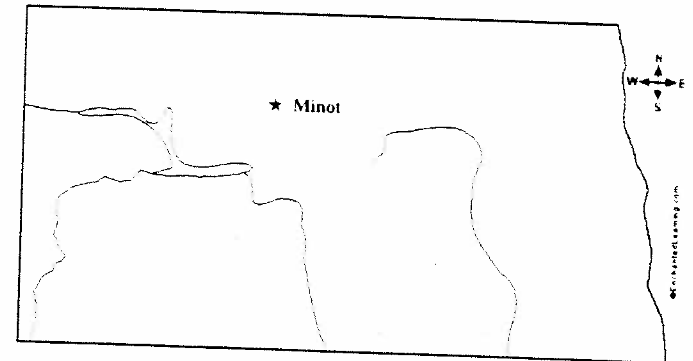
11th Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature

April 4-5, 2003
Minot State University
Minot, ND



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Preface

MIDCONTINENT[1]
Something holds us here—
call it the madness of phone lines,
the pride of blizzards,
the love of wheels and wind.

Something holds us here,
where roads don't ever seem to end.
Our maps are letters home
we don't know where to send.
—*Mark Vinz*

After I read this poem by Mark Vinz, Professor of English at Minnesota State University, Moorhead, I felt compelled to share it. Though it has nothing to do with early British literature, it has everything to do with the Northern Plains—and, to me, specifically with North Dakota. The concept of the Northern Plains is as critical a part of this conference as the literature we read and write about. For instance, my tenacity as a Dakotan is the same tenacity with which I tackle medieval literature and the fluid concepts of gender and sexuality.

Something does indeed hold me here, or in my case, brought me back here, and now keeps me. I grew up in Fargo, ND, and graduated from Shanley High School before leaving to attend school in various locations—Indiana, Chicago, Washington [state]. Now I'm back here as an English professor at Minot State University, so something—whether it's a fetish for blizzards or telephone insanity—must have called me home.

Vinz's poem captures much of what makes me love my home state. It's windy and wonderful; wild & "wlonk."[2] The Northern Plains states are huge chunks of land, sporadically settled, with wide-flung towns and cities. In an area like this, it is rather incredible that we have managed to get together for 11 years in a row to celebrate, explore, and discuss early British literature. (Though certainly a topic of great importance in my life, perhaps not the most scintillating of issues in others').

Projects like the Northern Plains Conference (NPC) are very important. As a loosely organized confederation, we are a group of scholars dedicated to teaching in our field as best we can. We toil away in the "middle of nowhere," (dependent upon those phone lines) yet we've managed to carve out a niche of scholarly endeavors and share them with each other. It is precisely because we're "small" that we can become a community wherein the members support each other.

I remember the first NPC I attended (it was called the Dakotas conference then) which was the third gathering. I was a graduate student at Loyola, just finishing my MA degree, and actively seeking scholarly development opportunities. As I paged through flyers and ads, the word "Dakota" caught my eye. Though I hadn't lived in North Dakota for six years, I felt an immediate connection with the people who had the audacity to host a conference in Brookings, SD—and to boldly name that conference the "Dakotas Conference." Didn't they realize the word "Dakota" is a kiss of death? Maybe *Dances with Wolves* had addled their brains. Whatever the case, I decided to send in an abstract in hopes of meeting other medievalists in the area. (I hope those audacious people—all of whom are still involved in the NPC—realize that I gave up seeing Jimmy Page and Robert Plant to go to their conference in South Dakota.)

It was definitely an interesting experience. Though smaller than the other conferences where I had presented, the "Dakotas" conference felt friendly and welcoming. Papers on pedagogy didn't scare off the audience. Everyone went to the conference dinner. The hosts talked to everyone, and everyone was adopted into the NPC.

Reflections on this Year's Conference

Vinz's poem celebrates "the pride of blizzards." Normally, I am guilty of this pride, preferring cold weather to warm, and regaling wimpy friends from other states with tales of my bravery in the face of -50° weather, with wind gusts of 70 mph. That is, I take pride in our blizzards until one hits right before I'm scheduled to host a conference.

Two years prior, at the ninth conference, I volunteered to host. Though such an offer is generally seized upon with alacrity, that time there was some hesitation, as even my brave Northern Plains colleagues said, "isn't that a little too far north?" I reassured everyone that the weather was fine in April, and plans were made.

Thus, I felt pure panic as a true Dakota blizzard howled in on April 2 and stayed for two days. But I think it's a testament to the attendees that almost everyone made it. As one NPC core member noted on his/her feedback sheet, "[f]or many years I have succumbed to a lemming-like compulsion to take a long spring drive through a storm. This conference gives me an excuse to yield to this desire."[3] I'm certainly glad other people succumb to the madness, too.

History of the North Plains Conference[4]

The conference, which has now become a fixture in the Northern Plains, began as the "Dakotas Conference on Early British Literature." Jay Ruud, the "founding father" hosted the First Dakotas conference at Northern State University in Aberdeen, SD on October 16-17, 1992. He had created this conference with a specific purpose in mind:

> The goal I had conceived with that first conference was to initiate a network of scholars in the upper plains through the establishment of a small conference at which faculty from regional schools of the northern plains could meet regularly and exchange ideas about teaching and research in the British literature before the Romantic period—the area of literature usually covered in the traditional "Brit. Lit. I" surveys. (E-mail, 16 Sep. 2002)

Ruud was fortunate in finding funds to support his endeavor. He received a grant from the South Dakota Humanities Council that allowed him to secure three featured speakers. Ruud also began the tradition of publishing a *Proceedings* volume, which was distributed to participants in the spring of 1993.

But that conference, as successful as it was, at first seemed destined to be just a one-time thing. However, a small group of faculty decided not to let the conference die, and discussed the possibility of creating an annual meeting with Ruud. These scholars included John

Laflin from Dakota State University, Bruce Brandt from South Dakota State University, Robert De Smith from Dordt College, and Andrew Alexander of Wayne State College. Together, this group decided that it would be best to move the conference to the spring, to rotate its location among various institutions, and to secure commitments in advance from future plenary speakers to include their talks in the *Proceedings* volumes.

Both the second and the third meetings were hosted by South Dakota institutions. However, the fourth conference was held at Peru State College in Peru, NE, necessitating a name change to the "Dakotas-Nebraska Conference on Early British Literature." Though the fifth conference saw a return to the Dakotas, when the sixth meeting was again held in Nebraska, it was decided to permanently rename the conference "Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature" in order to incorporate the entire region.

Each year has seen extraordinary plenary speakers and solid *Proceedings* volumes. The *Proceedings* are sent to all participants, whether or not they contributed, as well as to their libraries, and to other libraries within the NPC system. A volume is sent to MLA headquarters as well so those essays may be catalogued and entered into the MLA bibliography. The *Proceedings* have received positive feedback from such reviewers as the editors of "Year's Work in English Studies." Certainly, the inclusion of all plenary speakers' presentations increases the notice of the volumes.

What follows is a list of the eleven conferences, including host institutions, organizers, and key speakers:

First Dakotas Conference (October 1992)
- Organizer: Jay Ruud
- Institution: Northern State University (Aberdeen, SD)
- Speakers: Shirley N. Garner (University of Minnesota), Susanna Greer Fein (Kent State University), and David Raybin (Eastern Illinois University)

Second Dakotas Conference (April 1994)
- Organizer: John Laflin
- Institution: Dakota State University (Madison, SD)
- Speakers: David Benson (University of Connecticut) and David Miller (Purdue University)

Third Dakotas Conference (April 1995)
- Organizer: Bruce Brandt
- Institution: South Dakota State University (Brookings, SD)
- Speakers: Lawrence Manley (Yale University) and Richard Dammers (Illinois State University)

Fourth Dakotas-Nebraska Conference (April 1996)
- Co-Organizers: Bill Clemente and Mary Mokris
- Institution: Peru State College (Peru, NE)
- Speaker: Thelma Greenfield (University of Oregon)

Fifth Dakotas-Nebraska Conference (April 1997)
- Organizer: Phillip Hanse
- Institution: Jamestown College (Jamestown, ND)
- Speaker: D. Allen Carroll (University of Tennessee)

Sixth Northern Plains Conference (April 1998)
- Co-Organizers: Andrew Alexander and Linda Kruckenberg
- Institution: Wayne State College (Wayne, NE)
- Speaker: David Bevington (University of Chicago)

Seventh Northern Plains Conference (April 1999)
- Organizer: Jay Ruud
- Institution: Northern State University (Aberdeen, SD)
- Speakers: Susanne Woods (Franklin and Marshall College) and F. Xavier Baron (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee)

