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## SHAKESPEARE AND REPUBLICANISM

*Shakespeare and Republicanism* is a groundbreaking work by a leading scholar of the Renaissance. Andrew Hadfield reveals for the first time exactly how Shakespeare was influenced by contemporary strands in political thought that were critical of the English crown and constitution. Shakespeare has often been seen as a conservative political thinker characterized by an overriding fear of the 'mob'. Hadfield argues instead that Shakespeare's writing emerged out of an intellectual milieu fascinated by republican ideas. From the 1590s onwards, he explored republican themes in his poetry and plays: political assassination, elected government, alternative constitutions, and, perhaps most importantly of all, the problem of power without responsibility. Beginning with Shakespeare's apocalyptic representation of civil war in the *Henry VI* plays, Hadfield provides a series of powerful new readings of Shakespeare and his time. For anyone interested in Shakespeare and Renaissance culture, this book is required reading.

ANDREW HADFIELD is Professor of English at the University of Sussex. He is the author of *Spenser's Irish Experience* (1997), *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing* (1998) and *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics* (2003). He is also the editor of *Representing Ireland* (with Willy Maley and Brendan Bradshaw, 1993), *The Cambridge Companion to Spenser* (2001) and *Shakespeare and Renaissance Europe* (with Paul Hammond, 2004).

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*For Lucy Eleanor Hadfield*

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## *Preface*

This book has had something of a complex history, one that fanciful observers might suggest actually mirrors its subject. I was able to write it only because I was awarded a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship (2001–4). I am extremely grateful to the Trust, whose members have been most generous in supporting my research, and I hope that the finished product is what they envisaged. Nearly all of the book was written in the Department of English at the University of Sussex, a truly republican institution, where friendship is valued alongside intellectual endeavour, and (relative) equality is the order of the day. The research was carried out at two rather more tyrannically inclined centres of learning, an obscure outpost near a Black Sea, the name of which escapes me for now, and one right in the heart of the new Rome, overseen by a modern Tiberius. Nevertheless, I had the benefit of some splendid republican allies, most notably my friends David Scott Kastan, Tom Paulin and Jim Shapiro, who helped shape the book through an extensive series of conversations, also reading and correcting extracts, as well as providing useful leads and references. I will miss their company. I also enjoyed working with and learnt much from Julie Crawford, Cathy Eden, Jean E. Howard and Bruce Robbins. My students, too, were a great source of inspiration, especially those who took my Shakespeare lecture course and Spenser graduate course.

Many other friends and colleagues have helped make this book see the light of day. It has been a pleasure, as always, to work with Ray Ryan at Cambridge University Press, who has believed in the project from the start and made my life easier by allowing me to obtain an advance contract for the book. His advice has always been valuable, as has his friendship. The four anonymous readers who commented on the proposal I submitted to the press gave extremely good advice that helped sharpen and focus my ideas at an early stage. My new early modern colleagues in the English Department at Sussex – Brian Cummings, Matt Dimmock,

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Margaret Healy and Alan Sinfield – have all proved splendid to work with, as I always knew they would. I am grateful to David Armitage; Colin Burrow, who has given me the benefit of his vast erudition and sceptical attention; Patrick Cheney, for many stimulating conversations over the years, in person, as well as by telephone and e-mail, and most especially for his comments on Marlowe, which have helped shape this study; Tom Corns, who was most helpful in the early stages of the project; Martin Dzelzainis, who listened patiently and shared some thoughts with me on a longish train journey; Professor Jack Hadfield, always a loyal companion, who has made many long walks seem short; Paul Hammond, for being an important mine of information and source of genial conversation, as well as a trenchant critic of badly expressed ideas; John Kerrigan; Rebecca Lindner for helping me understand the political nature of early modern romance; Nigel Llewellyn, who went well beyond the call of duty in helping me sort out the cover illustration; Willy Maley, who has been a kind and generous reader over the years, as well as a dear friend; Rebecca Nesvett for teaching me a great deal about English perceptions of classical Greece, a subject that informs this study, implicitly, if not always explicitly; David Norbrook; Markku Peltonen; Nicholas Royle, who lent me his thoughts on *Julius Caesar*; Kevin Sharpe, who has always been an encouraging friend and mentor; and my former research assistant, Matt Zarnowiecki, who was a great help with Chapter Three, a pleasure to work with, and very good at making the most of hopelessly vague questions and unreasonable demands. I should also add that this book would not have been possible without the labours of those historians, scholars and literary critics who have done so much to unearth and conceptualize the forms that early modern republicanism took. Although they may not agree with my methods and conclusions, this study has greatly benefited from the work of David Armitage, J. H. Burns, Patrick Collinson, Mark Goldie, David Norbrook, Markku Peltonen, J. G. A. Pocock, Quentin Skinner, Nigel Smith and Blair Worden. Alison Hadfield provided a splendid index at short notice.

