



Elizabethan England provided a favourable climate for the formation of persistent, simplified models of some foreign nations.

At a certain stage of the paper the discussion is transferred from stereotypes to prejudice due to certain emotional properties reflected by the stereotypes presented. The scope of this study and the material available excludes some approaches to prejudice, namely those a psychologist may take to know how certain influences get tied into a living, to analyze a dynamic nexus of the individual's life. Hence, the approach via personality dynamics and structure, the phenomenological approach or via stimulus object have been left out in favour of the historical and socio-cultural approach. Therefore, it is a presentation of a broad social context for national prejudice in a historically distant epoch rather than an explanation why within this context one group develops prejudice and the other does not.<sup>2</sup> Psychodynamic elements, however, cannot be completely rejected as factors complementary to the socio-cultural ones. Without these factors the process of prejudice formation would not be easily comprehended.

Three foreign national stereotypes have been chosen for the analysis in genetic perspective: the Spanish, the Italians and the Jews /a race rather than a nation/. The choice is determined by the literary material on which all further conclusions are based, namely The Unfortunate Traveller, or Life of Jack Walton by Thomas Nashe. In view of the fact that a national stereotype - to be classified as such - implies sharing a similar opinion about something and reacting to it according to one learned direction by a majority of people on the same territory, at the same time<sup>3</sup>, this piece of popular Elizabethan prose fiction addressed to a wide, unsophisticated reading public is a good source for this type of study. Needless to say, a sufficient number of foreign elements, be it opinions, characters, situations, offered by Nashe's story make it a promising area to search for stereotypes.

The adoption of a literary work as a source material requires an approach different from those developed by sociology, since modern sociological techniques cannot be applied to a distant epoch. Nashe's prose is treated as a specific culture document produced with a communicative intention. His stereotypes not

only reflect the individual's cognitive relation to the external world but also reveal his subjective emotional attitude to the values the world represents. As such, they reflect the real consciousness of the author and of his reading public.<sup>4</sup> This consciousness, national stereotypes being its element, existed objectively beyond the literary work; thus a literary material is only a reflection of facts and processes beyond it.

Before presenting and considering a broad socio-cultural context and factors responsible for stereotyped images of foreign nations and their representatives, some typical qualities of such images should be pointed to, the qualities indicating that a process of stereotyping has taken place. Modern sociology and psychology developed reliable instruments to investigate human cognitive structure, and they offer some conclusions and findings concerning universal processes of human cognition, irrespective of historical conditioning. Stereotypes are one aspect of these processes. The term stereotype has been defined as an exaggerated belief associated with a category. This belief, be it favourable or unfavourable, influences an individual's attitude towards the category shaping his predisposition to act, perceive, think and feel in relation to it.<sup>5</sup> This definition is too vague, however, to be applied to foreign characters in Nashe as a test proving their stereotype bias. The vague term "exaggerated belief" was given a much more precise formulation by R.F. Catter, who described it as Exaggerization. The idea of it is that the very fact of membership in a category produces a judgement that the stimulus object/person possesses in full degree the attributes associated with the category and, what is more important, these attributes are held in extremity, i.e. they have high valances.<sup>6</sup> Although polarization and stereotyping seem to be functionally different processes, polarization implies stereotyping and is thus its indicator. The attributes of the stimulus person/here, foreign characters/ can roughly be grouped under two headings: the exterior, physical features and setting being its elements, and the character, i.e. mental and moral qualities that differentiate one category from another.<sup>7</sup>

Nashe's presentation of Spain and its representative evokes an extremely polarized image of this nation, the image of a

strongly negative valence. The highly ironical and scornful description of typical Spanish garment<sup>8</sup> is only an introduction to the appearance of the main Spanish character, a brutal "bandito", a paid murderer, a rapist, a hypocrite and a perverse nihilist<sup>9</sup>. All this added results in an essence of villainy in the concentration possible only when polarization takes place.

