



Q33398 – Reformation and Revolution

How Did the Prominence of Syphilis in the 16th and 17th Centuries Affect the Presentation of Sex Workers in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*?

Jean Squires

Variously described as 'a sexually transmitted disease that threatened the social fabric of Europe', a 'physically and socially corrosive disease' and 'the quintessential disease of Renaissance Europe', syphilis rose to great prominence in the 16th and 17th Centuries, leaving behind it a vast literary legacy.¹ This 'chorus of literary responses' to the disease 'reached a [...] crescendo on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage', in light of which I will be examining Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*, written around 1604, just after James I took the crown.² My specific focus will be the ways in which I believe the ubiquitous potency of this venereal disease impacted upon the depictions of sex workers, primarily the eponymous Dutch Courtesan, Franceschina. I will explore how the play interacts with each stage of the disease, from initial infection, to development of symptoms, and finally to the possibility of eventual death. Due to its sexually transmitted nature, the connection between the disease and prostitution was strong, a fact reflected in Henry VIII's closure of the public stews in 1546 during the height of the epidemic.³ I argue that Marston projects the 'enormous cultural paranoia' that surrounded the disease onto his characters, in particular making 'full use of the symbolic possibilities of courtesans'.⁴ I will argue this is a play *itself* infected with syphilis.

Associations between syphilis and foreignness were paramount in Jacobean England, although the question of where syphilis originated from and how it was first spread to Europe remains unresolved.⁵ The most common theory is that Columbus' sailors acquired the disease whilst exploring the Americas, and that these Spaniards then spread the disease further across Europe during the siege of Naples in the mid-1490s, although this theory has not been conclusively proven.⁶ Nevertheless, due to its many associations with various geographical locations, syphilis took on a plethora of different names in the early modern period, all seemingly placing the blame for the root of the disease at another nation's doorstep; the 'French disease', 'Disease of Naples', 'venereal lues' and 'Mobus Gallicus' to name a few.⁷ Furthermore, doctors advertising themselves as capable of treating the disease 'bragged about exotic foreign training' or 'cast themselves as worldly, well-travelled physicians',

¹ Louis Qualtiere, and William Slights, 'Contagion and Blame in Early Modern England: The Case of the French Pox', *Literature and Medicine*, 22:1 (2003), 1-24 (pp.1, 3). / Bruce Boehrer, 'Early Modern Syphilis', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1:2 (1990), 197-214 (p.200).

² Qualtiere, 'Contagion and Blame', p.3.

³ Kevin Siena, 'Pollution, Promiscuity, and the Pox: English Venereology and the Early Modern Medical Discourse on Social and Sexual Danger', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 8:4 (1998), 553-574 (p.559).

⁴ Qualtiere, 'Contagion and Blame', p.3. / Richard Horwich, 'Wives, Courtesans, and the Economics and Jacobean City Comedy', *Comparative Drama*, 7:4 (1973), 291-309 (p.297)

⁵ John Parascandola, 'From Mercy to Miracle Drugs: Syphilis Therapy over the Centuries', *Pharmacy in History*, 51:1 (2009), 14-23 (p.14).

⁶ John Lobdell and Douglas Owsley, 'The Origins of Syphilis', *The Journal of Sex Research*, 10:1 (1974), 76-79 (p.78).

⁷ Qualtiere, 'Contagion and Blame', p.5. / Eugenia Tognotti, 'The Rise and Fall of Syphilis in Renaissance Europe', *Bioethics Quarterly*, 30:2 (2009), 99-113 (p.2).

evidence which strengthens the bond between syphilis and exoticism.⁸ These alien associations present syphilis as an invading force, and as the new and unknown 'other' infecting England and its stage from distant lands. Franceschina is tied to these notions of foreignness on two counts, firstly, that she is 'Dutch', and secondly, that her name plays on the Italian word for French, 'francese'.⁹ Thus Marston is conceivably using his courtesan as the metaphorical and microcosmic embodiment of the foreign disease pervading his play.