Eighth Northern Plains Conference (April 2000)
- Organizer: Robert De Smith
- Institution: Dordt College (Sioux Center, IA)
- Speakers: Heather Dubrow (University of Wisconsin, Madison) and Andrew Weiner (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

Ninth Northern Plains Conference (April 2001)

- Co-Organizers: Nicholas Wallerstein and Roger Ochse
- Institution: Black Hills State University (Spearfish, SD)
- Speaker: R. L. Widman (University of Colorado at Boulder)

Tenth Northern Plains Conference (April 2002)

- Co-Organizers: David Sprunger and Barbara Olive
- Institution: Concordia College (Moorhead, MN)
- Speakers: V. Gordon Lell with Alicia Sutliff (Concordia College) and Glenn E. Sanders (Oklahoma Baptist University)

Eleventh Northern Plains Conference (April 2003)

- Organizer: Michelle M. Sauer
- Institution: Minot State University (Minot, ND)
- Speakers: Theodora Jankowski (Erie College) and John McClelland (Victoria College, University of Toronto)

It is gratifying that many of the original NPC "core" not only took their turn hosting the annual meeting, but also that they continue to participate year after year, as is reflected in these *Proceedings*.[5] It is also gratifying to see new institutions and new scholars hosting and attending the conference. Many graduate and even undergraduate students have "gotten their toes wet" at a Northern Plains Conference, while at the same time, the conference continues to be a forum for established professionals to exchange research ideas. Looking back at the list of institutions and organizers, I feel quite proud to have been a major contributor. Despite the original name of the organization, this conference, the eleventh one, was only the second to be hosted by a North Dakota university. Also, I am the first female scholar to independently host the conference, though three others were co-hosts, and numerous keynote speakers were women. This reflects a shift in our profession, I believe, and in the atmosphere of the Northern Plains. Women are an important part of this region and our universities, and will continue to be a vocal and visible presence in the future. Similarly, as reflected by the *Proceedings* volumes, the presentation topics have more frequently addressed issues of gender, race, and class. This is not to say that more traditional areas of scholarship should be (or are) neglected, but rather it is meant to

celebrate the fact that this conference is open to a diverse perspective and welcomes all approaches.

Next year the conference will move back to its original home state of South Dakota, specifically to the state's largest city, Sioux Falls, where Augustana College is located. I hope that future NPC programs will continue to include scholars from other disciplines who are utilizing literature within their own disciplines, such as those papers featured in this issue by an historian and a musicologist. So, too, do I hope that foreign language scholars will continue to participate by bringing comparative papers to future conferences, as reflected in these *Proceedings* by French scholars, and in the program by presentations on Arabic issues. Interestingly, this year's conference seemed to feature a predominance of papers about the Early Modern era, which was rather surprising to me, as I am a medieval scholar.

In the past, the conference has been minimally advertised, mostly within the Northern Plains and the immediate area. I expanded my marketing campaign in the hopes of drawing other scholars to the Plains, and with the specific purpose of involving our counterparts from the Canadian plains. Overall, I believe those measures were relatively successful, though the blizzard thwarted some of my hopes.[6]

I was delighted by the number of community and campus members who attended sessions, and hope that all who came enjoyed their experience. I was particularly pleased that many of my friends from other departments attended the cocktail reception hour and/or the conference banquet. Again, I feel this wide range of participation illustrates the true "midcontinent" spirit.

Quite a few people took the time to respond to my queries on the feedback form, and I would like to respond to a few comments here. Several people were kind enough to include a comment about the weather not being controllable. One person felt the program was too packed, and suggested concurrent sessions. Interestingly, at first I, too, thought that concurrent sessions would be both practical and necessary. However, when working on the program, I made a startling discovery—even with concurrent sessions, the conference turned out to be the same

length. It has never been the practice (policy being too strong a word) of the NPC to have concurrent sessions, but that's not the real reason I hesitated to consider them. My fear was that concurrent sessions would damage the interconnectedness of the NPC community, asking (in essence forcing) members to choose one paper over another. We aren't big enough to have multiple concurrent sessions, so any choice would be a choice of one over another. That can be damaging within a small group. Finally, I also appreciated the positive and encouraging comments about the undergraduate papers.

Acknowledgements

The conference program features the long list of people I have to thank for their assistance, individually and collectively, with the conference as a whole. However, I should take this opportunity to thank the North Dakota Humanities Council not only for their financial support, but also for their understanding. Similar appreciation goes to Minot State University's Intellectual Climate Committee for their grant monies, and to Conrad Davidson, Chair, and the Division of Humanities for providing financial support. I also sincerely appreciate the attendance and participation of our university President, H. Erik Shaar, and Academic Vice President, Nancy Hall.

I want to publicly reiterate my sincere appreciation to Theodora Jankowski and John McClelland for agreeing to be the "main events" in wintry Minot, ND in the beginning of April! Let me also take this opportunity to thank several individuals who otherwise would remain unnamed. Towards that end, I want to extend my sincere appreciation to my colleagues ShaunAnne Tangney, Seif Da'Na, and Kathleen Solberg for attending almost every session, and to my colleagues who encouraged their students to attend. Thank you, too, to all the presenters and session chairs, colleagues, friends, students, and community members who made the conference more successful than I had hoped, especially in the wake of the freak blizzard. A special salute to all of the undergraduate students who participated in the conference—I was proud of their bravery and professionalism. And finally, I must thank my husband, Adam Bures, without whom the conference would not have run so smoothly, nor have been recorded so vividly.

As for these *Proceedings*, I offer my thanks to the contributors. As well, I extend my appreciation to Jesse Hurlbut who, on behalf of DScriptorium, extended permission for me to use the cover image, and to Mark Vinz for allowing me to print his moving poem. Finally, I am indebted to Russ Hanson for his technical expertise and computer assistance.

Minot State University
June 2003

Notes

[1] From *Common Ground: A Gathering of Poems on Rural Life*. 2nd ed. Eds. Mark Vinz and Thom Tammaro. Moorhead, MN: Dacotah Territory Press, 1989.

[2] "Wlonk," derived from the Old English "wlanc," gives a sense of being marvelous, proud, haughty, magnificent, and admirable—all at once. See "wlonk" in the MED and OED, and "wlanc" in the ASD.

[3] Feedback forms were completed anonymously; however, there was a space to indicate whether or not the individual was a member of the NPC "core."

[4] I am indebted several sources for most of the history. See *Proceedings* volumes 1-10; conference programs, 1992-2003; Ruud, Jay. "Re: More Questions about the NPC." E-mail to the author. 16 Sep. 2002.

[5] Though on a similar note, it is also unfortunate that many of the previous hosts who are not "core" members have not participated in any subsequent conferences.

[6] **Geographic distribution of anticipated participants (includes non-attending participants):**
United States: Connecticut (1); Illinois (1); Kansas (1); Nebraska (2); Nevada (1); New York (2); North Dakota (16); South Carolina (1); South Dakota (5); Wisconsin (1)
Canada: Manitoba (3); Ontario (1)

Notes on Style

I asked all contributors to use MLA documentation, and I have altered citations as necessary. However, I am sure that I have missed instances of citation inconsistency, so I apologize in advance.

I chose to leave the Canadian-authored essays unaltered, and as such, they conform to the rules of Canadian Standard English grammar.

All essays were reformatted to a consistent endnote format, with separate works cited pages. Font was standardized to 11-point Times.

In the interest of conserving space, the style for block quotations deviates slightly from standard MLA format. Instead of double indenting and continuing the same line spacing, I compressed all block quotations to single spacing in addition to double indenting. Similarly, all papers are spaced at 1.5 lines instead of being double-spaced.

Pages containing plates that correspond to an essay are not individually numbered but are considered in overall consecutive pagination.

Finally, because non-exclusionary language is a preferred method of academic communication, I have standardized the essays to that format. Thus, exclusionary terms such as "mankind" and "AD" have been altered to reflect current practices—in these cases, for instance, they would have been changed to "humankind" or "humanity" and "CE."

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Modified Program[1]

[1] The original program cover contained the image reproduced on the *Proceedings* cover. Program contents have also been modified and/or updated where appropriate. The font has been altered for consistency.