The picture of Italy in the final section of The Unfortunate Traveller is that of a declining country, the centre of corruption, dissipation, debauchery and crime of various sorts. The choice of characters and events placed in the Italian setting makes Italy a motherland of courtesans, thieves and murderers. By means of types introduced Nashe created a highly polarized, extremely derogatory image of Italy. This supports the initial assumption that the author made use of a cliché, of a national stereotype functioning in his times among his contemporaries. Its very illustrative statement is provided by Nashe's banished English earl living in Italy long enough to judge it as the place where 'naught but lasciviousness is to be learned' and to accuse the natives of jealousy, rashness, conspiracy, poisoning and doggedness.<sup>10</sup>

Another foreign group, a race rather than a nation, treated in a very similar way are the Jews. The two representatives of this category strike the reader as the most impressive example of how polarization can go to extremes attributing all the worst negative traits to one person. Zadok embodies nothing but sadism, cruelty, brutality, blind hatred of Christians, miserliness, morbid thrift and charlatanism.<sup>11</sup>

Polarization itself is not the only indicator of the stereotyping process. The other characteristic feature is homogeneity of elements concerning the stimulus person. It is not so much a sociological rule, but rather a cognitive tendency of the human mind to reduce the heterogeneity of characteristics towards their homogeneity. Its function is to save cognitive effort or to compensate for the lack or deficiency of information. From this point of view, stereotyping may be described as a process of homogenizing the attributes belonging to the category resulting in a schematic image of each member of this category, where either completely positive or completely negative predication of elements is possible.<sup>12</sup>

The paper does not deal with Nashe's private stereotypes but approaches them as a reflection of popular attitudes of the Elizabethan society at large. Therefore, it seems desirable to find whether homogeneity really characterizes Nashe's foreign individuals and categories, and whether the same categories in other writings of the epoch are similarly homogenous. Nashe's other prose work Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil offers a brief characterization of the Spaniard, the tone of which and the traits exposed<sup>13</sup> - when compared to the Spanish villain discussed above - prove that the label 'Spanish' is a sufficient prediction of typical elements of this category, at least in Nashe. But not only. In a brief criticism of three European countries expressed by George Chapman's character in his Byrons Conspiracy, the most typical Spanish trait is, like in Nashe, pride<sup>14</sup>. Italy as presented in Pierce Penniless, although characterized very briefly, is in fact one more version of the image in The Unfortunate Traveller: "...the academy of manslaughter, the sportingplace for murder, the apothecary shop of poison for all nations..."<sup>15</sup>

Webster's vision of Italy in his Senecan revenge tragedy The White Devil provides further evidence that this country had a very homogenous image in the 16th century England. This image is a synonym of corruption, crime and papal superstition. The plot of The White Devil based on a historical event from 1585 was constructed on the Italian motif of revenge. Bracciano, Lodovico and Flaminio exhibit dark traits similar to those presented by Nashe. Webster's Rome, the setting for the tragedy, seethes with ungovernable passions, sexual desire, outbursts of anger and hatred, jealousy, cheating and conspiracy.

The opinions about Italy found in some nonfictional Elizabethan writings coincide with the image of that country emerging from the literary works cited. Thus, in a letter to Somerset, Thomas Gardiner calls Italy a place "...to vanity and pleasure devised"<sup>16</sup>. William Harrison in his Description of England is more specific about the Italian vice when he complains about "the usual sending of nobleman's sons into Italy, from where they bring home nothing but mere atheism, infidelity, vicious conversation and ambitious and proud behaviour"<sup>17</sup>.

Shakespeare and Marlowe created some excellent Jewish characters resembling their two countrymen from The Unfortunate Traveller in so many aspects that the homogeneity of the Elizabethan Jewish type can hardly be questioned. The Jewish banker Shylock from The Merchant of Venice is, first of all, a miser demanding a guarantee that his money will be returned, the guarantee being a pound of human flesh<sup>18</sup>. This peculiar condition reflects an inclination to mutilation frequently attributed to the Jews. The echo of it is sounded in Zachary's plan to use Jack Wilton for a vivisection. Shylock never expresses his hatred for Christianity with such intensity as Nashe's Zadok does; yet he expresses it pretty often. 'I hate him for he is a Christian', he says about Antonio. When invited by Bassanio to dinner, he declares: 'I'll go in hate, to feed upon the prodigal Christian'.

The fact that Nashe's foreign characters and pictures of foreign nations are so clearly biased, and all in one emphatically negative direction, permits to detect here existing national antagonisms and prejudices. Antagonism is understood as a socially negative tendency, a tendency to act in such a way that the results expected for the object of the action are unfortunate - thus, the attitude towards the object is determined beforehand. Studied in this perspective, Nashe's foreign stereotypes give a clear evidence of this negative tendency. Obviously, it does not refer to any physical interaction but to verbal expressions only. Antagonism is but an excellent nourishment for growing of prejudice, i.e. attitudes preventing differentiated thinking about a category and its individual members. Stereotypes are not identical with prejudice, as they are rationalizers in the first place<sup>20</sup>. But they easily assimilate to the prevailing temper of prejudice or to the needs of the situation. Further discussion can thus be shifted to the ground of prejudice as a factor responsible for the fixed ideas, fixed marks accompanying the categories of foreigners in Nashe and his contemporaries.