This symbolism continues once both Franceschina and the disease she represents have reached Britain's shores. Although it is never stated explicitly that Franceschina is syphilitic, the many portrayals of her and her fellow sex-worker, Mary Faugh, as corruptive and inherently evil are arguably simply metaphors for them being diseased. Horwich describes Mary as 'the guiding spirit of [Franceschina's] trickery [...], who expounds with great facility throughout the play on the ease with which men may be duped'; a view reflected in the line '[c]heaters and bawds go together like washing and wringing'.¹⁰ Cocledemoy 'consort[s]' with Mary Faugh when stealing Mulligrub's goblets, and further, when they escape through the window with the stolen goods, it is Mary who goes first and Cocledemoy who 'with his heels forward, follows'.¹¹ Cocledemoy moreover labels Mary as the 'ungodly fire that burnt Diana's temple', casting her as the legendary Greek arsonist Herostratus, who burnt down the temple of Diana, the goddess of chastity.¹² What these examples show is that Mary Faugh is presented as a destructive and perhaps coercive force, who either leads others into scandal or involves herself in misdeed.

Franceschina is also implicated in many supposedly evil-inducing events. She is repeatedly linked to the devil, labelled as a 'fair devil' by Freevill, who also comments to his friend Malheureux that, due to the fact they both desire Franceschina, '*Diaboli virtus in lumbis est* (the strength of the devil is in our loins)'.¹³ This infection-like image suggesting she has devilishly 'got inside' the men who admire her is heightened by Malheureux's belief that '[w]hen woman's in the heart, in the soul hell', and further through the description of her as the 'source of devils', whose hellish qualities have successfully embedded themselves in Freevill, shown when he himself is called an '[u]nprosperous dive!'.¹⁴ More examples of how Franceschina is presented as a contagious entity are Malheureux's assertion that his lust for her has 'stain[ed] [his] 'haviour', and further in her manipulation and infiltration of his narrative, displayed in the stichomythia in the dialogue when she convinces him to murder Freevill; 'Malheureux: Then he-/ Franceschina: Must -/ Malheureux: Die - '.¹⁵ Additionally, all the male characters who engage in wrongdoing have been involved with either Franceschina or Mary Faugh, as cliental, business partners or admirers. Cocledemoy, Freevill, Mulligrub and Malheureux all take part in deception, Cocledemoy and Freevill's disguises even resulting respectively in Mulligrub and Malheureux being sentenced to death. Therefore, I argue that Marston's characterisation of a prostitute in the wake of syphilis' campaign of terror in 16th Century Britain is determinably focussed on ideas of spreading malice and causation of misconduct.

The early modern rationale for women such as courtesans being the main source of the curse of the French Pox is that these 'loose' women were being punished for their lack of morality. The disease is portrayed as a punishment throughout the play, from Franceschina wishing '[g]ran grincome [syphilis]' and 'hot Neapolitan poc' upon Freevill, to Mulligrub declaring a 'pox

⁸ Kevin Siena., 'The "Foul Disease" and Privacy: The Effect of Venereal Disease and Patient Demand on the Medical Marketplace in Early Modern London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 75:2 (2001), 199-224 (pp.204, 218).

⁹ Neil Rhodes, 'Marston's Common Ground' (February 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/marstons-common-ground/>> [accessed 30 December 2018]

¹⁰ Horwich, 'Wives, Courtesans and the Economics of Jacobean City Comedy', p.296. / John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan* (London, A&C Black: 1997), p.69.

¹¹ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, p.8.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp.15-16

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.76,27

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.77,103,104

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.42.

on Cocledemoy', cementing the sense that, as in other plays of the 17th Century, the pox was 'intentionally and surreptitiously spread', particularly for 'purposes of misanthropic vengeance'.¹⁶ This cultural view of syphilis as retribution meant that it was a perfect piece of 'evidence' for the establishments of the time (particularly the church and the government) to use as proof of the dangerous and sinful nature of extra-marital sex, as it was simple to claim the disease was a sanction decreed by God.¹⁷ Perhaps Marston, too, was using syphilis as a metaphor for moral corruption, and there is a possibility his play would have been used, as much contemporary medical literature was, to 'support proscriptive attitudes towards female sexuality'.¹⁸

Marston's courtesan does, ultimately, end the performance being lead away '[t]o the extremest whip and jail', presenting a bleak future and a clear judgment.¹⁹ This link between prostitutes, syphilis and the whip is also present in Francis Herring's 1604 'modest defence of the caueat giuen to the wearers of impoisoned amulets, as preseruatiues from the plague', in which he describes the 'French Disease' as '*Flagellum diuinum scortatorum*'.²⁰ This translates roughly to 'scourge scortator'; the OED defines 'scourge' as 'a thing or person that is an instrument of divine chastisement', a 'cause of (usually, widespread) calamity', and further as a whip-like 'offshoot or vine' when following the Latin *flagellum*, with examples of these definitions in use from the 16th and 17th Centuries.²¹ The definition of 'scortator' presents only two examples of use, both from the 17th Century, and in which the word is used to mean one who associates with 'whores', or a 'whoremonger'.²² What this example shows is that the pox was viewed by some as a powerfully malicious force in early modern England, one inextricably linked with sex-workers, and perhaps that Marston's characterisation of Franceschina as both a wrathful deliverer and satanic victim of divine punishment was informed by such opinions.