Special thanks to:

Dr. H. Erik Shaar, President, Minot State University
North Dakota Humanities Council
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Minot State University's Intellectual Climate Committee
Minot State University's Division of Humanities & Department of English
Sigma Tau Delta (Phi Chapter) & English Club of Minot State University
Minot State University's Institutional Planning Office
Minot State University Student Ambassadors
The Red & Green, Minot State University's student newspaper
Minot State University Business Office

2003 NPC Host:
Michelle M. Sauer, Assistant Professor of English, Minot State University

Comparative Sessions Coordinator:
Christian Fantoni, Assistant Professor of French, Minot State University

Website Construction:
Lisa Haman & David Presser

Registration Assistants:
Sarah Aleshire, Christopher D. Lozensky, Lisa Nesralla, Melinda Obach, Heidi J. Pettys, Mary E. Robinette, Amy Rohlk, Karew Schumaker, and Brittany Wolff.

Special assistance & photography provided by Adam Bures

Floral arrangements by Minot Floral
Refreshments by Chartwell's Food Services

All written materials composed and/or compiled by Michelle M. Sauer
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11th Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature
Minot State University
Minot, ND

Note: all rooms are located in the Minot State University Conference Center, 3rd Floor, Student Union

FRIDAY, APRIL 4

7:30-8:00 Continental Breakfast [Missouri Room]
Registration

8:00-8:15 **Welcome** [Missouri Room]
Dr. H. Erik Shaar, President, Minot State University

8:20-9:15 **Comparative Religion & Literature** [Audubon Room]
Chair: John Laflin, Dakota State University

The Loved and the Honored: The Medieval Altars of Atonement
Ron Fischer, Minot State University

Protestant Preaching in the Renaissance: The Examples of Calvin and Knox
Christian F. Fantoni, Minot State University

9:20-10:30 **Early Modern Drama** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Michelle M. Sauer, Minot State University

The Comic Refuser II
Douglas A. Northrop, Ripon College

"We're all Undone Now": Fallen Womanhood and the Politics of Feminization in Aphra Behn's *The City-Heiress*
Christopher D. Lozensky, Minot State University

The Art of War: Shakespeare & Marlowe
Bruce Brandt, South Dakota State University

10:35-11:45 **The Early Renaissance** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Seif Da'Na, Minot State University

"The reliques and ragges of popish superstition": The Effect of Richard Hooker's Theology on Book V of *The Faerie Queene*
Vince P. Redder, Dakota Wesleyan University

Thomas More's *Utopia* and the Realities of Socialism: New Harmony and East Germany
Gretchen Junglas, Minot State University

The Enlightened Female Subject: Britomart in the House of Busirane
Susan W. Ahern, Saint Joseph College[1]

11:50-12:30 **Lunch (personal choice)**

12:40-1:55 **Plenary Address** [Metigoshe Room]
Introduction—Michelle M. Sauer, 2003 NPC Host

The Development of Middle Class Identity and the "Problem" of the Gentle Apprentice
Theodora A. Jankowski, Erie Community College (Buffalo, NY)

2:00-3:15 **Exploring the Age of Reason** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Sherry Stoskopf, Minot State University

The Influence of John Trevisa's *Dialogue Between the Lord and the Clerk on Translation* and *Epistle* on the Vernacular Discussion
Erin Nitka, Marquette University[2]

The Last Triumph of Heroism: Pope's *Dunciad* as the Culmination and Terminus of the Great Western Tradition
Eric P. Furuseth, Minot State University

"What! Jon's Faint!": Jonathan Swift—Anagram Genius?
John Laflin & Darcy Turner, Dakota State University

[1] Did not attend
[2] Did not attend

3:20-4:40 **Women, Religion, & Literature** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Kathleen Solberg, Minot State University

Groupies for Jesus: Sexual Freedom & Female Identity in Julian of Norwich's *Shewings* and the *Book of Margery Kempe*
Jane L. Huenneke, North Dakota State University

Making Space for Quaker Women Writers (1650-1700)
Sarah Mandl, Wayne State University

Anchoritic Architecture: Homospatial Considerations
Michelle M. Sauer, Minot State University

4:45-5:30 **Arthurian Literature** [Audubon Room][3]
Chair: Christian Fantoni, Minot State University

The Development of Queen Guinevere: Idealized Foil Turned Political Faction
Geneviève G. Generaux, University of Nevada, Las Vegas[4]

The Fair Unknown: Ignorance, Identity, and Gender
Katherine G. Gubbels, University of Nebraska at Omaha[5]

FRIDAY NIGHT CONFERENCE EVENTS

5:30-6:30 **Cocktails & hors d'oeuvres** [MSU Ballroom]
Renaissance & Baroque music[6]
6:30-6:45 *Syn/Tax*
A one-act play by Michael Rose[7]
6:45-8:00 **Banquet** [MSU Ballroom]
Master Chef Brian Szablewski
8:00-10:00 **Movie:** *Anchoress*[8] [Student Union Lounge, 2nd Floor]

[3] Session cancelled
[4] Did not attend
[5] Did not attend
[6] Allison Hammer, 2nd violin; Abby Walker, viola; Kara Manteufel, 1st violin; Alks Tengesdal, cello
[7] Actors: Noah Files as Alphonse; Arin Marchant as Bernard
[8] Dir. Chris Newby. Perf. Natalie Morse, Toyah Wilcox, Christopher Eccleston, and Pete Postlethwaite. Written by Judith Stanley-Smith and Christine Watkins. Vanguard Cinema, 1993. (DVD, 2001).

SATURDAY, APRIL 5

8:30-9:00 Continental breakfast [Missouri Room]
Registration

9:00-10:25 **Introduction** [Metigoshe Room]
Christian Fantoni, 2003 NPC Comparative Sessions Coordinator, Minot State University

Keynote Address [Metigoshe Room]
From Shakespeare to Rabelais: What Would Life be Like without Arithmetic?
John McClelland, Victoria College, University of Toronto

10:30-11:45 **Excursions into Comparative Disciplines** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Eric P. Furuseth, Minot State University

Contraband as a Way of Government: Rio de Janeiro in the 18th Century
Ernst Pijning, Minot State University

Strephon Meets Senesino: Social Duality in *The Musical Entertainer*
Silvia Herzog, Wichita State University

Conquering Nature: British Imperialism and the Environmental Crisis in the Middle East
Seif Da'Na, Minot State University

11:45-12:30 **Lunch & NPC Business Meeting**
[Jones Room]

12:30-1:40 **Early Modern Miscellany** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Silvia Herzog, Wichita State University

"Desire is Death": Sin and Spiritual Loss in the Dark Lady Sonnets
Michael Petersen, Wilbur Wright College (Chicago, IL)

"Why should they not alike in all parts touch?" Sapphism & Eroticism in Donne
Melissa K. Holmes, Minot State University

Machiavellian Influences in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*
Robert Kibler, Minot State University

1:45-2:50 **Chaucer** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Douglas A. Northrop, Ripon College

Blinded by the Light: Troilus' Dawn Song and Christian Tradition
Jay Ruud, Northern State University[9]

"Gentillesse" in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*
Muriel Brown, North Dakota State University

Griselda and *The Clerks' Tale*
Emily Lauer, CUNY Graduate School[10]

Alisoun's Affair: Breaking the Rules of Courtly Love
Jessica Pfau, Minot State University

2:55-3:55 **Women, Voice, & Choice** [Audubon Room]
Chair: Jane L. Huenneke, North Dakota State University

Milton and the Text as Phallus: The Liberation of the Reader and the Woman
Jennifer Singletary, Clemson University[11]

Isabella Whitney and the Female Voice
Amy Rohlk, Minot State University

Tumultuous Passion or Passion Guided by Reason? Wollstonecraft's Vindication of Virtuous Love
Elizabeth McLeod, University of Winnipeg

Knowledge, Original Sin, and the Loss of Free Will
Michelle Brown, Minot State University

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[9] Read by Vince P. Redder, Dakota Wesleyan University
[10] Read by Steven Huenneke, Minot State University
[11] Did not attend

4:00-5:15 **Excursions into Comparative Literatures** [Metigoshe Room]
Chair: John McClelland, Victoria College, University of Toronto

Montaigne's Influence on Francis Bacon's *Essays*: Only a Speck of Evidence
Gaby Divay, University of Manitoba[12]

Tales from Shakespeare: Quality Children's Literature or Typical Gender Stereotyping?
Lyndee Hoiland, Minot State University

Defoe & Arabic novels
J. R. Muir, University of Winnipeg & University of Manitoba

Thank you for a wonderful conference!