Elizabethan England was a country creating many propitious conditions responsible for prejudice and stereotyped images of everything alien, competitive and hostile towards the English society, the society already perceived by itself as something

genuine and distinct. With the fragmentation of national cultures and faiths in the period of Reformation, the growing national feeling among the English required a new, England-oriented image of Europe. Stereotypes, traditional attitudes and beliefs created jointly 'the framework of assumptions' within which information about foreigners was presented and received<sup>21</sup>.

This was a country of rapid changes in progress, mostly economic and religious. Social consequences were twofold: 1/ anxiety, fear, loss of predictability, as was caused, for example, during the violent reign of Mary Tudor by the disturbance of the positive religious atmosphere round the new doctrine created thanks to Cranmer's Prayer Book; 2/ heterogeneity of social structure marked with the rise of new gentry, merchant guilds and oligarchies. Some records in Hall's Chronicle refer to the unfriendly treatment of aliens on the part of English merchants, afraid of foreign competition. Jealousy and specific grievances were a cause of direct attacks on foreign merchants in 1456 and 1593<sup>22</sup>.

The third essential factor setting in motion the prejudice-shaping mechanisms was a considerable ignorance of foreign countries and communication barriers between England and the Continent.

This brief enumeration of general conditions which add to the formation of prejudice-flavored images of other groups and nations may be better developed by a closer examination of historical conditions underlying Nashe's national stereotypes in The Unfortunate Traveller.

A preliminary sensation in prejudice formation is a feeling of strangeness towards the object of attitude. This feeling may be based either on frequent contacts, or on an almost total lack of mutual contacts<sup>23</sup>. When contacts take place, they should be active at least one-sidedly, i.e. at least one side must be conscious of the other side's existence as an active force. A contact of this type is established when, for example, the subject realizes that he and the object, pursuing their own economic or political goals, compete or cooperate with each other: the achievements of one of them affect the situation of the other<sup>24</sup>. Applying this rule to the Anglo-Spanish relations in the 16th century reveals the situation of frequent contacts with a com-

plate divergence of interests. The overlap and exclusion of interests refer to the political plane and its intensified by religious divergence after the English schism. In the period of the quick development of reformed churches, Spain remained orthodox Catholic, a crusader for the Catholic doctrine against the Protestant revolution in Europe<sup>25</sup>. The first challenge was the Royal Divorce of Henry VIII which hurt Spanish pride twice: not only was the divorced wife a Spanish princess but also England liberated herself from the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, and thus from the Emperor's sphere of manipulation. The next period of more direct conflict was the reign of Mary Tudor. She was unpopular because of her Spanish marriage against the advice of Parliament, and the prosecution of Protestant dissenters. The contempt and hatred reached a peak when, in attempt to help Philip, Mary declared war on France and in consequence lost Calais in January, 1559.

The second aspect of conflict between England and Spain was their rivalry on the Atlantic and in newly discovered lands<sup>26</sup>. England was far behind Spain in her overseas expansion, and the first projects of colonization appeared as late as the early reign of Elizabeth I. But once possessed by the idea of colonization, the Elizabethans proceeded with speed<sup>27</sup>. English expansion on the Atlantic and in America met with resistance from Spain. Both countries realized then that their future depended on an efficient colonial policy. According to the Pope's division of the globe from 1494, all lands discoverable to the west from the pole-to-pole line running near the Azores belonged to Spain, and Spain was ready to fight for her rights. The younger generation of English seamen realized the strategic importance of the rivalry with Spain for supremacy in the world. Richard Hakluyt in his *Voyages* warned against the developing power of Spain and encouraged the English to conquer the Atlantic, "over which the Spaniards and Portugals have made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages"<sup>28</sup>.

After a decade of continual fights between the two countries, it came to the final struggle in 1588, the year of the defeat of Spanish Armada. The battle had been preceded by constant private fights between the Spanish and the English sailors; the frequency of the skirmishes increased when Philip prohibited English trade with America in 1572. The struggle with Spain

aroused the whole of the Elizabethan society, for the prosperity of most classes depended largely upon the defeat of the Spanish sea-power.