The sense that Marston's sex-workers are infected by the pox is heightened by the many instances of syphilitic imagery to describe them. Cocledemoy calls Mary Faugh a 'worshipful, rotten, rough-bellied bawd', where the use of the words 'rotten' and 'rough' echo the many examples throughout the text in which prostitutes are described within the semantic field of uncleanness and decay.²³ Additionally, she is referred to as a 'blue-toothed patroness' and as 'smooth-gummed', taking her connection with syphilis out of the realm of innuendo and into that of recognisable symptoms, as '[o]verdosing with mercury', a common early modern treatment for the disease, 'could lead to such toxic side effects as [...] the loosening and loss of teeth'.²⁴ Franceschina is similarly implied to have lost her teeth, Cocledemoy noting her 'old lady's gums', and her evident concerns for her physical wellbeing are signalled in her cry of 'Vat sall become of mine poor flesh now?'.²⁵ Moreover, when explaining to the crowd at the ball why he and Malheureux are fighting, Freevill states that '[a]n ulcer long time lurking now is burst'.²⁶ This description also employs syphilitic imagery, arguably casting Franceschina herself as the ulcer that infects the two friends, as Malheureux's desire for her is the cause of this faked scuffle. Thus, not only is it suggested that Franceschina *has* the pox, but also that she, yet again, *embodies* it, reflecting the presentation in 'early modern venereological

¹⁶ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, pp.34, 36, 49. / Qualtiere, 'Contagion and Blame', pp.17,20.

¹⁷ Siena, 'Pollution, Promiscuity and the Pox', p.554.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.555.

¹⁹ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, p.105.

²⁰ Francis Herring, 'A modest defence of the caueat giuen to the wearers of impoisoned amulets, as preseruatiues from the plague', *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1543397831_19844&ACT ION=ByID&ID=D00000998518840000&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&WARN=N&SIZE=85> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

²¹ Oxford English Dictionary <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173205?rkey=pWTzZu&result=1#eid>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

²² Oxford English Dictionary <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173090?redirectedFrom=scortator#eid>> [accessed 30 December 2018]

²³ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, p.15.

²⁴ Parascandola, 'From Mercury to Miracle Drugs', p.15.

²⁵ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, pp.78, 35

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.72.

literature' of 'female biology as pathological and dirty'.²⁷ These ideas are certainly present in both Daniel Sennert's and Nicholas de Blegny's 1673 writings on women infected with syphilis. Sennert details how 'the Pocky Steams of the diseased woman do often imprint their malignity on the genitals of the healthy play-fellow', and de Blegny notes how 'the mixture and corruption of the seeds of divers persons received and contained in the wombs of publick women' are what cause syphilitic symptoms.²⁸ Marston arguably mirrors these unpleasant pictures of women, particularly 'publick women', as the deceptive incubators of this corrosive disease.

The effect of venereal disease on the presentation of sex workers is perhaps best understood when looking at how they are juxtaposed with 'chaste' women. In fact, the 'fabulae argumentum' of the entire play states that '[t]he difference betwixt the love of a Curtezan, and a wife, is the full scope of the Play', falling in line with the idea that city comedies are 'often organized around the contrast between licit and illicit love'.²⁹ This contrast is linguistically realised by Marston through a 'dialogue [...] between the common and the pure, the public and the private'.³⁰ Franceschina is described by Sir Lionel as a 'common woman', linking to Freevill's and Malheureux's condemnation of 'the ulhealthful loins of common loves' and '[t]he common bosom, of a money-creature', respectively.³¹ Conversely, the virtuous and virginal Beatrice is thought of by Freevill as '[f]ull of loved sweetness and clear cheerfulness', linking her instead with the 'chaste, reserved privateness' Malheureux so reveres.³² These ideas are explored further in the use of words such as 'safe', 'safer', 'wise', 'private' and 'only' in the exchanges between Freevill and Beatrice, Freevill further asserting that he holds the 'modest pleasure of a lawful bed' and dearly as his 'health'.³³ The link between 'health' and the much-lauded concept of virginity is arguably a nod towards the sexual safety of virginity, Marston perhaps not only valuing Beatrice for what Ostovich calls 'her absence of sexual knowledge', but also for her absence of disease.³⁴

