WAR AS CONTAINER/PEACE AS CONTAINER

References to being "in war" compared to living "in peace," the action of "entering into war," and the distinct elements "of" war—all exist as examples of everyday language that map the characteristics of a bounded space onto the concept of war to produce the conceptual metaphors WAR IS A CONTAINER and PEACE IS A CONTAINER. First introduced in Reddy's analysis of the conduit metaphor, the CONTAINER metaphor originally expressed communication as a matter of people putting words and meaning into figurative containers for storing and transporting linguistic content. However, Lakoff and Johnson broaden this concept and include the CONTAINER schema among their category of ontological metaphors.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, one function of ontological metaphors is to reframe the understanding of one concept in terms of another in such a way that "events and actions are correlated with bounded time spans, and this makes them CONTAINER OBJECTS" (*Metaphors* 59). The conceptual metaphor WAR IS A CONTAINER employs this broader definition and frames war as a contained space separate from ordinary life.[28] The most common indicator of this construct is the frequent use of the preposition "in" for references to service "in warre," "in such warres," or "in the affairs of warre," for example. These "in" phrases imply the ontological metaphor WAR IS A CONTAINER in a way that represents it as a spatial location and signifies a bounded separation. Consider that the more modern vernacular is to refer to countries "at" war. "At" maintains the sense of distance and location but removes the CONTAINER imagery. This unconscious reinforcement of war as a specialized contained space underlines the political motives at work in the military manuals and reveals anxieties about recent military engagements.

Writing about war as a contained space isolates its elements from peacetime. This isolation is dangerous if peace remains completely distinct from war to the exclusion even of training and the learning of martial strategy. During the late sixteenth century, there was little geographical overlap between the containers of war and peace. Unlike the sustained periods of civil war that occurred during the War of the Roses or that would occur half a century later, contemporary martial engagements with Spain occurred mostly in the Netherlands and off the English coast. As a result, daily life was more disconnected from the knowledge and skills necessary within the WAR IS A CONTAINER image schema. The manual writers who

---

[28] This cognitive separation is in keeping with my earlier discussion of E. R. Leach's ritualized theory of time. It is because WAR is extra-ordinary, a time out of time, sacred and separated from secular time that this cognitive construction of war as a container makes sense. It works the same with the common twentifirst-century usage of "at war," except the conceptual frame has been shifted to a spatial or geographical schema that sets WAR as geographically distant.

perceived this disconnect as a threat felt a heightened urgency in the need to reprioritize war

as a known activity, even during periods of non-conflict. These authors construct a practical

demand for war preparation within the parameters of the peacetime setting. In essence, they

establish a reason for events and actions belonging within the WAR IS A CONTAINER borders to

become part of the non-martial, PEACE IS A CONTAINER space. Rich, Smythe, Styward and

Sutcliffe all affirm that public sentiment is not in favor of disrupting peace with war

concerns.[29] However, they also advocate the need to maintain war-readiness by requiring

study and simulation of warlike events "in" peactime. Rich writes that "...in the time of

peace, such thinges must bee foreseene appertaininge to the wrrre (sic)" (*Path-Way*, Sig.

A.2r) and that "...in the time of peace, warlike disciplines must not be omitted..." (*Path-Way*,

Sig. B1r). Styward argues for periodic annual training and "warlike games" to avoid being

"sluggards" who "live in peace without the use of the sword" ("Preface to the Reader").[30]

Sutcliffe declares that "...long preparatives of warre made in time of peace, give speedy

victorie in times of warre" (Sig.A.2v). By emphasizing preparation and training "in times of

peace," these authors maintain actual battle as part of the bounded WAR IS A CONTAINER

space, while study and exercise of war as a discipline emerge as necessary and presumably

lacking elements within the PEACE IS A CONTAINER construct.

  Considering more closely the ordinary language often used in conjunction with "in,"

specifically the verb "enter" and the preposition "of," further reveals how the Renaissance

---

[29] See Rich's dedication "To the Queen" and his address "To the friendly Readers in generall" (*Path-Way*, Sig. A.2r and Sig. B1r, respectively), Smythe's "Proeme" (*Discourses*), Styward's "Preface to the Reader," and Sutcliffe's dedication to Essex (Sig. A.2r). With multiple "in" constructions, peace here is another container but one that is only relevant in opposition to war. I am not sure if I need to define both as distinct conceptual metaphors.

[30] Styward's "use of the sword" is an interesting metonymy. "Sword" invokes not only the specific weapon but also training on how to use it and extends to the entire schema for martial training. Although this discussion focuses on Styward's quote as an illustration of structural metaphors, Lakoff and Turner discuss the significance of metonymy, at length, in their section on "The Power of Poetic Metaphor" in *More Than Cool Reason* (100-106).

treatise writers conceptualize and understand war at least partially in terms of a container that requires expert readiness and proficiency. In *Path-way* (1587), Rich warns repeatedly against the neglect of martial training and contrasts what he sees as an ill-prepared contemporary English military to great forces of the past. In one such comparison, he praises Epaminondas for having his men "ready to *enter* battaile" with the Lacedemonians (Sig. B2r, emphasis added). Similarly, in his Proeme for *Discourses* (1590), Smythe writes of the need for men to be trained "in matters of arms" in case they are "forced to enter into a warre" to defend their country against a foreign nation. Both soldiers emphasize martial readiness, but it is the action of "entering" that supports the WAR IS A CONTAINER metaphor. Entering or crossing into the battle arena requires special preparation because experiences inside that bounded space have their own rules for behavior and governance. The common use of the possessive preposition "OF" delineates the specific elements belonging to or contained within the structural parameters of war. Phrases like "time of war," "laws of war," and "prisoner of war" appear frequently within the manuals.[31] These terms mark war as possessing its own models for time, law, and prisoners that differ from how those concepts are conceived outside the container. This unconscious cognitive construction is directly linked with efforts to define war as art and science. According to Proctor, a "Captain ought to observe and execute the lawes, and orders of warre, for theare is no Arte without rules, and in none more necessarye rules, then in [warfare]: wherein also disorder most of all hurteth" (Fol. 16 cap 9). Proctor's excerpt illustrates that military captains are expected to know the specialized elements "of" the discipline and confirms the conception that these "lawes, and orders" exist "in" the space

---

[31] De Pizan uses each term throughout her text, including the following specific examples: "time of war" (15), laws of war (171), and prisoners of war (171). Proctor writes of observing "the lawes and orders of warre" (First Booke, Fol 16 Cap. 9). Styward offers his collection as an effort to present "the lawes and constitutions of the field" and to explain to his readers the "policies of warre." Rich proclaims that during peacetime, "there must be had speciall regarde to the *disciplines of warre*" (*Path-Way* Sig. B1r).

allotted to war. Defining war as a function of explicit rules, behaviors, and ethical boundaries that are acceptable "in" war and unjustified "out" of war is part of the conceptual metaphor WAR IS A CONTAINER, but it is also part of the systemic sixteenth-century understanding of war as art and science. By highlighting the didactic components needed in order to perform war, manual writers emphasize the need for pre-battle readiness and minimizing disorder. Knowledge and training must be obtained before entering the actual performative space because the time when one is engaged in a martial conflict is a time of execution and not practice. This physical separation of the rules of conduct from action makes the study of war available within the PEACE IS A CONTAINER construct where the actions of war are not welcomed.

Conceptually, this desire to secure the protections of war readiness without disrupting civil peace or appearing to advocate foreign engagement shifts the political discussion from the actual battlefield, represented in the WAR IS A CONTAINER structural metaphor, to an emphasis on preparation and knowledge. However, this shift depends upon the subconscious acceptance that the structural boundaries of war demarcate an area that contains unique rules of governance and methods of behavior unavailable in the ordinary experiences of everyday peacetime. Because elements of war are not common within the PEACE IS A CONTAINER boundaries but are proclaimed as essential for maintaining a country's peace and security, the military manual writers use their experience with both active war and peacetime training to build their authoritative ethos. For example, Styward prefaces *Pathwaie* (1583) with a declaration to his readers that "[a]s I in nature delighted in militare studies, so likewise by practice have achieved some experience, whereby I knowing no one thing more necessarie, honorable, or profitable, then the knowledge in martial affaires." Styward perceives that

"militare studies" belong to events "in nature," that is, to the natural or ordinary time of peace. Yet, he has also achieved "some" practical experience in war and grounds his text in significant study and collected first-hand accounts "from most excellent souldiers." Comparing in-combat action to in-peacetime learning, Styward determines that "knowledge in martial affairres" is the most "necessarie, honorable, [and] profitable" experience. This foregrounding of knowledge over warfare is available because the CONTAINER metaphor is a culturally-recognized frame for war that defines the events within the container as activities requiring specialized skill and expertise. Knowledge, however, is not expressed in terms of structural metaphors; instead, the figures that emerge when the manuals describe knowledge belong to the categories of ontological and orientational conceptual metaphors.

KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE

Unlike warfare, the literal "fare" of act of war, *knowledge* of war is most often portrayed as an entity or substance that can be handled or possessed. Neglecting knowledge, not handling or possessing the entity, is conversely expressed in directional terms, as in bringing about a downfall. According to Lakoff and Johnson, ontological conceptual metaphors explain intangible concepts as entities or substances, and orientational conceptual metaphors that describe abstract ideas using spatial terms (*Metaphors* 25 and 14). The military treatises use language that depicts the discipline of war as a substance for consumption and neglecting the study of war as a deterioration or decay; they invoke both an ontological and orientational metaphor, KNOWLEDGE IS A SUBSTANCE and NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD, respectively. This section of the analysis first examines these conceptual domains separately because they make coherent two distinct embodied experiences: the activity of holding and ingesting a substance versus the physical observation

spatial directionality. Then, it postulates a relationship between these two image schema to demonstrate that the metaphors are also complementary constructs within the sixteenth-century conception for war. Specifically, they portray the systematic understanding that ingestion adds strength and strength is an upward increase. Ultimately, linguistic representations of the KNOWLEDGE IS A SUBSTANCE and NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD metaphors reflect sociocultural anxieties and the self-promoting political motives embedded in the military manuals. Taken together, these conceptual metaphors reveal fears of disorder and weakness while exposing a method by which manual writers create a demand for the very product they promise to supply.