[12] Read by Michelle M. Sauer, Minot State University

The Development of Middle-Class Identity and the "Problem" of the "Gentle" Apprentice

Theodora A. Jankowski

Aside from the fact that the play was most likely the source of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Thomas Heywood's *The Foure Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem* is virtually unknown to all except those like myself with a penchant for bizarre, ludicrous, and totally obscure plays. Written somewhere between 1594 and 1600, the play is generically indescribable, usually identified as an "adventure-romance." This is partially true, but does not tell the entire story of this strange play that slides chronologically between eleventh- and sixteenth-century London and moves geographically from England to Jerusalem. Briefly the play concerns the four sons and one daughter of the old Earl of Bouillon who has been banished from France for supporting William of Normandy's expedition to England. Since he is "forc't . . . to liue in London like a Cittizen" (1, p. 168),[1] he apprentices his four sons—including Godefroy (c.1060-1100), who would go on to become a Crusader hero and King of Jerusalem—to various trades: mercer, goldsmith, haberdasher, and grocer. The earl points out that his nobly-born sons do not scorn to be so apprenticed, since their situation is a result of necessity. In fact, the father indicates that what little money he has left will go to his daughter for her dowry.

This financial arrangement is, at the very least, remarkable. No one denies that many nobles--in both the eleventh and sixteenth centuries--were subject to ouster or poverty. Yet the usual remedy was not apprenticing sons to trades—however respectable--and saving what cash remained for the daughter(s). While Heywood's solution makes logical economic sense, it does not make "noble" sense. The very nature of noble birth meant that a man did not use his hands for anything other than carrying arms. And while dowries were vital for daughters to marry well, the cases of eldest sons being denied wealth so their sisters could marry can be counted on the fingers of one hand—with several tied behind one's back. Convents existed to provide refuge for dowry-less daughters, and service with an overlord provided "employment" for poor nobles.

Yet the earl's sons are loyal apprentices who point out the advantages of learning a trade: they will have the "meanes to purchase wealth,/ Though [their] state[s] waste, and towring honours fall" (1, p. 170). They extol the advantages of knowing a trade, and deny that the practice of it can debase them. In fact, once they become crusaders, they quarter the arms of their guilds on their shields to carry to Jerusalem. Even though it may seem that apprentices, no matter how high their birth, would not have learned enough about warfare to make decent soldiers, these apprentices point out that they have learned how to use pikes and partisans[2] as members of London's militia. Thus all aspects of an apprentice's or tradesman's life are shown to be important, being geared either to making money or defending their city's or country's honor.

The further importance of knowing a trade or skill is pointed out in one of Godfrey's speeches, which also serves to redefine nobility:

> I prayse that Citty which made Princes Trades-men:
> Where that man, noble or ignoble borne,
> That would not practise some mechanicke skill,
> Which might support his state in penury,
> Should die the death; not sufferd like a drone,
> To sucke the honey from the publicke Hiue. (1, p. 169)

Not only does Godfrey link nobility and mercantile activity by viewing princes as "Trades-men," he also denigrates those—whatever their birth—who refuse their labor to support the state by behaving as "drones." For Heywood's character, many nobles are merely useless consumers of the honey produced by the good mercantile worker bees. Although the play's condemnation of idle nobles is not necessarily unusual, it extends to drone tradesmen and merchants. The duty of *all*—no matter what their class—is to labor to support the state, and this is the play's truly radical notion. Further, nobly born men may have to learn how to do so by imitating their fellow citizens of the middling sort.

But where does this play come from? Without considering the later acts in which the brothers encounter evil nobles, robber bands, and disguised sisters on their way to liberating Jerusalem, the first act presents us with what would seem to be a major class anomaly in early

modern London: an earl's sons working as apprentices. Yet this is not the only play of this period to consider the unusual situation of the "gentle apprentice," though perhaps it is the only one to consider such highborn sons as apprentices. The most well known of such plays is George Chapman, John Marston, and Ben Jonson's *Eastward Ho!*—a City Comedy written about 1605 which contains two gentle apprentices, one conveniently good and one profligate. Lawrence Venuti sees a clear political and social focus in City Comedy, defining it as a genre set primarily in London which displays "a distinctive combination of satire directed at contemporary social developments with intricately plotted intrigues in which characters aim to outwit one another, usually in an effort to gain wealth or prestige." As a genre, it "constitutes a response to the socioeconomic changes that accompanied the rise of capitalism [...] City Comedy is undeniably ideological" and specific plays take a political stand "in their representation of real social contradictions" (102), like that of the gentle apprentice.

It is a critical commonplace that questions of birth, class, and nobility have been examined in the early modern English drama virtually since its beginnings. Henry Medwall's c.1497 interlude *Fulgens and Lucres*, presented at the home of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Henry VII's Lord Chancellor, concerns a noble Roman woman's quest for the "most honorable" husband. By allowing Lucres to choose a lowly-born scholar who is a servant of the state, Medwall's play validates personal accomplishment—and personal virtue—over birth as a means for acquiring nobility or gentility. At the time of the play's performance, much of the "born" nobility of England had been decimated by the Wars of the Roses. In order to be filled, the courtier class had to contain men, like Lucres's future husband, who had useful qualities that were not necessarily the result of their birth. The clergy had always provided a means whereby talented men—like Thomas Wolsey, the reputed butcher's son who became cardinal, papal legate, and ultimately Lord Chancellor to Henry VIII—could rise to positions of power in the secular world. But Medwall's play suggests that men who were not members of the clergy might possess traits that would make them useful servants of the state. In fact, two of Henry VIII's lord chancellors—Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell—were part of this new, non-nobly born

courtier class. These two sons of what we would now designate the "middle class" achieved their "nobility" and status at court through university attendance and the practice of law. And Elizabeth I seems to have followed her father's example in choosing a certain class of men to serve her, for William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Francis Walsingham did not come from old, established families. Like More and Cromwell, Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer and her spymaster both attended university and moved into government from the study of law. Given the backgrounds of the men who received royal preferment in these two reigns, it is not surprising that the definition of "nobility" or "gentility" had become somewhat flexible by the mid-sixteenth century. What I want to do is look at how *Eastward Ho!* (c. 1605) participates in this project by radically redefining the concept of gentility in contrast to "middle class" identity. I want to argue that this play does not simply flatter large segments of its "middle class" audiences, but suggests that the courtier class and the gentry would do well to look to the middling sort for appropriate models of behavior based upon sound economic norms.

As you can see, I am interested in the problems involved in trying to define emergent social groups that were initially part of that broad category known as "the middling sort." While it is in some ways difficult to apply the modern term "class" to segments of this group during the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries, the social formations developing during this period would attain "class" status and become known as the "middle class" or the "bourgeoisie." Given this sense of "class" flux, and the various textual attempts to "fix" it through definition,[3] it is not surprising that play texts dealing with the middling sort—or written by those who came from this group—should also engage with these questions. Many such questionings and redefinitions of "class" occurred within the context of the paradoxical institution of the "gentle" apprentice that I introduced earlier.

As many critics, including Mihoko Suzuki, have reminded us, the late sixteenth-century was a time of economic crisis. The severest inflation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occurred between 1594-1597, with flour prices tripling in London between 1593 and 1597. Population growth in London outstripped the rest of the country, with a consequent eightfold

increase in vagrancy from 1560-1601. These economic crises affected the organization of trade in many ways, the most dramatic being the apprentice riots of the 1590s (181-185).[4] I am interested in a less dramatic result of this continuous economic hardship—the increase in apprenticing to trades of members of the minor gentry.

The far-reaching inflation of the late 1590s affected members of this "gentle" group, who were already "in crisis" for other reasons. For those families with nothing to leave second or subsequent sons—not even the means to arrange advantageous marriages to women who were "richly left"—apprenticeship to trades seemed a logical—if unusual—means of providing relief. Despite temporary economic setbacks, the vast amounts of wealth being amassed in this period by merchants and other craftsmen suggested that trade *could* provide a generous living for those engaged in it. But apprentices of gentle blood were faced with a major problem regarding their class affiliation. As Paul Seaver indicates, "no matter how successful the outcome in terms of riches, [apprenticeship] inevitably involved downward mobility and a conspicuous loss of social status" (131). Such a paradox—the potential for vast wealth was only available to those willing to sever affiliation with the more privileged class into which they were born—was at the heart of the major class reshuffling of the turn of the sixteenth-seventeenth century and can often be observed in the apprentice situations of gently born young men. This was a time of particular flux, for these men were not only learning *how* to work—as well as *work at* the trades they were apprenticed to—they were learning how to give up their class privilege as members of the gentry and accept the social and cultural conventions of the class to which they would eventually belong. They were, in fact, learning how legally to debase themselves—and how to do so believably. Once they were accepted as freemen of their companies, the gentle apprentices can be said to have completed their "class shift" and usually settled down as the solid citizens of "the middling sort" they had become. Class issues were still in flux, though, during the apprentice period, and that is when most of the conflict around this issue occurred.