I have been grateful to be able to air my views at various venues, and for the discussion and feedback I have received from critical, but invariably helpful audiences. Parts of Chapter Three were presented at the London Renaissance Seminar (November 2003), my thanks to Tom and Margaret Healy for inviting me to speak; parts of the introduction and chapter 5 were presented at the Pennsylvania State University (October 2002), my thanks to Patrick Cheney for inviting me, and at the English Graduate Colloquium, University of Sussex (October 2003), my thanks to Jenny

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Bourne Taylor for inviting me; part of Chapter Four was presented at the symposium 'Religion and Politics in English Poetry and Drama, 1520–1640' at the Université of Fribourg, Switzerland (May 2004), my thanks to Anthony Mortimer for inviting me, and as one of the annual Jon Lopategui lectures at Hampton Court, sponsored by the University of Kingston-upon-Thames (December 2004), my thanks to Tom Betteridge for inviting me; and an overview of the book, along with sections of Chapter Six, was presented as a plenary lecture at the Ninth Nordic Conference for English Studies, Aarhus Universitet, 27–29 May 2004, my thanks to Dominic Rainsford for inviting me.

I would like to thank the editors of *Textual Practice* and Routledge for allowing me to reproduce sections of my article 'Shakespeare and Republicanism: History and Cultural Materialism', *Textual Practice* 17 (2003), 461–83, in the Introduction and Chapter Five; and the editors and Manchester University Press for allowing me to reproduce part of my essay, 'Hamlet's Country Matters: The "Scottish Play" within the Play', in Willy Maley and Andrew Murphy, eds., *Shakespeare and Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp.87–103.

My family have, as ever, made my labours all the more enjoyable and, I hope, I have been able to repay them by getting better at containing my efforts within the working week and becoming more charming and less grumpy at home. My love and thanks, as always, to Alison, Lucy, Patrick and Maud. The book is dedicated to Lucy, even though she may be a royalist at heart.

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*Note on the text*

i/j and u/v have been silently modernized. Elsewhere I have tried to use original texts where possible, but have sometimes used modern editions where it is more convenient to do so, does not affect the argument, and allows readers the chance to explore the material more easily themselves. I have used the Arden Shakespeare as my main Shakespeare text, but referred to other editions when necessary or desirable.

## *Abbreviations*

AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
AJLH	<i>The American Journal of Legal History</i>
BJRLM	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester</i>
CD	<i>Comparative Drama</i>
CR	<i>The Centennial Review</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ELH	<i>English Literary History</i>
ELR	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
ES	<i>English Studies</i>
HJ	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
HLQ	<i>The Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
JBS	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
MLQ	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
MRDE	<i>Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England</i>
MRTS	<i>Medieval &amp; Renaissance Texts &amp; Studies</i>
N. & Q.	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
P. & P.	<i>Past and Present</i>
PHR	<i>Pacific Historical Review</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RHS	<i>Royal Historical Society</i>
RQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
SEL	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900</i>
Sh. St.	<i>Shakespeare Studies</i>
Sh. Sur.	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
SJ	<i>Sidney Journal</i>
SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
TLS	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i>

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<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>SHS</i>	<i>Scottish History Society</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>Sp. Stud.</i>	<i>Spenser Studies</i>
<i>YES</i>	<i>Yearbook of English Studies</i>