Differences in religion, rivalry on the seas and the final war provided a ground of hostile contacts on which national antagonism could flourish. Common hatred of Spain extended even on the English Catholics, who were prosecuted more energetically when the tension in Anglo-Spanish relations was aggravated. In 1583 only two Catholic victims accused of collaboration with the enemy were burnt; in 1584 the number was fifteen. The anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish hysteria reached its apogee in the critical year 1588 when thirty-four people were killed in a massacre<sup>29</sup>. Without further multiplication of examples it is obvious that the Spanish experience was predominantly unpleasant for the 16th century England, and not only for the court politicians, but also for ordinary people bearing the burden of Anglo-Spanish conflicts. The attitudes of many individuals are shaped similarly by being exposed to the same influence, thus forming a tendentious picture of an object<sup>30</sup>. No wonder, then, that Spanish characters in Elizabethan literary works are villainous invested with the darkest vices.

The diversity of Anglo-Italian contacts, which reached an apogee in the 15th and 16th century, does not allow one to point to one single mechanism of shaping the Italian image in the popular Elizabethan mind without the danger of oversimplification. Generally speaking, no traditional relationship ever existed between these two countries. Neither wars/as with Spain or France/nor strong economic links/as with the Low Countries/could bring about greater political conflicts. The absence of a central government in Italy<sup>31</sup> and a safe geographical distance presented no immediate threat for England. However, mutual contacts existed starting from the Middle Ages; yet their quality was often diametrically opposed, according to what social groups were involved on both sides and to what type of 'business' was in focus. Thus, for example, the group of Oxford scholars centered around Duke Humphrey of Gloucester active in the 1440s advocated Italian new learning by correspondence with Italian scholars and by ordering new books from the Continent<sup>32</sup>. But the movement was too exclusive and isolated from the life of

the nation to produce any significant, immediate influence upon shaping popular opinion about Italy. The visits of English scholars to Italian universities in the 15th century had a similarly small effect on common ideas. Most of them were churchmen, like John Free, William Grey, John Gunthorpe or Robert Fleming, who having studied in Padua, Bologna and Florence transferred new trends to their native ground. They probably had no intention of popularizing their knowledge and experience among wider circles of the society. The next generation of Oxonians, Thomas Linacre, William Grocyne and William Letticer, could be better propagators of Italian scholarship as they taught to students what they themselves learned in Florence and Bologna. Even if those attempts had been greater, the scholars would have hardly been responsible for the image of Italy and the Italians offered by popular authors like Nashe.

The history of the early Anglo-Italian scholastic contacts is relevant to this study only to point that this was the beginning of a wider interest in Italy, at least among educated Tudor gentlemen. Such an education was not complete unless some time had been spent travelling and studying in Italy. Benefits of travel abroad were known only to those who could afford it and who observed the official theory of travel anti-mated by a stern sense of duty. The image of Italy emerging from travel books, private diaries and second-hand oral accounts would certainly have been a more objective and favourable one if only the Elizabethan code of travelling had been followed. But, unfortunately, it was a new type of traveller who was responsible, to a large extent, for the projection of a distorted image of Italy onto their countrymen. Those common adventurers, pleasure-seekers and dilliberants brought ridicule on themselves in ostentatious imitation of foreign fashion and acquired a name of the 'Italianate Englishmen'. This channel of transferring ideas of a foreign culture to the society of untravelling Englishmen was in fact a barrier to communicating real values of Italy, of which the English at large were rather ignorant.

There was, however, some rational justification for popular criticism of the undesirable effects of travelling upon the morals and manners of young English travellers. The second half of the 16th century witnessed a gradual decline of Italy, her

politics and morals. Machiavelli, himself an Italian, saw only corruption and decay of Italian city-states, and described his country as one 'without head, without order, beaten, torn, overrun, and to have endured every kind of desolation'<sup>33</sup>. Nashe's Italian courtesans and their panderers encountered by Jack Willton in Venice might as well reflect the author's indirect or direct familiarity with this type of women, who played an important role in the intellectual and artistic life of Renaissance Italy. Their houses acquired a new status as elegant meeting-places of the local elite: artists, politicians, courtiers. According to the census from 1580s, for 100 000 total population of Rome, the town had 6000 courtesans. As keeping luxurious houses required money, they mastered many tricks to swindle it out of naive and credulous visitors<sup>34</sup>.