At a time when anywhere from 50-60% of apprentices—of whatever class—never completed their terms or were admitted to the city's freedom (Seaver 133, 133n10), it is difficult

to say whether gentle apprentices gave up their articles with greater fervor than non-gentle ones. That they did repudiate—or ask to be released—from their articles is obvious from the many master-gentle apprentice disputes that resulted in litigation. Such cases usually derived from a number of problems: apprentice perceptions that they did not owe allegiance to their lower class masters; masters' perceptions that gentle apprentices were profligate and lazy; and the tendency of gentle apprentices suddenly to repudiate their articles if they inherited any land. Marriages between gentle apprentices and members of the mercantile "class" seemed to intensify these conflicts while calling the very nature of developing "middle class" family values into question.

I want to argue that the "absurd" figure of the "gentle" apprentice found a place in city comedy because of the interest of dramatists of the middling sort in the changes likely to result within the artisan/mercantile "class" from the inevitable "class mix" that the gentle apprentices represented. Because it contains two gentle apprentice characters, *Eastward Ho!* is a particularly fruitful play to examine in this context. While there is little doubt that the play was intended to mock the citizen values lauded by playwrights like Dekker and Heywood, I want to argue that it simultaneously takes an important look at the nature of class identity as revealed in the characters of the two apprentices, Francis—or Frank—Quicksilver and Golding.

The major problem with gentleman in trade concerned the varied class expectations of both the gentry and the artisan class. While some critics, like Laura Stevenson, have argued that the middling sort aped not only the fashions but the behavior of the nobility, I have argued that they created their own notions of acceptable class behavior that were, for the most part, completely at odds with gentle/noble ideas of behavior. *Eastward Ho!* is a text that supports my theory by showing that—while some members of the artisan classes, Touchstone's wife and daughter Gertrude, for example, *did* aspire to be members of the nobility and consequently aped their manners—the majority of artisans rejected the "uselessness" of the nobility and created a notion of class behavior that was based upon honesty, humility, order, fidelity to appropriate authority and one's community, and hard work. Indeed, *Eastward Ho!* provides several

definitions of "class" and "class" attitudes that allow us to examine many of the social questions raised by the "collision" of gentry and mercantile classes in the persona of the gentle apprentice.

Frank Quicksilver represents the nightmare apprentice. Although he has signed articles and is ostensibly learning the craft of goldsmith so that he might enter one of the Twelve Great Companies of London's guilds, he repudiates all aspects of trade as well as his position as an apprentice. We first view Frank arriving home drunk from a night on the town as Golding, the good apprentice, is opening shop. Not only is he drunk, but Frank is inappropriately dressed for his position as an apprentice—he is wearing a cloak, pumps, and carrying a sword. All these are accouterments of the gentry, as his master Touchstone reminds him. While the master's remarks—as well as early modern sumptuary laws—would indicate that "clothes make the man," Frank, Touchstone, and Golding early on enter into discussion regarding what, exactly determines a person's class: birth or occupation?

> *Touchstone.* Thou shameless varlet! dost thou jest at thy lawful master, contrary to thy indentures?
> *Frank.* Why, 'zblood, sir! my mother's a gentlewoman, and my father a justice of peace and of quorum; and, though I am a younger brother and a prentice, yet I hope I am my father's son; and by God's lid, 't is for your worship and for your commodity that I keep company. [...]
> [later, to Golding] [...] though I am a prentice, I can give arms; ...I am a gentleman, and may swear by my pedigree, [...] 's life, man! [Touchstone's] father was a malt man, and his mother sold gingerbread in Christ Church.
> *Golding.* What would ye ha' me do?
> *Frank.* Why, do nothing; be like a gentleman, be idle; the curse of man is labor. (1.1.28-37; 137-39; 141-42; 154-159).[5]

Despite the fact that he is an apprentice, a position he says he holds only for the money, Frank maintains that his birth and blood—and that of his father and mother—are the major factors that determine his position in society and supersede all other factors. Touchstone's response is more legalistic. His focus is on the contractual arrangement that has given him as master power over Frank, his apprentice. And this power was given to Touchstone by Frank's justice father, the man who signed his gentle son's articles of apprentice. Thus not only penury but legality binds Frank

to Touchstone. And, ironically, his gentle father has set the legal wheels in motion to redetermine Frank's class position.

But while it is quite legal for Frank to be subservient to the lower class Touchstone, he is not yet bound absolutely to this new class position. Unwilling apprentices like Frank could dissolve their articles legally if they came into funds, usually by sudden inheritance. And masters could unilaterally repudiate unwilling apprentices, as Touchstone does in exasperation when he gives Frank back his articles in Act 2:

> *Touchstone:* I will no longer dishonest [sic] my house, nor endanger my stock with your license. There, sir: there's your indenture; all your apparel (that I must know) is on your back; and from this time my door is shut to you: from me be free; [...] (2.1.154-159)

Seemingly, then, there was a certain amount of class fluidity if a legal document—the articles of apprenticeship—could transform a member of the gentry into a member of the bourgeoisie, and then release him from his bourgeois associations if repudiated.

Once free of Touchstone, Frank reveals to his mistress, the prostitute Sindefy, that he will go to court to earn his living. A working woman, she pragmatically points out that, if he has trouble being nice to one master, he will have more trouble being nice to the infinitely larger number of people he must placate at court. Further, Sindefy sees apprenticeship in a trade as a perfectly reasonable way to make a living:

> *Sindefy:* A prentice, quoth you? 'T is but to learn to live; and does that disgrace a man? He that rises hardly, stands firmly; but he that rises with ease, alas, falls as easily (2.2.104-08).

The issue raised here is whether the labor required to survive the precariousness of life at court is less tiring--or more rewarding--than the labor of an apprentice or master craftsman? Frank responds by claiming that "he that has wit, let him live by his wit; he that has none, let him be a tradesman" (2.2.167-68). This would probably work if Frank had wit, but he hasn't. The remainder of the play demonstrates that, even though birth may assure one a high class position, it cannot grant wit or intelligence—or ensure one a living. Only hard work can do that.

While Frank claims his class position from his blood and defines his class as one that repudiates labor and valorizes leisure, Golding, born to the same class, has his own definition of nobility:

> *Golding:* Whate'er some vainer youth may term disgrace,
> The gain of honest pains is never base:
> From trades, from arts, from valor, honor springs;
> These three are founts of gentry, yea, of kings (1.1.198-201).

In contrast to Frank's, this definition not only suggests that honor can come from trade or art, it also suggests that there are common sources of honor that *all* classes draw upon, and that honor is the "fount of gentry." Thus the ability to be "gentle" has now shifted ground and become an earned, rather than an innate, condition that can be acquired by anyone. Golding, thus, consciously or unconsciously, provides a linkage between those who are born gentle and members of the artisan classes.

When this hardworking apprentice is given the freedom of the city and made a citizen, he is also immediately elected to the common council and made deputy alderman, positions that legally place him above his former master and now father-in-law, Touchstone. Despite the innate absurdity of this Horatio Alger-like rise, the issues raised by it are important ones to consider when examining the development of mercantile class identity. Touchstone accepts Golding's elevation, not because of Golding's gentle birth, but because his election to the council suggests that his *talents* have preferred him, *not* his birth. In this situation, talent and skill combine with occupation to become the determining factors of class. Touchstone, as a solid and self-identified member of his own class, is willing to accept Golding's rise not only because it is a result of the younger man's talent, but also because it is an intrinsic example of Touchstone's skill not only in teaching Golding his craft, but in teaching him how to be a citizen. Like Golding, Touchstone has also "risen" by trade. Born the son of a "maltman" and a gingerbread seller, he is now a member of one of the wealthiest and most prestigious guilds in London.

While Frank scorns the position into which financial necessity forces him, Gertrude, the daughter of wealthy Touchstone, scorns the class position into which she is born. Her primary desire, and that of her mother, is to marry a member of the nobility, a man with a title. Her chosen suitor is Sir Petronel Flash, whose minor title is supposedly secured by a castle and land in the country. Yet while Sir Petronel may have inherited a title, he has neither the land nor the castle he has dangled in front of Gertrude. He aims to get hold of the land she inherited from her mother, which is to be her sole marriage portion, Touchstone refusing to dower her because of her choice of suitor. Here we have the irony of a titled member of the gentry having no land to support his title, while the middle class woman he married brings land into the union. Sir Petronel further confounds class expectations by selling Gertrude's land so he can finance a trading expedition to Virginia. To what extent, then, can we view Sir Petronel as a gentleman and to what extent a trader or adventurer? It is important to remember in this context that in about 1579 Elizabeth I, Sir Philip Sidney, and Martin Frobisher were "adventurers" in one of Humphrey Gylberte's northwest voyages to Cathay, and in 1578 Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, was highly involved in the cloth trade, having been given a license to export 30,000 unfinished cloths per year (Jankowski, "Historicizing and Legitimating," 321, 318).