Marston's women are repeatedly ostracised and dehumanised during *The Dutch Courtesan*, a fate reflecting that of those identified as having syphilis in early modern England. The idea that Marston's other characters feel Franceschina is a corrupted and disgusting woman they wish to push aside is linguistically presented through men such as Freevill naming her a 'creature', and moreover comparing prostitutes to 'roast meat' and 'a carcass three months dead'.³⁵ Cocledemoy also animalises sex-workers as 'punk[s]' and 'polecat[s]', Franceschina acknowledging this portrayal of herself in her questioning of Freevill, '[d]o you take me to be a beast?'.³⁶ This repeated belittling of the central character reflects cultural critic Anna Foa's belief that syphilis 'has been made to function not only as social control of sexual impulses but as an instrument of social aggression, a means of taking revenge on the cultural Other'.³⁷ The sense that Franceschina is a 'cultural Other' is also unquestionable. She exists predominantly on the fringes of the community she meddles with, and the constantly shifting and

²⁷ Siena, 'Pollution, Promiscuity and the Pox', p.557.

²⁸ Daniel Sennert, *Two Treatises: The first on the Venereal Pox*, trans. Nicholas Culpepper (London, 1673), p. 45. and Nicholas de Blegny, *New and Curious Observations concerning the Venereal Disease, and the accidents it produces . . . Explicated by Natural principles with Motions, Actions and Effects of Mercury*, trans. Walter 1676), p3. quoted in Siena, 'Pollution, Promiscuity and the Pox', pp.559,562.

²⁹ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, p.3 / Horwich, 'Wives, Courtesans and the Economics of Jacobean City Comedy', p.293.

³⁰ Rhodes, 'Marston's Common Ground'

³¹ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, pp.94, 11

³² *Ibid.*, pp.23, 28.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.24-25, 83, 94.

³⁴ Helen Ostovich, 'Marriage in *The Dutch Courtesan*' (May 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/marriage-the-dutch-courtesan/>> [accessed 30 December 2018]

³⁵ Marston, *The Dutch Coutesan*, pp.14,28, 29.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.30, 40

³⁷ Anna Foa, 'The new and the old: The spread of syphilis (1494-1530)', in *Sex and gender in historical perspective*, ed. by Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990) quoted in Qualtiere, 'Contagion and Blame', p.19.

unrecognisable conglomeration of Dutch and English she speaks forms a clearly alienating force for the audience and those who surround her on stage.

If a person was infected, once symptoms had visibly occurred, they experienced the 'powerful stigma attached to sexually transmitted diseases', revealed plainly in colloquial Jacobean terms for syphilis such as the 'foul disease' and the 'secret disease'.³⁸ This stigma was further felt most keenly by the *women* who suffered, no doubt because of the 'repulsive external appearance' caused by the pox and the fact that they were, as seen in Sennert and de Blegny's writings above, viewed by many as solely to blame for the spread of the disease.³⁹ The supposition that it was specifically the diseased women who were 'deceptive and dangerous' spreaders of the pox, and that men were their unwitting 'victims' is undoubtedly present in Marston's work, chiefly in the translation of Malheureux's name being akin to 'bad luck'. In his analysis of the text, Peter Kirwan further portrays Franceschina's purposeful and mediated nature, asserting 'she shapes the conditions of the environment that receives the city wits and exercises an unusual amount of agency in determining the fates of men'.⁴⁰ The 16th Century English surgeon William Clowes also parrots the view of prostitutes as 'filthy creatures' who wilfully spread the pox to the 'rouges, and vagabondes' who frequent the 'lew alehouses' they work in.⁴¹ This cultural disgust with those carrying the disease meant some went as far as to question whether those infected should even be treated, as it was viewed as 'the rewar[d] of immoral behaviour'.⁴² Therefore, through his depiction of Franceschina as an inhuman outsider, Marston arguably perpetuates the commonplace view that casting-out sex-workers was the only way to avoid the disease they carry and punish them for their mal-intent.