The areas of the contact presented so far were largely restricted to the territory of the Renaissance Italy, thus limiting the perception of the Italians to their native environment, and by a relatively small group of Englishmen, too small to stand for the Elizabethan public opinion. Therefore, the condition of frequent contacts cannot be accepted as sufficient in searching for possible premises of the stereotype formation. This is a situation where information - often incomplete and indirect - becomes a basis for the formation of a 'cognitive model' of the category.

The same problem approached from the point of view of the lower social classes, and placed in the British environment, assumes completely different dimensions. Commercial relations of one nature or another had existed between England and Italy as long as the 12th century. By no means was it a peaceful co-existence of prospering partners. It was a fierce competition between the Italians, who had early realized the benefits of commerce, and the English, who only began to evolve from their feudal dreams towards mercantile economy. The 14th century England illustrates it clearly enough, as a period of great commercial prosperity for the merchants and traders of Italy. Organized in companies, experienced in overseas trade, and interpreting, they stirred bitter hostility on the part of their English 'competitors' and 'partners'. The hostility sprang from jealousy of success in money-lending, of appointments to profitable offices, such as collectors of subsidies and customs<sup>35</sup>.

Native jealousy was manifested in many ways, starting from the assassinations of too active Italians, attacks of English privateers on Italian ships, up to more legal measures, i.e. advocating laws and acts of Parliament limiting Italian trade with England. Such acts were actually introduced, as that in 1455 limiting Italian trade with wool and cloth manufacturers to three towns only.

Popular riots directed against Italian communities were frequent. One such violent outburst of hatred in 1456 drove the Italian merchants out of London for some time. The persistence of this animosity was proved half a century later /1517/ by the Evil May Day. On that day anti-foreign riots were initiated in London by Dr. Bale who preached before popular audience at St. Paul's Cross that 'each nation had received its boundaries from God', and that the increase of poverty was due to aliens. The sermon brought about violent attacks on local foreigners, the Italians being one of the most hated targets.<sup>36</sup>

The socio-cultural background to the Elizabethan opinion about Italy would not be complete without pointing to one more strongly emotional factor operating after the schism of Henry Tudor. The reformed Church of England became automatically an enemy of the Roman-Catholic Pope by liberating itself from the papal jurisdiction. And who were the Italians but 'papists'. First Italian bankers to arrive to England accompanied the collectors of the papal tithes. Many of them were official or secret agents of the Pope. Their privileges for trade with England were often regulated by papal bulles. And although Elizabeth I in all her wisdom avoided outward conflicts with the Pope's authority, there were Puritans who were never satisfied with the superficial character of the English reformation. Puritanism, with its criticism of the Roman church hierarchy and structure, was more anti-papal than the official head of the Church of England herself. Puritan attitudes and beliefs were not equally popular among all classes, and they developed better among the rich townsfolk, prosperous merchants and lower new gentry.<sup>37</sup> Such a social distribution of the pro-Puritan sentiments is very significant for anyone analysing Elizabethan popular prose, for these social classes constituted the bulk of the reading public of prose pamphlets and other popular literature. The anti-papal antagonism was probably effectively strengthened and fixed in

religious sermons by orthodox preachers presenting the values of the wholesome Puritan morality in opposition to the degenerated spirit of the papal world. Such arguments received additional validity when secret agents of the Pope were discovered and prosecuted, for example Ruberto Ridolfi, a banker and a conspirator plotting against Elizabeth and supplying English information to foreign ambassadors.

All the aspects of Anglo-Italian relations and contacts created psychological barriers to communication. The barriers resulted from imperfect and unreliable channels of information about the Italians in their own country, on the one hand, and from the clash of interests, on the other. They were much weaker in the royal and aristocratic circles, where the type of contact was different. Their more cosmopolitan orientation did not promote xenophobia in such a sharp form as it was observed among lower classes. The negative direction of the polarized image of Italy may thus be accounted for by the operation of the English national self-image, a sort of a self-stereotype developed by the new nation gradually aware of its uniqueness. The Elizabethans could assess the values of other groups in opposition to those claimed to themselves.