Although Frank is unwilling to work at the trade of goldsmith, he is very willing to get involved in both Sir Petronel's trading venture and Security's con games. Happily for him, Frank has learned how to skim gold or silver metal off coins and re-weight them with base metal so they feel genuine. But he spends most of his time working hard for Sir Petronel's Virginia venture as well as Security's usury and prostitution businesses. Sindefy is clearly correct when she indicates that being an apprentice is just another form of "work." While they both identify as gentlemen, Sir Petronel and Frank try to earn money through schemes that are closely tied to the capitalist trading ventures of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth centuries. Thus the question remains: if being an apprentice can debase a gentleman, why can't engaging in trade or an expedition to Virginia do so as well? Does the actual fabrication of articles debase, or only the connection with trade? Does merchant adventuring *not* debase since the investor is not *directly* involved in the

(manual) labor of the enterprise? *Eastward Ho!* raises all these questions in an attempt to clarify just how middle class identity is to be defined and *especially* how it is to be defined in contradistinction to gentle identity.

While men may actually have to labor to change their class affiliation, women may effect such radical change in a much easier way—through marriage. Griselda and Cinderella are literary and folk heroines who "magically" raise their class positions through marriage to fabulously wealthy or noble men. That these two characters are excessively patient and boringly virtuous acts as justification for the "reward" they gain through their marriages. Their remarkably swift class rise may be made to seem less threatening because their personal virtue—like that of Lucres's chosen husband—brings something eminently desirable to their spouses. There are occasions, it would seem, where personal virtue outweighs *any* question of class birth and renders the possessor of such virtue an ideal spouse. This is not, however, what happens in *Eastward Ho!*

The goldsmith Touchstone has two daughters. Mildred is the dutiful daughter who accepts her class position, sees the innate virtue and talent of Golding, and agrees wholeheartedly to her father's plan for their marriage. Gertrude, in contrast, has realized that marriage represents a relatively easy way for a woman to raise her class position. Marriage to a member of the gentry or nobility would legally raise not only her class, but that of her future children. Similarly, any child fathered by the now "citizen" Golding would be "middle class." This situation occurs because English inheritance laws mandate that wives and children take on the husband's/father's class. In her desire to raise her class through marriage to Sir Petronel Flash, Gertrude is supported by her mother, but not her sister Mildred. That Gertrude wishes to marry Sir Petronel primarily to raise her class--and not simply to make a wealthy match—is demonstrated by her father's reminder that she has refused "wealthy and honest matches" with "known good men, well moneyed, better traded, best reputed" (1.2.156-58). Gertrude's easy move into the ranks of the gentry suggests that, for women at least, class may be as easily changed as a gown.

But Gertrude's marriage presents more problems than are initially suspected. Since her elevation does not affect her family's class position, she considers her parents and sister to be

beneath her and treats them as servants. When Touchstone scolds his daughter for her lack of modesty (1.2.94), Sir Petronel remarks that "Boldness is in good fashion and courtlike" (1.2.99-100). This comment serves to point out the middle class perception of one of the problems inherent in noble family life. Sir Petronel is willing to accept his future wife's "boldness" because such behavior is acceptable at court. Given Touchstone's response, such behavior is clearly unacceptable in the home of a citizen. This conflict of attitudes focuses on the difference between the "dynastic" marriage, practiced primarily by the nobility, and the "affectionate" marriage, practiced by the middle class. "Dynastic" marriages were arranged for political or financial reasons: to align powerful families or to expand land holdings. The children married rarely had any say in what was arranged for them. "Affectionate" marriages relied less on land or politics, so parents could allow children more say in the choice of spouse. Middle class marriage was regarded as an institution that was designed to provide relief from loneliness for men and women and a means by which to raise Christian children and socialize them into the culture. Even though the partners in such a marriage were expected to be "equal" in age, class, and financial circumstances, no equality of gender was implied or expected. The wife and children were dutifully to follow the dictates of the husband/father (Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 31-36). The marriage of Mildred and Golding is, of course, the perfect example of such an early modern "affectionate" marriage. Not only does Mildred obey both her father and her husband, she believes that class must remain inflexible and unmixed:

> Where titles presume to thrust before fit means to second them, wealth and respect often grow sullen, and will not follow. [...] where ambition of place goes before fitness of birth, contempt and disgrace follow. [...] sure, I judge them truly mad, that yoke citizens and courtiers, tradesmen and soldiers, a goldsmith's daughter and a knight. (1.2.41-43; 46-48; 51-53).

Her notion of "fitness of birth" suggests that marriage should unite those *equal* in birth or class and thus recalls an important characteristics of the "affectionate" marriage. Mildred has no objection to Gertrude marrying wealth, so long as her mate is her class equal. But for Gertrude, a marriage that comes with a title is equated with "salvation" pure and simple.

Blinded by the lure of class advancement, Gertrude and Mrs. Touchstone violate the tenets of female behavior within the middle class family by disobeying their father/husband as regards Gertrude's marriage. Their disobedience can be viewed as perhaps a more serious rebellion than Frank's failure to behave correctly as an apprentice, or Sir Petronel's venture into trade. What they have done is question one of the most basic of social structures: the family. They are not simply rebelling as women against societal gender constraints, they are challenging the very definitions of the "affectionate" marriage by suggesting that class mix or advancement is preferable to accepting the state to which God has determined they belong. The importance of family to social stability is reinforced still further in the final marriage of Frank to Sindefy and the decision of Gertrude and Mrs. Touchstone to obey without question their male heads of household.

In fact, the possession of a title—especially a knighthood—is not seen by all members of the middling sort as desirable. Mistress Touchstone suggests that her own husband might have been awarded a knighthood (1.2.132-134) as a result of his services to his guild and community and attributes his refusal of the offered title to his being an "ass." She does not consider that her husband may have refused knighthood on a class-based scruple, or because of class pride. Another goldsmith character, Matthew Shore in Thomas Heywood's *Edward IV*, refuses a knighthood because of just such class pride. For Touchstone and Shore, commitment to the community of goldsmiths as well as their fellow London citizens represents a security and social positioning more desirable than what attaches to an essentially ceremonial title. And, given the dishonest behavior of such "real" knights as Sir Petronel, no one can blame Touchstone for refusing identification with such a disreputable "class" of people.

Touchstone repudiates Gertrude once he discovers that her knight husband has neither land nor castle, and Sir Petronel's irresponsible trading ventures, financed by Gertrude's marriage portion, fail and he and Frank wind up in debtor's prison. When Gertrude is urged to kneel to her father and beg his forgiveness, she refuses, claiming that "though my knight be run away, and has sold my land, I am a lady still" (4.2.154-155). Ironically, "Lady" Flash, like her husband in his

Virginia enterprise, herself becomes a merchant when she tries to pawn or sell her title. Though she is expert at flogging her jewels and clothes, Gertrude may have a hard time selling a title minus the land necessary to support it, a title that literally only exists on a piece of paper. Though the prodigals Frank, Sir Petronel, and Gertrude are ultimately shown the error of their ways and repent. Gertrude's repentance includes accepting the subservient status of a middle class woman as modeled by Mildred and the now repentant Mistress Touchstone. Frank marries the former prostitute Sindefy, a move that would technically raise her class position.

Ultimately, though, *Eastward Ho!* validates the artisan life by rewarding those who work hard and accept their position as members of this class and punishing those who do not. Gertrude, Sir Petronel Flash, and Frank have all scorned the mercantile life, yet all come to know they *need*—as well as unconsciously *use*—the commerce it is based upon to survive. Golding has never scorned his trade—or the class change that economic necessity has demanded of him. By accepting his lot in life—and the social conditions his new class position mandates—he is rewarded by being made deputy alderman. Touchstone, in fact, predicts he will become "one o' the monuments of our city" (4.2.91-92)—like Sir Thomas Gresham or Dick Whittington—and his "deeds play'd i' [his] lifetime by the best companies of actors" (4.2.99-100). Perhaps not surprisingly, fame trumpeted by actors—laboring men, after all—becomes more desirable than empty titles or the privileged birth of idling profligates.

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Notes

[1] All references to this play will be to the edition mentioned in the works cited list. This edition has no line numbers or scene divisions, so citations will include page numbers as well as act numbers. I have silently changed long "s" to conventional "s."

[2] Pikes and partisans are not "noble" weapons, being designed for foot soldiers.