Marston's characterisation of Franceschina's relationship to madness powerfully corresponds to late stage symptoms of syphilis, further demonstrating the centrality of the disease to a meaningful comprehension of the text. The symptoms of 'mood swings', 'emotional troubles', and 'personality changes' are reflected in the accusations Franceschina is both '[d]evilishly mad' and 'grown mad for the loss of her man'.⁴³ Freevill also claims that the 'use' of prostitutes 'takes away sense', and Franceschina seemingly affirms this when saying of Freevill '[d]e man does rave'.⁴⁴ Marston also establishes many ties between the ideas of sex and death, the latter being the final danger of a syphilitic life. Following on from typical narratives of 'lust' as a 'most deadly sin', Marston also regularly features characters speaking of the inevitable 'end' that will meet sex-workers, Malheureux discussing concepts of a 'worthy end' and a 'sensual end', Freevill linking Franceschina with a 'devilish end', and Cocledemoy declaring that prostitutes must both 'live well' and 'die well'.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Franceschina is described as a 'cockatrice', an animal which can kill at a glance, and Malheureux states that sleeping with her would be 'dangerous' with a 'cost so heavy', and further that 'lov[ing] a whore' is like landing at a 'fatal shore'.⁴⁶ Thus, the real-life perils of engaging with prostitutes in Jacobean England may have pushed Marston to create a highly deadly and menacing courtesan.

There can be little doubt that the social views surrounding syphilis in early modern England permeated Marston's work. Franceschina is the character through which these ideologies are most notably channelled; she is the malignant foreign invader, a harbourer and distributor of

³⁸ Siena, 'The "Foul Disease" and Privacy', p.206.

³⁹ Siena, 'The "Foul Disease" and Privacy', p.217. / Tognotti, 'The Rise and Fall of Syphilis in Renaissance Europe', p.6.

⁴⁰ Peter Kirwan, 'Prefacing *The Dutch Courtesan*' (March 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/prefacing-the-dutch-courtesan/>> [accessed 30 December 2018]

⁴¹ William Clowes, *A Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called (Morbus Gallicas)* (Amsterdam, 1579) quoted in Boehrer, 'Early Modern Syphilis', p.201

⁴² Parascandola, 'From Mercury to Miracle Drugs', p.14.

⁴³ <<https://www.healthline.com/health/neurosyphilis#types>> [accessed 30 December 2018] / Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, p.60.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.94,103.

⁴⁵ Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, pp.11,43,18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.20,40,103.

sin and corruption, and a symbol of what must be contained to maintain societal order. In the same way that Marston's discussion of disease is 'symptomatic of the prevailing belief systems that constitute [his] social moment', it can also be seen as 'reproducing and extending these beliefs, and re-construing the disease's meaning with each act of articulation', thus Marston creates associations between sex-workers and disease in his play as much as he parrots them.⁴⁷ It is hard to say whether Marston himself is attempting to present this play as a didactic narrative warning against the perils of immoral activity, or, as those in power in Jacobean England did, use 'the pox as a useful image with which to buttress their moral stance'.⁴⁸ What we can say is that *Franceschina* ends the action in complete despair, whereas the men around her (Freevill, Malheureux, Cocledemoy, and even Mulligrub) are ultimately absolved of all wrong-doing. It cannot be argued that this oppression of promiscuous or unmarried women is solely the fault of venereal disease; however, infections such as syphilis took the danger of engaging with them out of the sphere of spiritual and into that of tangible and bodily. This meant that the image of the syphilitic femme fatale provided a perhaps unique opportunity for scientific and spiritual causal explanations of disease to coexist peacefully. The evidentially sexually-transmitted nature of the disease allowed the reason for who contracted the disease to be both religious *and* scientific, and thus the concept of the syphilitic sex-worker was perhaps even *operative* in the rise to hegemony of scientific explanations of disease, as the scientific narratives did not contradict the religious ones. Syphilis' powerful fusion of corporeal and spiritual jeopardy intensified the fear and hatred of sex-workers, thus heightening the perception of venereal infections as distinctly female afflictions, and hardening society against those who seemed to have been delivered divine punishment in the form of this virulent disease.

Bibliography

Balmford, James, 'A short dialogue concerning the plagues infection Published to preserue bloud, through the blessing of God.', *Early English Books Online*, <https://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1543397831_19844&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998365970000&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&WARN=N&SIZE=114> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Boehrer, Bruce T., 'Early Modern Syphilis', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1:2 (1990), 197-214.