When Nashe produced The Unfortunate Traveller in 1594, the image of the Jew in the Elizabethan society could only be a strictly traditional one, unobstructed by personal contacts with this race for three centuries. The stereotyping process took place much earlier, but the fixedness of the Jewish stereotype caused its perpetuation. Thus, the image of the Jew in Nashe and his contemporaries is an example of a learned and intact attitude. The question arises concerning the possibility of stereotype persistence in the long-term absence of direct contacts with the object. Many authors claim that in the case of everyday, direct coexistence stereotypes weaken. The lack of such contacts, on the other hand, fixes the attitudes already formed and maintains them, since no factors operate to change them.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Lippmann points to the regularity in social circulation of certain images and ideas. Originating in a concrete historical situation, they outlive it and continue in time as a sort of taboo, even when deprived of their real background.<sup>39</sup>

The English background to making the Jews an object of vivid antipathy was similar to that in other Christian countries.

The myth of the Jew-villain goes back to the Bible, the fundamental sacred writings in the culture of Christian Europe. The Biblical Jew was associated with Herod who ordered to kill hundreds of innocent children in attempt to murder Christ, and also with Judas, the traitor selling his Lord for 30 pieces of silver. In the Middle Ages when literary creation was supervised by the clergy and poetics derived from Biblical paraphrases, the Jew became strongly linked with the Passion and Crucifixion. This image, maintained by the medieval religious drama, had been enriched by the moralities presenting the Jew as one of the seven deadly sins, Avarice. To this, usury was soon added and remained for centuries a basic feature of the Jewish stereotype.<sup>40</sup>

By the late 15th century a compromise between Jew and Christian had been achieved. The Jews made significant and welcomed contributions to European life, not only in trade and banking, but also as physicians, scholars and musicians. The Renaissance brought a growing interest in Hebrew, but the centuries-long prejudice of western Christianity had not been diminished. The Jews' traditional fame as physicians had early brought them under suspicion of witchcraft. Even Richard the Lion-Heart so dreaded the Jews that he forbade them to be present at his coronation.

Elizabethan society did not have much opportunity of direct contact with the Jewish race in the country. The presence of the Jews in England lasted no longer than two hundred years; still, in the two centuries between the Norman conquest and their expulsion under Edward I, they managed to secure the function of the controllers of finance. This function, added to the already established Biblical image of Judas's 'commercial' villainy reduced the Jews to the role of social parasites and usurers. At the end of the 12th century the anti-Jewish atmosphere produced two big massacres of Jewish communities. The first took place in 1189 at the very coronation of Richard Coeur de Lion; in the second massacre in 1190, known as the 'tragedy of York', the whole Jewish community perished. The Jewish problem was solved drastically by the parliament held at Westminster in 1290 which decided that all Jews were to be banished from the King's dominions without any right to return.

The Jews in Nashe and in his contemporary writers and playwrights could not be a product of their personal experiences involving this race, although the total absence of at least small Jewish communities in the Elizabethan England can hardly be believed. However, the historical sources of the epoch do not report any significant episodes involving the Jews, and such episodes would have to be really stormy to give rise to the stereotypes the Elizabethans created. With this in mind, the assumption of the perpetuation of fixed images formed in the past and not affected by any significant direct contact seems to be the most reliable explanation of the Jewish stereotype in the 16th century England.

In attempt to follow and explain some factors responsible for and involved in the stereotyping processes of the epoch, a number of problems influencing these processes have been disregarded, although they could shed a new light on them. One such problem area is the Elizabethan education system connected with stereotyping in many ways: 1/ through secularization, it balanced traditional notions and clichés perpetuated by the Church /the importance of sermons as the Church 'propaganda' influencing large audiences of church-goers/; 2/ through the increase of literacy, access to literature was facilitated, but despite all the advantages of the written letter, ideas could be forged in a mass scale, national stereotypes among other things; 3/ the differentiation of the education systems in the Elizabethan England could differentiate the liability of different social groups to internalizing or creating national stereotypes. This brings a fundamental question: who was in fact the author and the carrier of these stereotypes? The answer, although quite relevant to this paper, requires a supplementary study. Another intriguing perspective would be to look at national stereotypes against the developing nationalism and to treat them as a result and as a process of emerging of national communities. The stereotypes as such do not say much about the attributes of strangeness. Why are there so many Spanish and Italian episodes in the Elizabethan literature, but so few Scots or Irishmen? What oppositions were significant? If, with all its brevity and generality, this paper can make a starting point to further cultural investigations,



especially of the functioning of stereotypes in the process of literary communication; its aim has certainly been achieved.