[3] Many texts of the Early Modern period were primarily concerned with how to define newly emerging mercantile, and what we would now call "professional," groups, including those by: Lawrence Humfrey

(1563), William Harrison (1577), Sir Thomas Smith (1583), John Ferne (1586), Richard Johnson (1592), Thomas Wilson (1600), Henry Peacham (1627), and John Doderidge (1642).

[4] See also Jankowski, "Historicizing and Legitimating…"

[5] All references to *Eastward Ho!* will be to the edition mentioned in the works cited list

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From Shakespeare to Rabelais: What Would Life Be without Arithmetic?[1]

John McClelland

Act 3, scene 1 of *Romeo and Juliet* (1595) is both formally and dramatically the central scene of the play and one of its most crucial. The henchmen of the Capulets and the Montagues meet sort of by chance in the street, a fight ensues, Tybalt kills Mercutio, Romeo kills Tybalt, and from that point on, as Yeats would have said, "things fall apart; the centre cannot hold." In the midst of that tumultuous scene, there is one brief utterance that is particularly puzzling. The mortally wounded Mercutio hurls a string of insults at the back of Tybalt, who has just left the scene: "'Zounds, a dog, a rat, a mouse, a cat, to scratch a man to death! A braggart, a rogue, a villain that fights by the book of arithmetic."[2] Given Tybalt's character and Mercutio's awareness of impending death, the seven epithets are both understandable and justified, but why the scorn that he heaps, by implication, on the "book of arithmetic"? What paradoxical link does Shakespeare see between the purely mental art of arithmetic and the purely physical art of Tybalt's swordplay? And just what is "the book of arithmetic"?

Before attempting to answer these questions, I want to look at the exchange between Mercutio and his friends that immediately precedes the text I have quoted. Mercutio knows he has been seriously harmed ("I am hurt,... I am sped") but Benvolio can see nothing ("What, art thou hurt?"), while to Romeo the wound seems superficial—"Courage, man; the hurt cannot be much," is his reply to Mercutio's request for a surgeon. Mercutio knows, however, the full extent of the internal damage it has caused. "Ay, ay, a scratch, a scratch," he answers ironically, "No, 'tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church door. But 'tis enough, 'twill serve. Ask for me tomorrow, and you shall find me a grave man." Another seeming paradox then: what appears to be a barely visible skin laceration is enough to cause death.

To return to the questions I first raised, we may gain some appreciation of Shakespeare's attitudes towards arithmetic by a remark made in *Hamlet* 5.2. The prince of Denmark responds to the unwitting Osric's flattering description of Laertes by resorting to irony: "Sir, his definement

suffers no perdition in you; though I know, to divide him inventorially would dozy th'arithmetic of memory." Taken with the words "divide" and "inventorially," "arithmetic" here clearly denotes a kind of accounting, a commercial operation, the kind of thing that middle-class merchants do.

The opening scene of *Othello* gives us an even clearer indication of the status of arithmetic within the Shakespearean scheme. Iago has gone to considerable trouble and, apparently, expense, to be named Othello's lieutenant in Cyprus, but Othello has passed him over, and has instead named someone else to be his "officer." Enraged that his efforts have come to nothing, the embittered Iago unburdens himself thus to the naïve Rodrigo:

> And what was [this officer]?
> Forsooth, a great arithmetician,
> One Michael Cassio, a Florentine,
> A fellow [...]
> That never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle knows
> More than a spinster; unless the bookish theoric,
> Wherein the toged consuls can propose
> As masterly as he—mere prattle, without practice,
> Is all his soldiership.[3] (*Othello* 1.1.20-29)

As in *RJ*, the word "arithmetic" is here linked to the word "book," but it is also linked to "Florentine," and these two associations provide a clear sense of how arithmetic acquired a negative appreciation. Medieval and Renaissance Florence was a bourgeois, merchant republic that turned arithmetic to commercial ends that were quite at odds with the ethos of northern Europe's feudal culture. Its thriving businesses needed the "bookish theoric" that Iago decries, and just what is meant by this term becomes obvious if we look at a few "books of arithmetic" that Shakespeare and his contemporaries might have known. From Robert Recorde (1542) through Jacques Peletier du Mans (1549) to Bernard Salignac (Eng. trans. 1616 but written in Latin sometime earlier) we note the resolutely commercial character of this branch of mathematics. Some of the writers explore more abstruse issues,[4] but the culminating chapters of

all three books are devoted to "accoumptyng." Even in their earlier chapters the books of arithmetic frequently rely on case studies drawn from the practical problems small businessman had to solve. "Florence" and "arithmetic" have thus combined in Iago's mind to denote both theoretical and applied forms of reasoning that look to be all small-minded talk and no action.[5]

The point is, of course, that times have changed. What Iago has not understood, and what, to my mind, Shakespeare deplores, is that the governor of Cyprus no longer needs a battle-hardened soldier to be his executive officer, but a logistician, an accountant. Theory and organization are more useful than experience. In *Othello*, arithmetic implies a bourgeois, unsoldierly, unaristocratic, calculating value system that is, unfortunately, the way of the modern world,[6] whereas Shakespeare's sympathies lie with those noble individuals who act impetuously and on emotion—in our case the poetically headstrong Mercutio, in whose mouth Shakespeare has put some of the most magical language of the play, who rejects Romeo's "calm, dishonourable, vile submission" (*RJ* 3.1.72), and who insists on the fight in which he will die.

With the foregoing in mind, let us return then to Mercutio's "book of arithmetic," a phrase that does not have the same denotations it does in *Othello*, though the connotations are analogous. Jill Levenson interprets these words to mean "according to numerical rules, or by the fencing manual" (Levenson 256), referring the reader back to an earlier speech in which Mercutio has sarcastically, and in more detail, characterized Tybalt's very precise fighting style (*RJ* 2.3/4).[7] Levenson is unquestionably right in a general sense to link Mercutio's remark to fencing manuals. There were many such books published in Italian in the sixteenth century, all of which laid down strict methods to be followed, and the first examples in English (both by Italians) had appeared during the period when Shakespeare was composing *RJ*: Giacomo di Grassi's *True Arte of Defence* in 1594 and Vincentio Saviolo's *Practise, in two Books* the year after.[8] Shakespeare may or may not have known these books directly (Levenson 36, 102), but as Zitner has convincingly shown, he was certainly aware of the vogue for fencing and duelling—and of the attempts to fix the moral and legalistic grounds for mortal combat—that swept the English aristocracy in the last decade or so of Elizabeth's reign.[9]

The rivalry between Iago and Michael Cassio portends the conflict of two opposed modes of government, the way of physical action versus the way of mental reflection and calculation. Analogously, Mercutio's fatal duel with Tybalt is—superficially, at least— not just a street brawl between the *bravi* of two feuding families, as in *RJ* 1.1, but the confrontation of two rival schools of sword-play. The one, Tybalt's, is clearly castigated as methodical and foreign; the other, Mercutio's, is spontaneous and, by implication, English. In order to provoke Tybalt, who really wants to fight the pacifist Romeo, Mercutio "trash-talks" him, mingling pseudo-Italo-Spanish fencing terms in with the other taunts. He refers to Tybalt derisively as "*Alla stoccado*," calls him a "rat-catcher," and the "king of cats," and then, after promising to beat him within an inch of his life—or, more exactly, beyond it—he issues a sarcastic invitation for his opponent to show off his foot-work: "Come sir, your *passado*" (*RJ* 3.1.73-83).

Although the foreign words as they issue from Mercutio's mouth are neither lexically nor grammatically accurate, they are recognizable English variants on existing Italo-Spanish technical fencing terms. According to Saviolo a *stoccado* (more properly a *stoccata*) is an upward thrust aimed at the abdomen or perhaps higher; a slightly later contemporary, Nicoletto Giganti, illustrates his fencing manual with a particularly disturbing image of a *stoccata* to the head. (see Plate 1).[10] A *passado* is an attack movement in which the fencer rapidly advances ("passes") his rear foot in front of the other, so as to suddenly force the opponent back and off balance. This was a delicate movement to execute because it also temporarily deprived the attacking fencer of his equilibrium, thereby rendering him vulnerable. "Come sir, your *passado*" is thus a genuine, if derisive, challenge, both inviting Tybalt to attack using his acquired foreign skills and, at the same time, threatening a riposte.[11]

However, in the context of *RJ* 3.1 the precise meaning of these terms takes a back seat to their role as invective. Together with the accusation that Tybalt "fights by the book of arithmetic," their function is simply to identify him as being a particularly odious kind of villain; in essence, to confirm a cooler, if no less sarcastic, analysis of Tybalt's fencing style that Mercutio made in a slightly earlier scene in the play:

> More than Prince of Cats. O, he's the courageous captain of compliments. He fights as you sing prick-song: keeps time, distance, and proportion; he rests his minim rests, one, two, and the third in your bosom; the very butcher of a silk button, a duellist, a duellist, a gentleman of the very first house, of the first and second cause. Ah, the immortal *passado*! the *punto riverso*! the *hay*! [12] (*RJ* 2.3/4, 18-25).