The first ontological metaphor is the conception that KNOWLEDGE IS A SUBSTANCE and, specifically, KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE. Constructing knowledge as a substance allows for metaphorical extensions of handling the substance and taking control of it. Vegetius describes his role and others who compose texts on martial doctrine literally bringing the discipline into existence. His work, he says, is a compilation material from "all authors which have written the science and Arte of warrefare" (Sig. B.iiir). The act of writing serves the ontological function of creating the craft and making it exist in such a way that it is available for study. Elizabethan authors defer to classical sources and historical narratives as creating the foundation of military science, but they extend the metaphor and write explicitly of the need to take matters of war "in hand" as they are doing by writing their treatises and studying history. In the Epistle to his translation of Purlilia, Bentham says that his enterprise is "...thus bolde to take marters of warre in hande" (Sig. A.7v) because he does not have personal military expertise. His implication is that he gains power over the discipline by making this bold move to write and present a war manual,

borrowing Purlilia's credibility. Similarly, Smythe writes of having "handled" his discourses and of having "taken in hand and performed" them (*Discourses* 48).[32] In separating his writing of texts from his performance as a military officer, Smythe illustrates both figurative and literal connotations. He figuratively take discipline of war "in hand" but also literally "man"-ipulates his treatise. Literally, he has also taken the tools of war "in hand" in his experiences as a military captain. Thus, not all associated entailments are metaphorical. After all, manual authors and consumers of their work are literally touching the war treatises by writing and reading them, physically holding the histories, tactics and training tools of war in hand. This concrete manipulation is even more significant in the sixteenth century when books were still relatively rare compared to modern times where books are widely available in bookstores and libraries, even online where neither the author nor the printer, publisher, or seller ever physically touches the "book" as it is brought into being and distributed. For the men and women who wrote, printed, and read the military manuals in the early modern period, their holding of the texts is necessarily grounded in embodied physical experiences that something held can be possessed, made, altered by the holder. This literal conception is inseparable from its metaphorical correspondences. The conceptual metaphor KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE appears so natural as to be nearly unremarkable because it is intrinsically connected with the human activity of learning about the world, in part, through touching things. Thus, physically taking a substance "in hand" becomes the metaphorical mechanism for possessing martial knowledge.[33]

---

[32] Rich makes an uncommon reference to taking wars in hand in order to "most safely enjoy...happy peace" (*Path-Way* Sig.D.4r). I omit it among the examples here because it is unclear whether his use of "war" metonymic with war representing the knowledge of war or if he is offering an ontological metaphor of actual war as a manipulable substance.

[33] This figurative construct is reflex in modern times through personal libraries, for example. The books in our personal collections are a metaphorical representation of the knowledge we possess or are in the process of gaining. Thus, the physical books and the words printed in them represent the abstract concept of knowledge.

Constructing the conceptual metaphor KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE signifies more than the activities of studying and writing about war. The figurative conception of taking knowledge "in hand" indicates possession, an effort to have control over the substance one is possessing and the expertise to manipulate it skillfully. Smythe captures this power dynamic in his claim that captains and gentlemen get no benefit from wit, courage, or actual war experience if they "...do understand very little of the Art and Discipline militarie" (*Discourses* 48-49). In applying the phrase "very little," Smythe reinforces the ontological representation of knowledge as a substance that can be measured in quantifiable amounts. The more knowledge one has, the more effectively he can be in tests of wit, courage, and warfare. Thus, embedded within the KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE construct is the implication that expertise is linked to whether and how much of the substance one grasps. Providing a more complex example, Rich advises, "...he that taketh away the knowledge of feates of armes, werketh the overthrowe of his owne countrey and commonwealth: And by the knowledge of warre and exercise of armes, Empires have beene purchased, Kingdomes enlarged" (*Path-Way* Sig. A4v-A5r). Rich's use of the verbs "taketh," "purchased," and "enlarged" support the concept of KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE, but they do so by appealing to slightly differing entailments. Manipulating knowledge in a way that takes it away can lead to overthrow; by implication, helping one's nation to take knowledge in hand and maintain possession leads to growth. The reference to knowledge's metaphorical ability to "purchase" an empire also makes it quantifiable, like money. This understanding reflects the contemporary perception that knowledge has power. Thus, possessing knowledge increases a country's ability to exercise control over the specialized events that occur within the WAR IS A CONTAINER space.

However, Rich's statement also, and perhaps more intentionally, applies to the importance of knowledge within the PEACE IS A CONTAINER domain. The meaning of "exercise" remains ambiguous, as explained above in the examination of literal definitions. Considering that much of Rich's handbook is dedicated to providing "knowledge in Martiall exercises" as his full title indicates, he may well be implying that studying and training can "enlarge" kingdoms without having to wage active war.[34] Rich, Smyth, Whithorne, and Proctor—all write of the ability to "increase" knowledge in order to strengthen England.[35] This metaphorical growth introduces an element of sustainability to the sixteenth-century conception of knowledge that extends the ontological entailment to figure knowledge as a manipulable substance, the consistent handling of which nourishes and strengthens a nation.

<div align="center">KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A STRENGTHENING SUBSTANCE</div>

The ontological frame KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A STRENGTHENING SUBSTANCE instantiates two metaphorical constructions: 1) that attaining knowledge has the ability to strengthen and protect, and 2) that maintaining strength requires active and sustained attention to knowledge. The first entailment implies that possessing the substance that is knowledge figuratively nourishes by increasing a country's capacity for fortification and defense. De Pizan provides a brief example: crediting Vegetius, she asserts that "the science of what is important in matters of war and battle increases, nourishes, and gives the courage necessary for combat" (29).[36] Knowing the science of war at once increases courage,

---

[34] With the exception of Sutcliffe, who dedicates his text to Essex with the stated purpose of increasing military activity in the Netherlands, English manual writers are careful to emphasize their desire for knowledge as a means to maintain peace and not as a step toward martial engagements.

[35] See Rich in *Allarme*, Smythe in *Discourses,* and Whithorne's 1588 Dedication for *The Arte of Warre*, and Proctor's *Knowledge and Conducte*.

[36] Sadler's 1572 translation of Vegetius makes no mention of nourishing and instead records Vegetius as stating that "...the knowldge of warre maketh men more bolde to fight" (Sig. A.1r). Sadler's translation does later state that Vegetius' collected information can maintain "matiall bloud and stomacke" (Sig. Biiijr). Both de Pizan and Sadler agree that Vegetius here is saying that dedicated study of war increases courage.

nourishes courage, and gives courage. The inclusion of "nourishing" imagines knowledge as sustenance. The act of consuming food for nutrition in order to have strength is an embodied human experience, mapped onto the physical act of learning when the metaphorical ingestion is applied to the study of military art and science.[37] Similar to the ways that nourishment provides vital nutrients for mental and physical strength, this understanding envisions knowledge of military science as providing the essential ingredients for mental and physical preparedness for both the individual who is diligent in his studies and the country who commits to the training of its eligible citizens in the art of war. The construct, KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A STRENGTHENING SUBSTANCE, is inseparable from the spatial conception that knowledge "increases." This reference identifies continued learning and maintenance of martial skill as literally "up-keep." More specific to the interrelated conceptual system for WAR is how the understanding that KNOWLEDGE OF WAR IS A STRENGTHENING SUBSTANCE connects additional ontological and orientational metaphors, KNOWLEDGE IS A SHELTER and NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD, respectively. If knowledge strengthens, then remaining strong requires the active and continued handling or possession of the source substance to stave off atrophy. The concern for atrophy, conceived often as "decay" or "deterioration" in the military manuals, reflects both a metaphorical marketing effort to encourage consumption of their texts, related to the SUBSTANCE metaphors, and a shared anxiety about the strength of England's martial forces, envisioned as a spatial construct.

---

[37] For examples of practical experience in war as nourishment, see Book 1 of *The Arte of Warre* (1588), Fabrizio explains Cosimo that mercenaries get their nourishment from acts of war but that acts cannot "nourish them in peace. Hence they are necessitated either to plan that there not be peace or to succeed so much in times of war that they can nourish themselves in peace" (13). Attributing peace to Queen Elizabeth, Styward also writes, "...by the prudent governement of our most blessed and vertuous Princesse, wee have that happie quiet that no Realme ever tasted off" ("Preface to the Reader").

These unconscious conceptual metaphors are not distinct from the intentional metaphors used to describe the art and science of war. Figurative descriptions that depict the metaphor KNOWLEDGE IS A SHELTER, for example, are an emergent poetic metaphor related to the ontological SUBSTANCE construct and the orientational UP/DOWN construct. The implicit relationship between knowledge and strength plays upon the natural human desire to feel fortified and protected. One of the means through which the manual authors consciously appeal to this connection is by figuratively representing military science as a protective shelter over nation. Rich begins *Path-Way* (1587) by assuring his readers that "quiet peace is to be preferred before bloody warre [but that] in the time of peace, warlike disciplines must not be omitted [because] Prince, Countrie, religion, lawe, justice, subjectes and altogether are under the protection of armes" (Sig. B.1r). In *Instructions* (1595) Smythe claims, "that al other arts do rest in safty under the shadow & protectiö of the Art & sciëce military" (¶v). Sutcliffe, whose *Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes* (1593) stands alone in overtly advocating that England disrupt peace to take a more active role in helping the Protestant rebels against Spain in the Netherlands, offers his text as a warning to those that "foresee those stormes that hang over our heads, and see that there is no other sheltre, but in the practice of armes" (Sig. A.2r). These constructions depict knowledge (and practice in Sutcliffe's example) with a conventional literary metaphor: art and science of war as a shelter that protects the country and its subjects. This stylistic figure is not itself the cognitive construct; rather, it is the upward orientation of the shelter that invokes the conceptual metaphor. The country, its sovereign, subjects, and fundamental values survive "*under* the protection of armes," a safe metaphorical structure where all other arts can rest "*under* the shadow" it casts and that provides a shelter when storms of potential conflict "hang *over* our heads." Thus framed, the

abstract study and preparation for war takes on the entailments of a concrete object of protection. The overhead orientation reveals the unconscious understanding of fortification, stability, and strength as upward constructs. This interpretation is significant to the conceptual system because it makes available the rhetorical turn that failure to maintain the shelter, through active study and exercise, will result in deterioration.

NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE AS DOWNWARD

The language of decay and deterioration used by manual writers creates not an ontological metaphor of an action as a substance but rather an orientational metaphor that invokes the directional image schema that UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD, represented by the conceptual metaphor NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD. As illustrated above, human understanding of the UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD opposition is embedded in such physical experiences as healthfulness, social hierarchy, and morality.[38] According to the verticality scheme exhibited, knowledge is a desirable substance, the manipulation and nourishment of which provides protection and strength for a nation; therefore, there must be an oppositional direction that defines the consequences for nations dispossessed of or failing to nurture knowledge. The specific language reflected in the military manuals implies that persistent attention to and respect for the art and science of war enriches the country, while the neglect of knowledge brings about decay and ruin. The dichotomy between strength and decay organizes these concepts within a spatial relationship where strength is above/up and decay is below/down. While both the upward and downward entailments are important for being oriented within the Renaissance metaphorical system for war, it is the figurative construction NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD that generates the rhetorical force. Ultimately, the

---

[38] From the introduction of orientational metaphors, above, that cites Lakoff and Johnson's illustrations HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP/SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN. They also offer additional examples such as HIGH STATUS IS UP/LOW STATUS IS DOWN, and VIRTUE IS UP/DEPRAVITY IS DOWN (*Metaphors* 15-16).

seemingly ordinary conception of down as deterioration exposes cultural anxieties around gender and disorder also present within the conceptual framework of the military handbooks. Following this path requires first revisiting the relationship of knowledge to strength within its orientational construct, then understanding the NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD metaphor, and finally seeing the embedded sociopolitical implications.

Deterioration, decay, ruin—these are just a few terms that manual writers use to manifest the impending dangers facing England if its men do not recommit to the study of war. The language used to make this appeal gains much of its persuasiveness by manipulating the orientational metaphor NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD. Smythe and Rich ground their rhetoric in historical comparisons. Smythe warns that "enemies to the Art and Science Militarie...have been the occasion of the great *decay*...and utter *ruine*" (*Discourses* *4) and that by neglecting "the Arte and Science Militarie...[countries] have *declined, decayed*, and finally have been made to praies their enemies"...(*Instructions*, ¶1r-v). Conceptions of decay, ruin, and decline invoke a DOWN IS BAD schema, and being made to praise one's enemies implies that the enemy is superior, ABOVE orientation. Similarly, Rich reminds his readers that "neglecting the feates of war" has led to "flourishing cities" being "beaten *flatte to the ground*" (*Path-Way*, Sig.A5r) and that neglecting the study of war brings about "calamity" through which "great nations...beganne headlong to *fall to the ground*" (*Allarme* Sig.Fiijr). Rich's NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD constructions highlight a loss of previous glory for cities that once flourished and nations that were once great. His implication is that remaining flourishing and great requires attention to both the study of and the feats or activities of war. Rather than grounding his language in historical references, Whithorne focuses on the current state of England's men and warns that they "...shall be

troden under foote [if they] give themselves to pastimes and pleasure [instead] of warlike

skilfulnes" (*Arte of Warre* Sig. A2r). Again, neglecting war results in a metaphorical

construct of being down and inferior. In each example, inattention to war as a discipline

results in the deterioration of the structural strength of a nation. Smythe and Rich identify the

threat to nations/cities, while Whithorne envisions that neglect is a direct threat to

Englishmen. They all emphasize study and training and not offensive attack, but their verbs

reference entailments that only occur through actual combat. Being made to praise one's

enemies happens only after one is conquered; being beaten to the ground requires action by

an opposing force, as does being trodden under foot. How does a country know if its national

greatness if falling headlong to the ground unless it has a model against which to measure

itself, either its own martial past or its international neighbors? By invoking the NEGLECT OF

KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD construct, these authors not only imply the need to keep up their

country's strength and metaphorical shelter for protection but also make available the

occasional need to exercise this "warlike skilfulnes."

SOCIOPOLITICAL IMPLICATIONS: WAR IS CONTROL

Because the likelihood of large-scale war was unlikely and socially undesirable, most

manual writers accentuate the need for martial knowledge and training while minimizing the

potential for those preparations to lead to actual warfare. The problem they face is that this

conscious construction of a "strong defense" creates an inherent paradox within a sixteenth-

century conceptual system that perceives of attack as strong and defense as weak. Outwardly,

manual authors emphasize preparation as their goal, framing their discourse as not wishing

for the storm but being ready for it when one comes (Rich *Allarme* Sig. Fiij). However, by

only advocating book knowledge–as a manipulable substance, as a strengthening substance,

as an upward shelter–they argue for perpetuating peace, except in situations of national defense. Peace has been perceived as breeding weakness and passivity, and waiting to be attacked was also passive. Attacking is active and strong. Pacifists could offer countless reasons why this is not true, but the basic idea is so thoroughly grounded in human, and particularly in male, conceptual systems that "strong defense" without offense is difficult to rationalize. For example, the military handbooks offer instruction on defense, but they also instruct on siege warfare and include lists of conquering historical and biblical heroes. Sutcliffe actually refuses to construct defense as a strong enough military presence. His stated purpose is to encourage Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to launch a proactive attack on Spain. He writes of the need to restore England to its past glory when "men of heroical spirits, not tainted with the base desire of gain...were chosen for commanders, as have nothing before their eyes, but honor and the enlargement of the commonwealth" (Sig. B3r). He employs multiple conceptual metaphors to build this justification, conveying the notion that being tainted is base (DEPRAVITY IS DOWN/VIRTUE IS UP), that a person's priorities are in their field of view (VISUAL FIELD ARE CONTAINERS), and that an enlarged commonwealth is good (BIGGER IS BETTER). He also raises the effeminacy motif, claiming that England's current class of men who should be commanders are preoccupied "in silkes and velvets and golden coates," clothing that is metonymic for the courtly professions, where men are no longer "governed by lawe and order of warre" (Sig. B3r). He finishes by expressing his belief that the Essex attack would serve "not onely to mainteine a sufficient strength of men, but...also recover the ancient glory of the English nation spread farre abroad in France, Spaine, and other countreys in time past, & now blemished only with some mens misgovernment" (Sig. B3v). Active war maintains masculine strength and restores the

international dominance that was lost through misgovernment and a lack of martial "lawe and order" (Sig. B3v). Sutcliffe is the only manual writer who directly advocates war, but the others must answer the question that their works create: if knowledge of war is only for defense, and defense means being passive and not attacking, then what is war for? Their metaphorical constructions give the implicit answer that WAR IS CONTROL, a structural metaphor that allows for two entailments with sociopolitical implications: that lack of war threatens masculine prowess and brings about disorder.

If attention to martial knowledge creates a strong defense, and a strong defense is necessary to maintain peace, but peace is construed as passive, then the resultant correspondence between knowledge and passivity at least partially makes available the gendered understanding of peace as potentially emasculating. Men were perceived as physically stronger and women as weaker. Extended orientations of up as good and down as bad are so inseparable from the embodied human experience that, even within modern conceptions, manifestations may not seem metaphorical. Falling feels out of control; sick people are often too weak to get up; physical height is envisioned as stronger and more imposing. Of course, these conceptions are also culturally relative, based on accepted sixteenth century and western conceptions of GOOD and BAD: Heaven is UP, and Hell is DOWN, for example. In a discipline grounded upon the physical and mental aptitude of its nation's men, a perceived deterioration of strength in those men elicits anxiety figured in terms of effeminacy. In his preface to Onosander's *Generall Captaine* (1563), Whitehorne writes that men who fell to the Amazon women were conquered only because they had "lytle regarded Marshiall knowledge" (Sig. A2v). Whitehorne implies that women would never have beaten stronger, more skilled, and trained men; instead, it was the men's lack of martial

knowledge that made them vulnerable to defeat by women. Smythe makes this connection

repeatedly in both of his treatises. Arguing for the continued exercise of martial disciplines in

Discourses (1590), he advocates continued training in archery, which he describes as "a most

manlie exercise and wholesome for the health of the bodie and to increase strength" (Sig.

A2r). Smythe offers cautionary retellings of great military powers in Europe, Africa, and

Asia that lost their strength after long stretches of peace in which they neglected military

exercises. For illustration, he regularly pairs negligence with effeminacy, the combination of

which results in the once-powerful forces being conquered, subdued, and made to serve

under stronger nations (*Discourses* Sig. A2v-A3r). In *Instructions* (1595), Smythe frames

war as preserving a nation's subjects from "such vile and *base* effeminacies (which all people

are most ready and prone to *fall into*, where continuall practice and orders militarie are not in

use in the field)..." (*Instructions* ¶3v emphasis added). He confirms that, historically,

countries who give continual attention to exercises in arms "grewe to great order and skill in

the Arte and science Militarie" (*Instructions* ¶¶4v). In these passages, Smythe affirms that

masculine strength is up and feminine weakness is down; however, he applies the

orientational metaphor in the other direction, as well, to warn his readers that "neglecting,

forgetting, and...contemning of the Arte and Discipline militarie" can lead to "effeminacies

growne and increased" (*Instructions* ¶¶4v- ¶¶¶, emphasis added).[39] Up remains the desired

orientation, except for undesired characteristics. The rhetoric of effeminacy in each of the

manuals operates as pejorative name-calling with the goal of applying social pressure on

England's men. It reflects the spatial relationship between strength and weakness and the

social construction of women as the embodied representation of weakness, but this appeal is

---

[39] For a more extensive examination of gender and conceptual systems, see Burton Melnick's "Cold Hard
World/Warm Soft Mommy: Gender And Metaphors Of Hardness, Softness, Coldness, And Warmth." *Psyart*
3.(1999): *PsycINFO*. Web. 2 Apr. 2014.

only one component of a larger metaphorical system that repeatedly conceptualizes

knowledge not simply as strength but as power, and specifically that application of that

knowledge embodied in WAR as a mechanism for controlling coveted international lands and

any forces that threaten the fortification and upkeep of a nation's defenses.

      If martial expertise corresponds with power and the ability to demonstrate control, it

is necessary to engage in military conflicts, then a failure in this process results in disorder. It

is this concern for lack of control that generates the embedded metaphor of NEGLECT IS

DOWNWARD and emerges as literal and metaphorical fears of incompetency and a loss of

international martial influence. Specifically, failure in political combat settings signifies

insufficient control of the fortifying substance (KNOWLEDGE) within the container (WAR).