Cordner, Michael, 'Franceschina's voice' (April 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/franceschinas-voice/>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Cordner, Michael, 'Mapping *The Dutch Courtesan*' (March 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/mapping-the-dutch-courtesan/>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Cotta, John, 'A short discoverie of the vnobserued dangers of seuerall sorts of ignorant and vnconsiderate practisers of physicke in England', *Early English Books Online*, <https://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1543397831_19844&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998491350000&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&WARN=N&SIZE=405> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Cross, Gustav, 'Marston, Montaigne, and Morality: The Dutch Courtesan Reconsidered', *English Literary History*, 27:1 (1960), 30-43.

⁴⁷ Philip Seargeant, 'Discursive Diversity in the Textual Articulation of Epidemic Disease in Early Modern England', *Language and Literature*, 16:4 (2007), 323-344 (p.324).

⁴⁸ Siena, 'Pollution, Promiscuity, and the Pox', p.572.

De Chesne, Joseph, 'The practise of chymicall, and hermeticall physicke, for the preseruatiue of health. Written in Latin by Iosephus Quersitanus, Doctor of Phisicke. And translated into English, by Thomas Timme, minister', *Early English Books Online*, <https://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1543397831_19844&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998455960000&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&WARN=N&SIZE=482> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Hamlin, William H., 'Common Customers in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* and Florio's Montaigne', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52:2 (2012), 407-424.

Herring, Francis, 'A modest defence of the caueat giuen to the wearers of impoisoned amulets, as preseruatiues from the plague wherein that point is somewhat more lergely reasoned and debated with an ancient physician, who hath maintained them by publicke writing', *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1543397831_19844&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998518840000&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&WARN=N&SIZE=85> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Horwich, Richard, 'Wives, Courtesans, and the Economics and Jacobean City Comedy', *Comparative Drama*, 7:4 (1973), 291-309.

Kirwan, Peter, 'Prefacing *The Dutch Courtesan*' (March 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/prefacing-the-dutch-courtesan/>> [accessed 30 December 2018]

Lobdell, John E., and Owsley, Douglas, 'The Origins of Syphilis', *The Journal of Sex Research*, 10:1 (1974), 76-79.

Marston, John, *The Dutch Courtesan* (London: A&C Black, 1997).

Newman, Karen, 'The French Disease', *Comparative Literature*, 64:1 (2012), 33-48.

Ostovich, Helen, 'Marriage in *The Dutch Courtesan*' (May 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/marriage-the-dutch-courtesan/>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Oxford English Dictionary <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173205?rskey=pWTzZu&result=1#eid>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Oxford English Dictionary <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173090?redirectedFrom=scortator#eid>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Parascandola, John, 'From Mercy to Miracle Drugs: Syphilis Therapy over the Centuries', *Pharmacy in History*, 51:1 (2009), 14-23.

Qualtiere, Louis F. and Slights, William W. E., 'Contagion and Blame in Early Modern England: The Case of the French Pox', *Literature and Medicine*, 22:1 (2003), 1-24

Rhodes, Neil, 'Marston's Common Ground' (February 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/marstons-common-ground/>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Salkeld, Duncan, 'Comedy, Realism and History in *The Dutch Courtesan*' (March 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/comedy-realism-and-history-in-the-dutch-courtesan/>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Sanders, Julie, 'Northern Barbers and Fallen Women: *The Dutch Courtesan* and the 1604-5 repertoire' (May 2013) <<http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/northern-barbers-fallen-women/>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]

Seargeant, Philip, 'Discursive Diversity in the Textual Articulation of Epidemic Disease in Early Modern England', *Language and Literature*, 16:4 (2007), 323-344.

Siena, Kevin P., 'The "Foul Disease" and Privacy: The Effect of Venereal Disease and Patient Demand on the Medical Marketplace in Early Modern London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 75:2 (2001), 199-224.

Siena, Kevin P., 'Pollution, Promiscuity, and the Pox: English Venereology and the Early Modern Medical Discourse on Social and Sexual Danger', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 8:4 (1998), 553-574.

Spates, William Henry, 'Proverbs, Pox, and the Early Modern Femme Fatale', *Notes and Queries*, 53:1 (2006), 47-51.

Stein, Claudia, 'Getting' the Pox: Reflections by an Historian on How to Write the History of Early Modern Disease', *Nordic Journal of Science and Technology Studies*, 2:1 (2014), 53-60.

Tognotti, Eugenia, 'The Rise and Fall of Syphilis in Renaissance Europe', *Bioethics Quarterly*, 30:2 (2009), 99-113.

Wear, Andrew, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine 1550-1680* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000)

<<https://www.healthline.com/health/neurosyphilis#types>> [Accessed 30 December 2018]