## N o t e s

1. See Z. Mitosek, Literatura i stereotypy, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1974, bibliography.
- See also A. Kąpczowski, Stereotypy Amerykanów polskiego pochodzenia, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1978, bibliography.
2. After G.W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, NY 1958, p.209.
3. Compare T.M. Newcomb, Social Psychology, NY 1959, p.119.
4. See A. Stachurski, Stereotypes of Countries and Nations, "Polish Sociological Bulletin" 1,1968.
5. After G.W. Allport, op.cit., p.191.
6. Compare R.F. Carter, Stereotyping as A Process, "Public Opinion Quarterly" 1962/26/-1, p.77.
7. K. Pfitzner, Die Ausländertypen im englischen Drama der Restaurationzeit, Breslau 1931, p.8.
8. See T. Nashes, The Unfortunate Traveller, in: Thomas Nashes, Selected Writings, ed. Stanley Wells, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, p. 285. All future references to Nashes's works will be to this edition.
9. Ibid., pp. 246, 251, 274, 276.
10. Ibid., p. 256.
11. Ibid., pp. 262-266.
12. See R. Carter, op.cit., p. 77.
13. T. Nashes, Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil, p. 39.
14. G. Chapman, Byrons Conspirator, Act II, sc. 1.
15. T. Nashes, Pierce Penniless, p. 46.
16. Letters of Thomas Gardiner, ed. J.A. Muller, Cambridge 1933, p. 280.
17. W. Harrison, Elizabethan England, in: A Description of England by..., ed. L. Withington, London 1880, p.8.
18. W. Shakespere, The Merchant of Venice, Act I, sc. 3.
19. Compare F. Znaniecki, Studia nad antagonizmem dla obywateli, Poznań 1931, pp. 28-29, 34.
20. See G.W. Allport, op.cit., pp. 191-192, 196.
21. Compare G.H. Hunter, Elizabethans and Foreigners, "Shakespeare Survey", No.17, 1964.
22. T.G. Warr, Part Played by Aliens in the Social and Economic Life in England, typescript, University of London, 1952, pp. 1-13.
23. Compare T.M. Newcomb, op.cit., p. 436.
24. See F. Znaniecki, op.cit., pp. 20-21.
25. H. Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, NY 1967, p. 148.
26. Columbus discovered America in 1492 and in three subsequent voyages to the new land /1493-96, 1498-1500, 1502-04/ claimed Cuba, Haiti, Dominica, Jamaica and some minor islands for Spain. Hernan Cortes conquered the Indian Empire in present-day Mexico and established Spanish dominions there in 1521. Francisco Pizarro did the same with Peru in 1531-34.
27. Humphrey Gilbert's two reconaissance voyages along the coast of N. America: Walter Raleigh sent his ships to Florida in 1584; a year later three other ships set off to America commanded by Richard Grenville. The result was the establishment of the first English colony in America on Roanoke Island.
28. R. Hakluyt, Voyages, J.W. Dent and Sons Ltd, London 1952, pp. 22-23.
29. The numbers taken from: A.L. Rowse, Anglia w Epoce Elzbie-tańskiej, vol. I, p. 390 /PIW, Warszawa 1976/.
30. Compare T.M. Newcomb, op.cit., p. 199.
31. Italy was a name without one definite political equivalent. What is referred to as Italy throughout the paper was in fact a group of bigger and smaller states, of city-states /eg. Venice, Florence, the Papacy, Naples/. The name "Italy" covers the cultural unit that continued the traditions of Rome, but it does not correspond to any united state.
32. L. Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England, NY 1907, chap. I.
33. N. Machiavelli, The Prince /trans. by Luigi Ricci/, NY 1952, p. 80.
34. Compare and see for details: O. Skarbek-Tuchowski, Kurty-zany Rzymu w epoce Odrodzenia, Warszawa 1925.
35. For more details of Anglo-Italian commercial relations in the 15/16th c. see: L. Einstein, op.cit., chap. VI.
36. After L. Einstein, Tudor Ideas, London 1921, p. 300.

37. A.L. Rowse, Anglia w Epoce Elżbietyckiej, PIW, Warszawa 1976. vol. I, p. 406.
38. Compare J. Wiattr, Naród i państwo, Warszawa 1973, p. 417; also T.M. Newcomb, op.cit., p. 430.
39. W. Lippmann, Public Opinion, NY 1961, p. 58.
40. See E. Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali, Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction, Stanford, California 1960, chapter II.

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