Fears of societal identity certainly reflect gender anxieties, as manual writers expressed

disapproval of 1) the courtier lifestyle that led to a decrease in available men choosing arms

as their means for reputation-building and advancement, and 2) innovations in martial

practice that seem to breed weaker men who need less training and skill for harquebuses than

longbow. The manual writers also express explicit distress and disappointment about the

perceived disorder in England's periodic martial conflicts with Spain and Ireland during the

late Renaissance. Two years after the Armada victory, Smythe expresses his concern that

England's military strength has diminished in the last "twentie yeares" and writes

nostalgically of the "...well ordered warres of Emperours or Kings in times past" (*Discourses*,

Sig.A.2v and 3r). He expresses regret that the only experiences his countrymen have had

"...hath bene in the disordered and tumultuarie warres of the Lowe Countries..." (*Discourses*,

Sig.3v). Having served as a hired soldier in France, Spain, and in Eastern Europe during the

mid-century, Smythe had decades of experience in martial conflict; he expresses fear that

England's men would assume the disordered engagements with Spain modeled proper conduct in war because they had insufficient training and these battles were all they knew. By 1593, Sutcliffe shared Smythe's concern and writes repeatedly of the common "disorders" of war. As a veteran of the Anglo-Spanish wars, Sutcliffe claims to have had "too much experience in the disorderly warres of our time" (Sig.B1r). He writes his treatise as an effort to "reforme the disorders of our proceedings in warres" (Sig.A2r). According to Sutcliffe, the reason for England's recent defeats is a deficiency in knowledge and training: "who seeth not then, that the cause of these calamities and disorders is want of militarie knowledge, and not want of meanes..." (Sig.B3r). For Smythe and Sutcliffe, their country's recent engagements with Spain were tangible manifestations of the very dangers about which their manuals warned. They underscore a loss of political power, the implication of which might support the treatise writers' stated rhetorical goal of encouraging more war study and practice, but likely also have embedded notions of action. After all, the nation would need to engage in warfare to prove that it could conduct sufficiently "ordered" wars.

This emergent connection between WAR and ORDER is, in fact, the linchpin in the system: it is the complex structural metaphor that provides the system in which the figurative, literal, and cognitive ontological and orientational conceptions of war in the sixteenth century all "fit." I propose as three WAR constructs: two poetic metaphors, WAR IS A PERFORMANCE and WAR IS A STORMY SEA, and one ontological metaphor, WAR IS A CONTAINER. Tracing the metaphorical entailments for each led to an upholding of human agency, even when WAR was attributed to natural causes, as in the STORMY SEA source domain. From these constructions, arose notions of someone in control, directing the performance, navigating the sea, possessing the necessary expertise to impose order inside

the container. The COMMANDER IS A PHYSICIAN metaphor further emphasized the human role

in war, keeping war unstructured other than as a threat to life. Not offering a relatable

structure for WAR puts even more pressure on the COMMANDER / PHYSICIAN to be a

knowledgeable expert, prepared for any event. The manuals make a self-conscious effort to

promote martial knowledge as the logical goal and not warfare. They reinforce the literal

understanding of the art and science of war as an emerging formal discipline. Their everyday

language reveals a similar, perhaps unconscious effort to foreground KNOWLEDGE,

ontologically as a MANIPULABLE SUBSTANCE and as a STRENGTHENING SUBSTANCE, and

orientationally to imply that NEGLECT OF KNOWLEDGE IS DOWNWARD. By highlighting

knowledge, they also emphasize the need to apply that knowledge because merely having

expertise but not using it is passive and useless. Most advocate defense, which could possibly

imply further inaction, but the notion of only a strong defense is self-contradictory. Although

they frame their rhetoric in the language of defense, their handbooks physically include large

sections of offensive strategy and tactics, and their literal and metaphorical language uses

invoke ideas of expert performance as the source of control over seemingly disordered

elements: effeminizing social influences and international conflicts.

  With the exception of Sutcliffe, though, I hesitate to claim that the English manual

writers are actually intentionally advocating more military engagements. Increased conflict

may be the implicit result if enough Englishmen re-commit themselves to regular training

and reading the war handbooks, but what they offer is not the experience of war but rather

the *vicarious* experience of war, which as a commodity is far more marketable. If knowledge

of war were enough to keep England strong and its military well-ordered, there would be

little room for the anxieties expressed in the military treatises with the prolific printing and

distribution of these texts and the pervasiveness of theatrical reproductions of war on the Elizabethan stage. Ultimately, conceptions of war presented in its conduct books and plays allow for access to the virtues or war without the risks. These texts entertain with stories of valor and heroism and promise opportunities to become legendary, to take part in executing justice, and to confirm one's martial manhood. Physician metaphors, sea captain metaphors, and knowledge as a nourishing substance metaphors describe war in terms of natural elements; thus, it is a man's responsibility, and specifically an English nobleman's responsibility, to exert control over the natural world, and the handbooks can teach them how to do just that. This rhetorical power loop reflects a self-fulfilling prophecy: the manual writers create the perception of knowledge as substance for strength and then offer their treatises as the source of knowledge. This is a commercial manipulation that is, at once, transparent but also so embedded in unconscious, accepted cultural structures that are easily overlooked. By offering knowledge as a substance for ordering the seemingly disordered external war environment, the manual writers legitimize military science in a way that generates demand for exactly what their handbooks supply. This notion creates an orientational construct "up"-holding the handbooks as critical to the country's martial health.

By framing knowledge as a skilled discipline required for order, strength and safety, Renaissance military manuals clearly reinforce the demand for the commodity that they supply. The sociopolitical implications stretch beyond the knowledge-order dynamic explicated above in the metaphorical examples of gender shaming, disorder military engagements, and embedded self-promotion. Consider Lakoff's assumption that "metaphorical thought, in itself, is neither good nor bad; it is simply commonplace and inescapable" ("Metaphors and War" 1). The fact that metaphors in sixteenth-century treatises

organize war as an experience that can be controlled is not in itself good or bad, but it certainly reflects cultural transitions and apprehensions experienced by the gentry and noble classes. The very acceptance of these metaphors as "fit" metaphors confirm them as cultural conventions. Equally important, however, are the characteristics of war hidden by these metaphorical entailments. Framing war as performance, healing, and navigating danger successfully maps artificial representation of control onto an event that is, at times, inescapably chaotic. Manuals most often select images that emphasized the seriousness of war but also sanitized, depoliticized, and glorified it. In highlighting war as a principled art with rules that require specialized knowledge, these conceptualizations hide the possible inhumanities, death, and injury costs of war, even the economical risks. A useful continuation of this study would be to pair this examination with an analysis of war metaphors in Renaissance literature. Poetic metaphors often complicate the picture presented in the manuals with more subversive references to questionable political motives, class tensions, and conflicts of morality: animal imagery and invocations of brotherhood in the face of familial betrayal, for example. This combination would provide a more complete but still subjective conception of war. Both the leaders who start real wars and the authors who write fictionalized ones benefit from the sensationalism. Even at a subconscious level, the sociopolitical glorification of war as art and science is a fiction of control culturally figured as a path to strength, order, and civility. Ultimately, it is the glorification of war as intertwined with legacy, justice, and manhood that sustains the industry of war manual productions and transmission in connection with demands of the populace more than tangibly sustaining the strength of the nation.

Conclusion

I have described the Elizabethan era as a moment of transition in which military and social developments advance England beyond medieval systems of mercenary warfare and feudal societies. I have also asserted that the late sixteenth century as an early modem culture was one in which new technologies and increased opportunities for social advancements through education and courtly patronage strained an English military largely dependent on conscripted, militia-style forces rather than a professional national military. I began my research with the desire to uncover significant connections between this time of transition and the coinciding literary developments, i.e. the proliferation of military manuals and the creation of the history play genre. The primary goals were to do the following:

1. Examine how the increased printing and circulation of military manuals could have influenced performative representations of martial oratory

2. Analyze the rhetorical motivations and strategies present in Elizabethan martial discourse, both within the military manuals and the performative reproductions; and

3. Explore the language used to justify and define war for indications of why war, if not active warfare, remains such an enduring and compelling theme.

This focus on audience was the unifying element across each chapter. I wanted to underscore the social role of discourse and to identify that rhetorical effectiveness involved the orator/writer/playwright's ability to arouse feelings of unity and engender audience identification. Audiences were, at times, hearers or readers of nonfiction text, as with Elizabeth's Tilbury speech or readers of the military handbooks; at other times, audiences

engaged with martial discourse as secondary participants on a fictive battlefield, as with the history plays or Deloney and Aske's poetic recreations of Elizabeth's Tilbury address.

Having first considered the effect of sixteenth-century manuals on formal oratory, namely the pre-battle speech genre, my desire to uncover how the handbooks influenced martial orations shifted slightly to a more comprehensive examination of how the manuals' calls for generals to be orators and their instructions on hortatory conventions paired with the rhetorical education that was part of the early modem curriculum. I illustrated the pre-battle speech event as a recurrent social situation, familiar to both military soldiers and theater audiences. This first section established audiences not as passive receivers of an exhortation but as active participants in the persuasion, complicit if the morale building is to be emotionally rousing or critical if the rhetorical aim is more subversive. I argued that practice with battlefield orations in the *progymnasmata*, in rhetorical handbooks, in the military manuals, and through first-hand participation in battle speeches in war or in the theater made the pre-battle oration a common, learned experience for early modem populace. Thus, the audience and the orator were knowledgeable members of the community, knowers of how a pre-battle speech should be arranged, what appeals it should include, and at which precise moment it must be delivered. This shared knowledge allowed playwrights to create authentic battle exhortations and also allowed dramatists to introduce creative deviations from the expected forms to communicate comedy, mockery, or dissonance and to complicate comfortable assumptions about truth, justice, righteousness, gender, and class in ways that would detract from a real-world commander's need to engender cooperative unity but fit quite well in the safety of the theater.

I concluded my examination of formal martial discourse by emphasizing its reliance on generic consistency. Both non-fiction and fiction reproductions of ceremonial language—declarations of just cause *(jus ad bellum),* described acts during the execution of war *(jus in bello*), and the pre-battle speech—depend on adherence to formal principles. These inconsistencies resonate symbolically, even subconsciously, with the audiences, letting them recognize the speech moment *(kairos)* and giving them shared expectations against which to measure a speaker's generic fluency. These prescriptive elements establish a speaker's or character's *ethos*, identifying them as credible performers of martial speech, as in the examples of Elizabeth I and the fictional Henry V, or discrediting them as illegitimate authorities, as exemplified by Shakespeare's characters Margaret and Jack Cade. Mastery of prescribed martial discourse, I found, moves audience and orator toward *identification* and *communitas,* where communal values and shared ideologies are foregrounded and sociopolitical hierarchies lessened in efforts to invoke feelings of equality and devotion to a common cause. For the orator, successfully navigating the *kairic* moment, paired with success in battle, can inspire embellished retellings of the rhetorical event and elevate the oration from speech act to national folk legend. For playwrights, these conventions validate their knowledge of the martial decorum needed to give audiences comfortable resolutions by following the established rules, as Shakespeare does in *Henry, V* or challenge audience assumptions in extreme and uncomfortable ways by denying them the expected etiquette, as Peele does with *Alcazar.*

After examining the formal components for martial discourse, I took a closer look at the everyday language used to define and justify war. I questioned recurrent themes of effeminacy present in the military handbooks and especially prevalent in the English-

authored texts from the late sixteenth century. I connected these effeminacy motifs to transformations occurring in English military and in Elizabethan socioeconomic and cultural realms. I uncovered literary and cognitive metaphors that framed knowledge of war as strength and uncovered a relationship between these metaphorical conceptions and the perceived disordered wars that were ensuing between England and Spain in the Low Countries. Collectively, both the examination of gendered discourse and the unpacking of figurative constructions confirmed martial identity as culturally tied to assumptions of sustained peace as weakness, of activities of warfare as natural, and of manly leadership as resisting weakness and imposing order on the natural forces of war.

Principle Findings

By analyzing the formal instances of battlefield oratory, I illustrated the pre-battle speech as a recurrent situation in military and staged performances of war context, often used to normalize social cultural and values, particularly in military settings, or to allow knowledgeable audiences to critique or find entertainment in breeches of rhetorical decorum. By examining the everyday language used to describe war, I came to understand martial discourse as inseparable from a society's conceptions of strength and identity. By comparing the manuals to reproductions of war in Renaissance history plays, I found that drama's ability to deconstruct the themes of warfare and re-present them as embodied, allegorical characters at times accentuated the anxieties present in the military manuals and at other times reinforced perceptions of war as noble, God-sanctioned, just, masculine and heroic. I have argued that understanding the discourse of war in the sixteenth century requires an appreciation for how the Elizabethan populace experienced a multi-faceted exposure to war-themed events, written texts, and dramatic performances. Ultimately, I verified discourse as

social activity and identified the discourse of war as part of Renaissance society's known formal oratory, as a means for the society to construct its folklore, and as a way to communicate national identity as a sociopolitical power, both realized and desired.

Extensions and The Next Frontier

My research contributes to what is still a surprising shortage of scholarship on the influence of military science on Renaissance Literature and Rhetoric Studies. This lack is due, in part, to the limited availability of military manuals. Select libraries have rare book collections that hold the original manuscripts, and *Early English Books Online (EEBO)* offers the only electronic collection.[1] Yet, *EEBO* is an expensive database, and the digital version of the sixteenth-century military manuals in its catalog are currently only scanned PDF images with early modern spelling and occasional image defects. Fully digitized versions of these manuals would likely increase the amount of research that incorporates these texts across a broad range of disciplines, access that would benefit Renaissance and rhetoric scholars but would also increase the opportunities for researchers in other fields such as military history, linguistics, and sociology. Digitization projects for early modern literature already have a history of proven success: from searchable e-text collections like Michael Hart's *Project Gutenberg*, Risa Bear's *Renascence Editions*, and Anniina Jokinen's *Luminarium* to large-scale data entry projects such as Chadwyck-Healey's *Literature Online (LION),* and Michael Best's *Internet Shakespeare Editions*. However, digital reproductions of

---

[1] In the United States, libraries that have the largest collection of military manuals in their special collections include the University of Delaware, the University of Pennsylvania. Michigan, Rutgers, and The Huntington Library. Libraries in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Australia also have significant collections (WorldCat).

non-fiction historical documents have not received as much attention; Tim Hitchcock, et al.'s *The Old Bailey Proceedings Online* is one notable exception.[2]

Fortunately, two major projects are already in the process of making early modern texts more available and digitally accessible. The University of Texas A & M University's Early Modern OCR Project (eMOP) is developing Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software that can scan early modern texts and convert them to electronic text files. They expect to have the software ready at the end of 2014. Also, in addition to sponsoring the eMOP project, *EEBO*'s publisher, ProQuest, has formed the Text Creation Partnership (TCP) with libraries at The University of Michigan and Oxford to have their entire database hand-transcribed into searchable text files.[3] The TCP expects to begin releasing *EEBO* texts for free-open public access in January of 2015.[4] So, in the next two years, early modern scholars are on schedule to have software available that can scan texts originally printed with a hand press (about 1475-1800) for use in word processing programs and to begin having free access to digitized copies of books in the *EEBO* collection.

These developments would be invaluable to work such as mine. They would increase the visibility of the military manuals and likely bring new ideas and perspectives to the study of Renaissance military discourse and allow for more intra- and interdisciplinary

---

[2] Michael Hart, *Project Gutenberg*, http://www.autenberg.org. 2012; Risa Bear, *Renascence Editions*, http://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/ren.htm. 2009; Anniina Jokinen. *Luminarium*. http://www.luminarium.org. 2007; Chadwyck-Healey, *Literature Online*, http://lion.chadwyck.com/marketing/index.isp. 2014; Best, Michael. *Internet Shakespeare Editions*, http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca. 2010; Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Clive Emsley, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, *et a/., The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674-1913,* http://www.oldbaileyonline.org. 2013.

[3] Texas A & M's Early Modern OCR Project (eMOP) was made possible by a 2012 grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and expect to have the software ready for distribution in the next year. For more information and contacts, see *Early Modern ORC Project*. Texas A & M University, http://emop.tamu.edu/.

[4] For more information on the Text Creation Partnership and the project development plan, see the TCP website, "EEBO-TCP: Early English Books Online." Text Creation Partnership. 2014. Web. http://www.textcreationpaitnership.oriz/tcp-eebo/.

collaborations. As I have shown in this study, the widespread availability and distribution of these military manuals during the sixteenth century made them part of Renaissance popular culture, history and literature. A modem electronic circulation could renew interest in the texts and open a space for re-envisioning intertextual relationships between the treatises and other early modem texts. For my work, specifically, I could use *EEBO* text (.txt) files to run collocation or frequency comparisons with programs like Wordsmith, Zotero, or AntConc.[5] The military manuals are not yet available to search, but I can offer an example of how this analytical process could be useful to my research. Wordsmith already has the complete corpus of Shakespeare's plays available for free download. Using Wordsmith's copies of Shakespeare's history plays, I can compare word frequencies from *3 Henry VI* to *Richard III*. Although it has more battle scenes than any other play, *3HVI* had a higher incidence of words related to patriarchy: father, brother, son. Comparatively, *Richard III* has relatively few words that characterize lineage relationships and a markedly higher frequency of words related to death: dead, murder, blood (Fig. 2).[6]

---

[5] This type of research can extend pretty deep into corpus digital analysis, but at base, this scholarship is what Stephen Ramsay has termed "algorithmic criticism"; essentially, it is literary criticism that uses computer algorithms to manipulate and analyze texts, in *Reading Machines: Toward an Algorithmic Criticism.* Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011, p. 2

[6] For this brief analysis, I uploaded the Wordsmith files all of Shakespeare's history plays into Anthony Laurence's AntConc program, then ran a word frequency lists for each play. I skipped proper names of characters and uploaded a stop list to omit articles and prepositions in order to identify words that suggested thematic significance. I created a lemmatization list to combine variant word forms, e.g. blood—>bloody, bleed, bleeds, bleeding, bled. Included in the Figure 2 are only key words through the first 100 ranked.

Word Token	3 Henry VI (freq.)	3 Henry VI (rank)	Richard III (freq.)	Richard III (rank)
Father	97	#55	-----	-----
Brother	78	#65	65	#90
Son	69	#73	-----	-----
Dead	82	#61	161	#42
Murder	-----	-----	159	#43
Blood	55	#89	67	#86

Fig. 2: Key Word Frequency Chart for *3HVI and RIII*

My reading of *3 Henry VI* for the current study identifies anxieties of patriarchy relevant to manhood definitions from the military handbooks. Although this quick frequency list is not a formal study, it already indicates that there might be quantified support for evaluating patriarchal themes in the *3HVI*. Of course, this quick pattern search is not revolutionary: scholars have drawn connections between *3HVI* and patriarchy using traditional literary analysis methods. However, algorithmic analyses do have the potential to expose linguistic trends not easily perceived through close reading alone. This is particularly likely for texts like the Renaissance military manuals that have had fewer examinations.

I also see developing digital search options as giving scholars the freedom to explore new interpretive readings of canonical works. Currently, my own research manually compares the military treatises with early modem dramas and has already uncovered close textual parallels between the military treatises and Renaissance literature. Take, for example, the Chorus' description of Henry V walking through his camp before the Agincourt battle:

> Upon his royal face there is no note
>
> How dread an army hath enround him;
>
> Nor doth he dedicate one jot of colour

> Unto the weary and all-watched night;
>
> But freshly looks and overbears attaint
>
> With cheerful semblance and sweet majesty;
>
> That every wretch, pining and pale before,
>
> Beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks. (*HV*.4.0.35-42)

Shakespeare's description of Henry in this passage is similar to the instructions Onosander gives in *The General*, warning the Captain not to reveal any fears but rather to show cheerfulness and comradeship before a battle:

> Considering that the countenance & loke of the Captaine, is wont to make the mindes of the souldiours conformable, for that altogether with his semblaunce, they are moved [cheerful if he looks cheerful, fearful if he looks fearful, it is better]...with the semblaunce of the face, to fayne cherefulnesse unto men and with his merines, to make them glad, then with wordes and orations to comforte them, whylest they be afflicted with malincoly. (Fol.67)

Although not an exact parallel, consistencies of "cheerful semblance," the notion that the men's mood follows that of the Captain's, and that he "comforts" them suggest the possibility that Shakespeare was familiar with Onosander. Digitally searchable texts would allow me to perform these comparisons more accurately and more efficiently. They would also enhance the work contained in this study by allowing me to create frequency lists to compare rhetorical appeals for each manual based on the frequency of values-based words. I could look more thoroughly for collocated words near key search terms like "manhood" or "effeminacy" to evaluate how often they appear close to words for "peace" or "disorder." These free collections would not replace traditional literary analysis but would encourage

more scholarship on the influence of military handbooks by making them more visible, legible, and available for study.

Final Implications

Although not the first scholar to connect the explosive printing and distribution of military manuals with the historical transitions taking place during the Renaissance, I have conducted the first comprehensive study of how socio-historical events from the Elizabethan era correspond with public discourse on war and dramatic performances of battlefield language. My research links non-fiction orations like Elizabeth's Tilbury and the storied reproductions of those real-world narratives with fictional staged performances of war to demonstrate how each reflects the broad consumption of martial conduct books. I extend beyond literary and rhetorical analyses to view the discourse of war as being socially bound, both shaping and revealing late sixteenth-century conceptions of war. I offer a theory for why themes of warfare remain enduringly popular, namely the prevailing view of war as an opportunity for heroism and historical transcendence and the continued association of manhood to martial knowledge and a willingness to war. My study of the Renaissance texts indicates that these motivations persist even when public desire for war is low and other means for social mobility and distinction are available.[7]

While the military manual genre had its peak in the Elizabethan era, martial rhetoric continues to be a fruitful topic for studies of such fields as history, literature, sociology, and political science. The results of this study contribute to subsequent thinking on the topic of pre-battle exhortations, pre-game pep talks, political addresses, and activist speeches. They

---

[7] These patterns are reproduced throughout history. Even as this study concludes, the United States is engaged in international conflict with Russia over recent military aggression in Crimea. The public discourse in the U.S. often frames the Russian president as more powerful and manly for his willingness to use martial force while efforts at diplomacy are constructed as weak or feckless, even as the nation is understandably war-weary after two long wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

offer a general theory for understanding the genre's conventions as critical to its successful performance and for connecting combat language, expressed as a broader class of fighting words, to a community's embedded values, their anxieties, and established social roles and identities. In asserting that martial discourse is a social activity, a product of contemporary history and culture, my work makes an important contribution not only to evaluating the language of war for Renaissance Studies but also to seeing this discourse as part of a society's learned rhetoric, its shared and created folklore, and its epistemological notions of justice, gender, and the relationship between war, peace, and order.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Aristotle. *On Rhetoric*: *A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Trans. George A. Kennedy. New York: Oxford UP, 2006.

---. *Poetics.* Gerald F. Else, trans. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1970.

"Art." Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press. n.d. Web. 2 October 2013.

Aske, James. *Elizabetha Triumphans.* In *The Progress and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: Vol* 2. Google eBook. London: John Nichols, Francis Bacon Library, J. Nichols and Son, 1823: 548-573. Web. 22 Jan. 2014.

Brooke, Arthur. *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* (1562). Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project. 2007. Web. 22 Jan. 2014.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Cicero: On the Ideal Orator (De Oratore)*. Trans. James M. May and Jakob Wisse. New York: Oxford UP, 2001.

---. *De Inventione; de Optimo Genere Oratorum; Topica*. Trans. H. M. Hubbell. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1949.

Deloney, Thomas. "The Queen's Visiting of the Camp at Tilbury, with Her Entertainments There." *Thomas Deloney: His Thomas of Reading: And Three Ballads on the Spanish Armada.* Eds. Charles Roberts Aldrich and Lucian Swift Kirtland. Google eBook. New York: J. F. Taylor & Company. 1858: 193-201. Web. 22 Jan. 2014.

De Bellay, William. *Instructions for the Warres.* (1589) *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul 2011.

De Pizan, Christine. *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*. Trans. Sumner Willard. Ed. Charity Cannon Willard. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999. Print.

Di Porcia, Jacopo. *The Preceptes of Warre, Setforth by James the Erle of Purlilia, and Translated into Englysh by Peter Bentham."* Trans. Peter Bentham. 1544. *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul 2011.

Elizabeth I. "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: The Sixteenth Century and The Early Seventeenth Century*. 8th ed. Vol. B. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006: 699-700. Print.

Erasmus, Desiderius. "Charon." *The Colloquies of Erasmus. Vol. 2 (1518).* Trans. Nathan Baley. Ed. E. Johnson. London: Reeves and Turner, 1878. *Online Library of Liberty*. Web. 24 Jan. 2014.

---. *The Education of a Christian Prince*. Ed. Lisa Jardine. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. Print.

Frontinus, Sextus Julius. "Strategems." *A Collection of the Brave Exploits and Subtil Strategems Of several Famous Generals Since the Roman Empire. With a Discourse concerning Engines of WAR*. Trans. Marius D'Assigny. 1686. *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul 2011.

Hurault, Jaques. *Politicke, Moral, and Martial Discourse.* Trans. Arthur Golding. 1595. *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul 2011.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Arte of Warre*. Trans. Peter Whithorne's. 1588. *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul 2011.

---. *The Art of War*. Trans. Christopher Lynch. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2003. Print.

Marlowe, Christopher. *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1. Doctor Faustus and Other Plays: Tamburlaine, Parts I and II; Doctor Faustus, A- and B-Texts; The Jew of Malta;*

Edward II. Eds. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008: 1-
68. Print.

---. *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2. Doctor Faustus and Other Plays: Tamburlaine, Parts I
and II; Doctor Faustus, A- and B-Texts; The Jew of Malta; Edward II*. Eds. David
Bevington and Eric Rasmussen. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008: 69-136. Print.

Nashe, Thomas. *Piers Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*. 1592. Google Books. Web. 19
May 2013.

Onosander, Platonico. *Of the Generall Captaine and of His Office*. Trans. Peter Whitehorne.
1563. *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul 2011.

Peele, George. *The Battle of Alcazar. The Stukeley Plays*. Ed. Charles Edelman. Manchester:
Manchester UP, 2005: 59-128. Print.

Proctor, Thomas. *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres*. 1578. *EEBO*. Web. 12 Jul.
2011.

Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric (*Writings from the
Greco-Roman World*) *Vol. 10*. Ed. George Alexander Kennedy. GoogleBooks.
Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003. Web. 27 Jul. 2013.

Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria*. Lee Honeycutt, ed. Amazon Digital Services, Inc. 2010. Web.

Rhetorica ad Herennium. Trans. G. A. Kennedy. *The Rhetorical Tradition*. Eds. Patricia
Bizzel and Bruce Herzberg. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2001: 241-282. Print.

Riche, Barnabe. "Allarme To England." 1578. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug. 2011.

---. *A Path-Way to Military Practise*. 1587. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug. 2011.

"Science." Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press. n.d. Web. 2 Oct.
2013

Shakespeare, William. *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster (2 Henry VI)*. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, Second Edition.* Eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, Clarendon Press: Oxford. 2005: 55-89. Print.

---. *The Life of Henry the Fifth (Henry V)*. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, Second Edition.* Eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, Clarendon Press: Oxford. 2005: 595-626. Print.

---. *Richard Duke of York (3 Henry VI)*. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, Second Edition.* Eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, Clarendon Press: Oxford. 2005: 91-124. Print.

Shakespeare, William and Others. *The First Part of Henry VI (1 Henry VI)*. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, Second Edition.* Ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, Clarendon Press: Oxford. 2005: 125-154. Print.

Sharp, Leonel. "The Speech of Queen Elizabeth to Her Army Encamped at Tilbury, 1588." (1623). *TurorHistory.org.* Apr. 2012. Web. 18 Jul. 2012.

Smythe, John. *Certain Discourses*. 1590. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug 2011.

---. *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitarie*. 1595. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug 2011.

Styward, Thomas. *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline*. 1582. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug 2011.

Sutcliffe, Matthew. *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes*. 1593. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug 2011.

Vegetius Renatus, Flavius. *De Re Militari*: *The Foure Bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus*. Trans. John Sadler. 1572. *EEBO*. Web. 08 Aug 2011.

Secondary Sources

"What Is Sociology?" *American Sociological Association*. American Sociological

      Association, n.d. Web. 11 Mar. 2014.

Arab, Ronda. "Ruthless Power and Ambivalent Glory: The Rebel-Labourer in 2 Henry VI."

      Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies 5.2 Fall-Winter 2005: 5-36. *JSTOR*. Web.

      13 Apr 13.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. *Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1982. Print.

---. "The Problem of Speech Genres." *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays.* Eds. Caryl

      Emerson and Michael Holquist. Trans. Vern W. McGee. Austin: Univ. of Texas

      Press, 1986. 60-102. Print.

Bazerman**,** Charles. *Constructing Experience*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1994. Print.

Ben-Amos, Dan. "Folktale." *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments:*

      A Communications-Centered Handbook. Ed. Richard Bauman. Oxford: Oxford UP,

      1992. 101-118. Print.

Berkenkotter, Carol and Thomas N. Huckin. "Rethinking Genre from a Sociocognitive

      Perspective." *Written Communication* 10.4 1993: 475-504. JSTOR. Web. 8 Oct.

      2013.

Best, Steven. "The 'Cultural Turn' in Marxist Theory." n.d. Web. 11 Mar. 2014.

Bliese, John R. E. "Rhetoric and Morale: A Study of Battle Orations from the Central Middle

      Ages." *Journal of Medieval History* 1989: 201-26. JSTOR. Web. 2 Nov 2008.

---. "Rhetoric Goes to War: The Doctrine of Ancient and Medieval Military Manuals."

      Rhetoric Society Quarterly 24.3/4 Summer-Autumn, 1994: 105-30. JSTOR. Web. 02

      Nov 2008.

---. "When Knightly Courage May Fail: Battle Orations in Medieval Europe." *Historian* 53.3 Spring 1991: 489-505. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Boruchoff, David A. "Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt." *Renaissance Quarterly* 62 Oct. 2009: 809-58. JSTOR. Web. 09 Apr 2011.

Breitenberg, Mark. *Anxious Masculinities in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. Print.

Burgess, Theodore C. *Epideictic Literature*. Diss. Univ. of Chicago, 1902. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1902. *GoogleBooks*. n.d. Web. 12 Jul. 2013.

Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969. Print.

---. "Rhetoric—Old and New." *The Journal of General Education*. 5.3 April 1951: 202-209. JSTOR. Web. 08 Jan 2012.

Cahill, Patricia Ann. *"Tales of Iron Wars": Martial Bodies and Manly Encounters in Elizabethan Culture*. Diss. Columbia University, 2000. New York: Columbia UP, 2000. Print.

Calhoun, Laurie. "The Metaethical Paradox of Just War Theory." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 4.1 Mar., 2001: 41-58. JSTOR. Web. 08 Mar 2012.

Cartelli, Thomas. "Jack Cade in the Garden: Class Consciousness and Class Conflict in *2 Henry VI*." *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England.* Ed. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1994. Print.

Child, Francis J. "Ballad Poetry," Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia, 1900. *Journal of Folklore Research* 31.1/3, Triple Issue: Ballad Redux Jan.-Dec 1994: 214-222. JSTOR. Web. 5 Jan. 2014.

Christy, Miller. "Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury in 1588." *English Historical Review* 34 Jan. 1919: 43-61. JSTOR. Web. 4 Apr. 2011.

Derrida, Jacques. "Law of Genre." Trans. Avital Ronell. *Critical Inquiry* 7 Autumn 1980: 55-82. JSTOR. Web. 13 Nov. 2013.

Devitt, Amy J. "Generalizing about Genre: New Conceptions of an Old Concept" *College Composition and Communication* 44.4 Dec 1993: 573-586. JSTOR. Web. 13 Nov. 2013.

---. "Integrating Rhetorical and Literary Theories of Genre." *College English*. 62.6 (Jul 2000): 696-718.

Devitt, Amy J., Anis Bawarshi, and Mary Jo Reiff, "Materiality and Genre in the Study of Discourse Communities" *College English* 65.5, Materiality, Genre, and Language Use May 2003: 541-558. JSTOR. Web. 13 Nov. 2013.

Dollimore and Sinfield. "History and Ideology: The Instance of Henry V." *Alternative Shakespeare*. Ed. John Drakakis. New York: Routledge, 2002. 209-230. Print.

Dorson, Richard M. *American Folklore and the Historian*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971. Print.

Duranti, Allessandro. "Oratory." *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook*. Ed. Richard Bauman. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992. 154-158. Print.

Dutton, Richard. "'Methinks the truth should live from age to age': The Dating and Contexts

    of Henry V." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.1-2 March 2005: 173-204. JSTOR.

    Web. 24 Feb 2012.

Eltis, David. *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century England*. New York: I.B. Tauris

    & Co., Ltd., 1995. Print.

Eubanks, Philip. "The Story of Conceptual Metaphor: What Motivates Metaphoric

    Mappings?" *Poetics Today* 20.3, Metaphor and Beyond: New Cognitive

    Developments Autumn 1999: 419-442. JSTOR. Web. 27 Aug. 2013.

---. "Understanding Metaphors for Writing." *College Composition and Communication* 53.1

    Sep 2001: 92-118. JSTOR. Web. 03 Sep 2011.

Eubanks, Philip and John D. Schaeffer. "A Dialogue Between Traditional and Cognitive

    Rhetoric: Readings of Figuration and George W. Bush is 'Axis of Evil' Address."

    Rhetoric Society Quarterly 34.2 April 2004: 53-70. JSTOR. Web. 03 Sep 2011.

Fairclough, Norman and Ruth Wodak. "Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourses as Social

    Interaction*. Ed. Teun van Dijk. London: Sage, 1996. 271-80. Print.

Fauconnier, Gilles and Mark Turner. "Conceptual Integration and Formal Expression."

    Metaphor and Symbolic Activity 10.3 28 July 1995: 183-203. JSTOR. Web. 04 Apr

    2014.

---. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New

    York: Basic Books, 2002. Print.

Fowler, Alastair. "The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After." *New Literary

    History* 34. 2, Theorizing Genres I Spring, 2003: 185-200. JSTOR. Web. 22 Jun.

    2012.

Freadman, Anne. "Uptake." *The Rhetoric and Ideaology of Genre: Strategies for Stability and Change*. Ed. Richard Coe, Lorelei Lingard, and Tatiana Teslenko. Cresskill: Hampton Press, 2002. 39-53. Print.

Frye, Northrup. *Anatomy of Criticism*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957. Print.

Frye, Susan. "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23.1 Spring 1992: 95-114. JSTOR. Web. 07 Sep 2011.

Gould, Gerald. "New Readings of *Henry V*." *English Review* 29 1919: 42-55. JSTOR. Web. 20 July 2012.

Grady, Joseph E., Todd Oakley, and Seana Coulson. "Blending and Metaphor." *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*. Ed. Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr. and Gereard J. Steen. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999. 101-124. Print.

Green, Janet M. "'I My Self': Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28. 2 Summer, 1997: 421-445. JSTOR. Web. 20 July 2012.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Invisible Bullets." *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism.* Ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1985. 18-47. Print.

Hassel, R. Chris, Jr. "Military Oratory in Richard III." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35.1 Spring 1984: 53-61. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Hattaway, Michael, Ed. *The First Part of King Henry VI*. New Cambridge Shakespeare, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. Print.

Hazlitt, William. *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*. Glasgow: Glasgow UP, 1903. Print.

Hearn, Karen. "'Elizabeth I and the Spanish Armada': Painting and Its Afterlife."

    Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: *Sixth Series 14.* Ed. Aled Jones.

    Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 123-140. Print.

Howard, Jean and Phyllis Rackin. *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of*

    Shakespeare's English Histories. New York: Routledge, 1997. Print.

Jamieson, Kathleen M. "Antecedent Genre as Rhetorical Constraint." *Quarterly Journal of*

    Speech 61 Dec. 1975: 406-15. JSTOR. Web. 22 Jun. 2012.

Johnson, Mark. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and*

    Reason. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987. Print.

Jorgensen, Paul A. "A Formative Shakespearean Legacy: Elizabethan Views of God,

    Fortune, and War." *PMLA* 90.2 Mar. 1975: 222-233. JSTOR. Web. 16 Sep 2011.

---. "Moral Guidance and Religious Encouragement for the Elizabethan Soldier." *Huntington*

    Library Quarterly. 13.3 May 1950: 241-259. JSTOR. Web. 19 Sep 2011.

---. "Military Rank in Shakespeare." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 14.1 Nov 1950: 17-41.

    JSTOR. Web. 14 Jul 2011.

---. *Shakespeare's Military World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. Print.

---. "Theoretical Views of War in Elizabethan England." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13.4

    Oct 1952: 469-81. JSTOR. Web. 14 Jul 2011.

Kocher, Paul H. "Marlowe's Art of War." *Studies in Philology* 39.2 Apr 1942: 207-25.

    JSTOR. Web. 14 Jul 2011.

Lakoff, George. *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate—*

    The Essential Guide for Progressives. White River Jct: Chelsea Green Publishing,

    2004. Print.

---. "Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf." Distributed

    via electronic bulletin board. Jan. 1991. E-mail.

---. *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know That Liberals Don't*. Chicago: Univ. of

    Chicago Press, 1997. Print.

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language." *The*

    Journal of Philosophy 77.8 Aug. 1980: 453–486. JSTOR. Web. 03 Sep 2011.

---. *Metaphors We Live By*. 2nd ed. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2003. Print.

Lakoff, George and Mark Turner. *More Than Cool Reason*, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press,

    1989. Print.

Lane, Robert. "'When Blood is Their Argument': Class, Character, and Historymaking in

    Shakespeare's and Branagh's *Henry V*." *ELH* 61.1 Apr. 1994: 27-52. JSTOR. Web. 02

    Nov 2008.

Lawrence, David R. *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early*

    Stuart England, 1603-1645. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009. Print.

Leach, E.R. "Time and False Noses." *Rethinking Anthropology*. New York: Bloomsbury

    Publishing, 1966. Print.

Lechner, Joan Marie. *Renaissance Concept of the Commonplace: An Historical Investigation*

    of the General and Universal Ideas Used in All Argumentation an Persuasion with

    Special Emphasis on the Educational and Literary Tradition of the Sixteenth and

    Seventeenth Centuries. New York: Pageant Press, 1962. Print.

Lockey, Brian C. "Elizabethan Cosmopolitan: Captain Thomas Stukeley in the Court of Dom

    Sebastian." *English Literary Renaissance* Jan. 2010: 3-32. Academic Search

    Complete. Web. 16 Sep 2011.

Lowe, Ben. "War and the Commonwealth in Mid-Tudor England." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21. 2 Summer, 1990: 170-192. JSTOR. Web. 08 Mar 2012.

Manning, Roger B. *Village Revolts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988. Print.

Marcus, Leah S. *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988. Print.

Marrou, Henri I. A. *History of Education in Antiquity*. 3rd ed. Trans. G. Lamb. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956. Print.

McCloskey, John C. "The Mirror of All Christian Kings." *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 19, 1944: 36-40. JSTOR. Web. 24 Feb 2012.

McCracken, Peggy. "The Amenorrhea of War." *Signs*. 28.2 Winter 2003: 625-43. JSTOR. Web. 16 April 2013.

Mebane, John S. "'Impious War': Religion and the Ideology of Warfare in *Henry V*." *Studies in Philology* 104.2 Spring 2007: 250-266. JSTOR. Web. 05 Sept 2011.

Meron, Theodor. *Bloody Constraint*: *War and Chivalry in Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998. Print.

---. "Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth and the Law of War." *The American Journal of International Law* 86.1 Jan. 1992: 1-45. JSTOR. Web. 08 Mar 2012.

---. *Henry's Wars and Shakespeare's Laws*: *Perspectives on the Law of War in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994. Print.

Miller, Carolyn. "Genre as Social Action." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 70 May 1984: 151-167. JSTOR. Web. 22 Jun. 2012.

Miller, Richard. *In Words and Deeds: Battle Speeches in History*. Lebanon: Univ. Press New England, 2008. Print.

Murphy, James J. ed. *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1983. Print.

Neale, J. E. "The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth." *Historian* 10 Oct. 1925: 212-33. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Nolan, John S. "The Militarization of the Elizabethan State." *The Journal of Military History* 58.3 Jul 1994: 391-420. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Ong, Walter J. *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourses to the Art of Reason*. 2nd edition. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago P., 2004. Print.

Orwell, George. "The Art of Donald McGill." 1941. George Orwell Library Online. n.d. Web. 22 Jun. 2012.

Patterson, Annabel. *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice.* Cambridge: Basil Backwell, 1991. Print.

Perelman, Chaim and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1991. Print.

"Perform." Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press. n.d. Web. 2 October 2013.

Plett, Heinrich F. "Rhetoric and Intertextuality." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 17.3 Summer 1999: 313-329. Web. 24 Feb 2012.

Pugliatti, Paola. *Shakespeare and Just War Tradition*. Ashgate: Burlington, 2010. Print.

Price, K. M. "Dollars and Sense in Collaborative Digital Scholarship." *Documentary Editing* 23.2 June 2001: 29-33. JSTOR. Web. 27 Jul. 2013.

Rabkin, Norman. "Rabitts, Ducks, and *Henry V*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 28.3 Summer 1977: 279-296. JSTOR. Web. 27 Jul. 2013.

Rackin, Phyllis. *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990. Print.

---. "Foreign Country: The Place of Women and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Historical World." *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994. 68-95. Print.

---. "Women's Roles in the Elizabethan History Plays." *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*. Ed. Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. 71-89. Print.

Ramsay, S. *Reading Machines: Toward an Algorithmic Criticism*. Champaign: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2011. Print.

Reddy, Michael. "The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in Our Language About Language." *Metaphor and Thought*. Ed. A. Ortony. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979. 284-310. Print.

Roberts, Michael. *The Military Revolution, 1560-1660: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered Before the Queen's University of Belfast*. Belfast, Univ. of Belfast Press, 1956. Print.

Roby, Joanne W. "Turning Catholic: Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* and Captain Thomas Stukeley." *Parergon* 28.1 2011: 25-42. Project Muse. Web. 03 Aug 2012.

Rose, Mary Beth. "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I." *PMLA* 115.5 Oct. 2000: 1077-1082. JSTOR. Web. 07 July 2012.

Semenza, Gregory M. Colón. "Sport, War, and Conquest in Shakespeare's Henry VI." *Renaissance Quarterly* 54.4, Part 1 Winter 2001: 1251-1272. Web. 24 Feb 2012.

Sheard, Cynthia Miecznikowski. "The Public Value of Epideictic Rhetoric." *College English* 58.7 Nov. 1996: 765-794. JSTOR. Web. 27 Jul. 2013.

Salomon, Brownell. "The Myth Structure and Rituality of 'Henry V.'" *The Yearbook of English Studies* 23, Early Shakespeare Special Number Jan. 1993: 254-69. JSTOR. Web. 5 Sep. 2011.

Shepphard, Philippa. "Tongues of War: Studies in the Military Rhetoric of Shakespeare's English History Plays." Diss. Oxford University, 1994. Microfilm.

Spaulding, Thomas M. "Early Military Books in the Folger Library." *Journal of American Military History Foundation* 1.3 Autumn 1937: 91-100. JSTOR. Web. 14 Jul 2011.

Taylor, Michael, ed. Introduction. *Henry IV, Part One*. 2nd ed. New York: Signet, 2005. Print.

Tillyard, E. M. W. *Shakespeare's History Plays*. New York: Collier, 1944. Print.

Todorov, "The Origin of Genres." *Modern Genre Theory*. Ed. David Duff. London: Longman, 2000. 193-209. Print.

Turner, Victor. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001. Print.

Vickers, Brian. "Incomplete Shakespeare: Or, Denying Co-Authorship in *Henry the Sixth Part 1*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58:3 Fall, 2007: 311-352. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Walch, Gunter. "*Henry V* as a Working-House of Ideology." *Shakespeare Survey: Current Approaches to Shakespeare through Language, Text and Theatre, Vol 40*. Ed. Stanley Wells. Cambridge UP: Cambridge, 1988. 63-68. Print.

Webb, Henry J. *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice.* Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1965. Print.

Weir, Alison. *The Life of Elizabeth I*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1998. Print.

Wilson, John Dover. Introduction. *Henry V.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1947. Print.

Wilson, Richard. "'A Mingled Yarn': Shakespeare and the Cloth Workers." *Literature and History* 12.2 1986: 164-180. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Zoido, Juan Carlos Iglesia. "The Battle Exhortation in Ancient Rhetoric." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 25.2 Spring 2007: 141-158. JSTOR. Web. 02 Nov 2008.

Appendix: Glossary of Terms and Rhetorical Figures[1]

Actio.　　　　　The Latin term for Delivery (*pronunciatio*), the last of the five traditional parts of rhetoric

Alliosis.　　　　Pointing out the differences by breaking down a subject into two alternatives

Aretê.　　　　　Nobel virtues of a warrior[2]

Caritas.　　　　Latin for charity, one of three theological virtues[3]

Communitas.　　The transient personal experience of togetherness; e.g. that which occurs during a counter-culture[4]

Confirmatio.　　The rhetorical exercise known as the speech and character or impersonation; also, *prosopopoeia*

Deesis.　　　　The vehement expression of desire put in terms of "for somone's sake" or "for God's sake"[5]

Dispositio.　　　The second of the five traditional parts of rhetoric, that having to do with the ordering of arguments, also *Arrangement*

Elocutio.　　　　The Latin term for style; the third of the five parts of rhetoric

Epideictic.　　　One of the three branches of rhetoric; the rhetoric of "praise or blame"

Epistêmê.　　　Knowledge, often scientific knowledge[6]

Ethopoeia.　　　Description of natural propensities, manners, affections, virtures and vices in order to flatter or reproach; character portrayal generally

---

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all definitions come from Richard Lanham's *Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*
[2] Hawhee, Debra "Agonism and Arete." *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 35.3 2002: 185-207, 185. Print.
[3] Eric Patterson's *Just War Thinking: Morality and Pragmatism in the Struggle Against Contemporary Threats*, Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2007, 18-24. Print.
[4] Turner 132
[5] *The Forest of Rhetoric: Silva Rhetoricae*.
[6] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*. Trans. Robert C. Bartlett and Susan D. Collins. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2012, 1143a10-15. Print.

Ethos.   A description of character, or characteristics

Exclamatio.   Emotional exclamation or shout, also *ecphonesis*[7]

Exordium.   The first part of a classical oration. It caught the audience's interest while introducing the subject

Facilitas.   The ability to speak extemporaneously on any subject at anytime[8]

Gravitas.   Weight or force when speaking; one of the seven pure types (*ideai*) of style, according to Hermogenes[9]

Inventio.   The first of the five traditional parts of rhetorical theory, concerned with the finding and elaboration of arguments

Jus ad bellum.   Just cause to war

Jus en bello.   Just action in war

Jus gentium.   The law of nations[10]

Kairos.   The Greek word for time, place, and circumstances of a subject

Loci communes.   A general argument, observation, or description a speaker could memorize for use on any number of possible occasions; see also *commonplaces*, *topoi*

Logos.   The thinking which language expressed, and the conceptually knowable part of the world which language could express; what today we would call "proof" of some sort

Memoria.   The fourth of the traditional five parts of rhetoric, that which discusses devices to aid and improve the memory

---

[7] *The Forest of Rhetoric: Silva Rhetoricae*. Ed. Gideon O. Burton. Brigham Young University. n.d. Web. 11 Oct. 2013.
[8] Quintilian ix-xlviii
[9] *The Forest of Rhetoric: Silva Rhetoricae*.
[10] Meron, "Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth" 4 for *jus ad bellum*, *jus en bello*, and *jus gentuim*

Narratio.
The second part of a six-part classical oration; gives the audience the history of the problem

Paeanismus.
An emotional exclamation of joy because of goodness attained or evil avoided

Paraenesis.
Moral exhortation that has a confirming and traditional character (93); basic elements are accepted precepts, examples, discussions of traditional moral topics (*topoi*), encouraging reminders of what the readers already know and have accomplished, and reasons for recommended behavior.[11]

Partitio.
The third part of a six-part classical oration; sets forth points stipulated (agreed on by both sides) and points to be contested.

Pathos.
Any emotional appeal

Peroratio.
The last part of the six-part classical oration; often an impassioned summary, not simply a review of previous arguments

Pistis.
The argument, proof that supports one's case. Aristotle isolates three kinds; ethos, pathos and logos

Progymnasmata.
The title of a series of rhetorical exercises which introduced students to the study of rhetoric

Protrope.
A commandment, promise, or exhortation intended to move one's consent or desires, also *Adhortatio* as a call to action with threats or promises[12]

---

[11] Stanley K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Wayne A. Meeks. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986: 93 & 96. Print.
[12] *The Forest of Rhetoric: Silva Rhetoricae*

Refutatio. The fifth part of a six-part classical oration. This part answered the

opponent's argument

Rhetorica docens. The study of rhetoric

Rhetorica utens. The use of rhetoric[13]

Taxis. See *dispositio*

Technê. Art or craft[14]

Topoi. See *loci communes*

---

[13] Burke 36 for both *rhetorica docen* and *rhetorica utens*

[14] Parry, Richard. "Epistêmê and Technê." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Ed. Edward N. Zalta. Stanford University. Fall 2008. Web. 3 Mar. 2014.

Seahorn, Christal R. Bachelor of Arts, Trinity University, Spring 1999; Master of Arts, University of York, Summer 2002; Doctor of Philosophy, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, Summer 2014
Major: English
Title of Dissertation: Fighting Words: The Discourse of War in Early Modern Drama and Military Handbooks
Dissertation Director: Dr. Elizabeth Bobo
Pages in Dissertation: 289; Words in Abstract: 344

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes war discourse in sixteenth-century military handbooks and history plays with a focus on formal performances of martial rhetoric and the informal language used to rally audiences and justify war. Chapter One uses Rhetorical Genre Studies to classify the pre-battle oration as a social genre with common structures and themes, familiar not only to exhorting commanders and their soldiers but also to the general Renaissance populace. Establishing the pre-battle speech as a highly-conventionalized, even ritualized form of oratory, Chapter Two argues that performances of the genre are social actions in which audience familiarity elevates the speech act. This heightened valuation raises anticipation for the rhetorical moment and helps transform events like Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech and Henry V's Agincourt address into transcendent hero narratives. Chapter Three dissects formal justifications of war in William Shakespeare's *Henry V* and George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*. The chapter demonstrates a playwright's ability either to persuade an audience of legitimate cause, even in the face of possible war crimes, by systematically leading viewers through the rules of Just Cause Theory or to complicate legitimacy assumptions by disrupting the expected framework and destabilizing the systematic narrative.

The final two chapters examine informal motives in the trope of martial masculinity and in figurative language descriptions of war. Conducting a character analysis of official and surrogate martial commanders in Shakespeare's *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI*, Chapter Four evaluates

recurrent themes of effeminacy in the manuals. It connects anxieties about masculinity to questions of patriarchal power and uncertainties about sociocultural transitions occuring within an English society that at once idealized peace and vilified it as emasculating. Using Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Chapter Five uncovers similar anxieties embedded in the figurative expressions used to describe war in which warfare is conceptualized as natural and unpredictable, but England's men lack the knowledge and training to keep the country ordered and war-ready. This study advocates for an increased literary-historical awareness of war discourse and gives explicit evidence for connecting the treatises to early modern literature, an assumption that remains as-yet unproven by prevailing scholarship.

Biographical Sketch

Christal Seahorn earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas in 1999. She received her Master of Arts degree in Renaissance Literature from University of York in York, England in 2002. In 2008, she was awarded a Doctoral Fellowship and joined the Ph.D. program in English at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. She is currently a Lecturer of Writing at the University of Houston-Clear Lake in Houston, Texas. Seahorn's dissertation, *Fighting Words: The Discourse of War in Early Modern Drama and Military Handbooks*, was directed by Dr. Elizabeth Bobo.