This very lapidary, somewhat paratactic series of labels, similes, metaphors, and metonymies helps put the later remarks of *RJ* 3.1 into perspective, especially those concerning arithmetic and foreign technical terms. Let us take them more or less in reverse order. Again, the Italian words have technical meanings, though they may vary from writer to writer. The "*punto riverso*" was an attack or thrust delivered from the executant's left;[13] "*hay*" (= *tu lo hai*) is the Italian for "you have it," uttered presumably at the moment of thrusting—perhaps with the added aim of conferring on the utterer some psycho-physiological impulsion, as in karate. However, as before, it is not the denotative meaning of these terms that is in question, but what they symbolize within the context of the set of syntagmas of which they are the culmination. To judge by this dismissive use of Italo-Spanish terminology, Shakespeare seems almost to be pre-empting the English master, George Silver who, four years later, vehemently and jingoistically defended traditional English sword-play against foreign fashions. The title of his book says it all:

> *Paradoxes of Defence, wherein is proved that the true ground of fight to be in the short ancient weapons, and that the Short Sword hath the advantage of the long sword or long rapier, and the weaknesse and imperfection of the rapier fight displayed. Together with an admonition to the noble, ancient, victorious, valiant, and most brave nation of Englishmen, to beware of false teachers of defence.*[14]

The expression "the first and second cause" denotes a certain legal punctiliousness related to the legitimate reasons for resorting to arms. Mortal combat and the judicial duel were serious matters, and from at least the fifteenth century lawyers and moralists had been trying to determine when they were admissible. Shakespeare's contemporary, William Segar had reflected on these issues in 1590, declaring there to be only two causes, the first involving accusations of capital crimes, and the second to be honour. But most of those who wrote on the subject were,

like the fencing masters themselves, foreign. Indeed, the second part of Saviolo's *Practice*—entitled *Of Honor and Honorable Quarrels*—is really just a translation of Girolamo Muzio's *Il duello* (1551), a book that dealt precisely with these matters and that had already been translated into French as early as 1553. The need to control the kind of impulsiveness that led too easily to duelling and death is all too obvious in *RJ*. In the very scene where he himself is killed, Mercutio scolds Benvolio for his eagerness to fight on any silly pretext ("Thy head is as full of quarrels as an egg is full of meat," *RJ* 3.1, 21-22), but his censure seems more a friendly mock than a reproach. The fact that Tybalt invokes "causes" rather than mere whims in order to fight places him among the foreigners, among those who calculate their actions, in short, among the arithmeticians.

To call Tybalt a "gentleman of the very first house" may refer to the supposed quality of the fencing school he attended (Levenson 228); or it may be a disparaging allusion to the house of Capulet. But the repeated "a duellist, a duellist" again clearly ranks him among the foreigners (the word had appeared for the first time in English only two years before; *RJ* 2.3/4.22 and note), as does "the very butcher of a silk button." George Silver twice tells the same anecdote about a "*Signior Rocco*," an "*Italian* teacher of Defence... that would have hit anie Englishman with a thrust, just upon any button in his doublet" (Jackson 514 and 563). The story must have been already in circulation before the composition of *RJ*.

The most significant element of Mercutio's speech is, however, the developed analogy between duelling and singing "prick-songs,"[15] by which he is referring to part-songs, i.e., four-voice madrigals composed in imitative counterpoint. Music's metrical structure had been regularized ca. 1300 by the imposition of an arithmetical system called mensural notation, based on the division of larger note values into smaller units. In modern notation this division is always duple—one whole-note equals two half-notes, and so one—but in the mensural system, as it was eventually perfected in the fifteenth century under the name of proportional notation, any note might be divided into two (imperfect rhythm) or three (perfect rhythm) notes of the next lower time value. A fairly complex set of time signatures indicated to the performer which notes were

perfect, which imperfect: thus a simple circle—O—at the beginning of the line signified that the *maxima* (the equivalent of eight of our whole-notes) was to be divided into two *longas*, the *longa* into two *breves*, the *breve* into three *semibreves*, and the *semibreve* into two *minims*, giving the proportions 1:2:4:12:24. By the mid to late-sixteenth century this complex rhythmical notation had been generally reduced to the duple time we still use, but since bar-lines had not yet been invented and performers had only their own part in front of their eyes, when playing or singing in ensemble pieces, they had constantly to count both in order to perform their own part correctly (thus "keeping time") and to correlate what they were doing with the other players ("keeping distance and proportion, resting their minim rests").[16] (see Plate 2)

Two points need to be made here. The first is that, from the point of view of the poet, mensural and proportional notation subverted the words that were to be sung. In earlier rhythmical systems, which survive today in performances of Gregorian chant, the note values were determined by the quantities or accents of the syllables that were sung to them. The music was thus subservient to the communication of the text and the rhythm was free, being dictated only by the phonetic and syntactic accents of the words. But when the techniques of musical composition progressed to the point where voices or instruments had to perform different musical lines simultaneously, music had to be measured in order to keep all the parts together (Reese 140-48 and 292). Hence purely musical criteria imposed arithmetical principles on poetic language, a step that in France, at least, was at first vigorously resisted (McClelland 17-19).

Secondly, this musical vocabulary of time, distance, and proportion was just as technical and just as foreign as the *stoccados* and *passados* with which Mercutio insults Tybalt. Musical theory in the sixteenth century was dominated by the Italians to the same extent as was the theory of swordplay. It is thus not surprising that these terms were also widely used in contemporary fencing manuals, though their authors did not actually resort to the numbers that *tempo* and *proporzione* referred to in music. Their appearance here does none the less imply several things about Tybalt's fighting style. It is obviously arithmetical, in the sense that he is counting both his moves and his opponent's. It is obviously also geometrical, because he is calculating the spatial

relationships that separate the fighters and that determine the possibility of attack. And it is obviously a very cool, intellectual way of duelling, because he knows when to observe a pause and then resume the fight at precisely the most opportune moment, according to the rhythm of his opponent. Tybalt is able to "thrust Mercutio in" when Romeo tries to interrupt the fight because, unlike his opponent, he has not broken his sequence of movements, his *tempo*.[17]

Shakespeare's fighting-singing analogy lays bare a fundamental fact of concerted performance. The relation among the singers of part-songs and between duellers or fencers is dialectical. Each participant has to put their voice or sword or feet in the right place at the right time, and that can only be achieved by the prior conceptualisation of singing or fighting as activities that can be abstracted into one of the varieties of mathematics, however rudimentary. And this dialectic is in turn subsumed by the phrase "captain of compliments" that precedes it. Taken together with "Prince of Cats," the sarcastic mention of "compliments" denotes a studied approach to human relationships that masks intentions under a set of superficial forms, whether these are verbal or gestural. Beyond denoting that Tybalt has studied fencing at the hands of Italian masters, Mercutio's speech castigates an entire mode of modern behaviour that is characterized by protocols obliging individuals to recognize the other as other. Whether the relationship is adversarial, as in a duel, or collaborative, as in the performance of part-songs, the new ethos—best summarized in Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* (1555)—requires you to reflect on your own actions and to keep your distance. Northern Europeans tended to see this civility not as the oil that would eliminate friction, but as artificial constraints, however carefully disguised.

For example, in 1553 the French poet Joachim du Bellay went to Rome to manage the household of his cousin, the cardinal Jean du Bellay, who was conducting important negotiations with the pope. On his return in 1557-58 he published a collection of sonnets entitled *Regrets* that depict various facets of his life in the papal capital. In two successive poems in particular (85 and 86) he laments that in Rome he cannot "suivre en son parler la liberté de France" [speak as freely as he would in France], that he is obliged to "seigneuriser chacun d'un baisement de main" [kiss the hand of everyone, as if he were a noble lord], and, worse still, that he has to be calculating and

dishonest: "Et pour respondre un mot, un quart d'heure y songer" [reflect for a quarter of an hour before giving a simple answer] and "Et d'un son Servitor' contrefaire l'honneste" [feign sincerity by saying "your humble servant"] (Du Bellay 157-58). Mercutio's sarcastic condemnation of Tybalt's foreign manner and mathematical fighting style seems all of a piece with other, northern, views of the superficial forms of Renaissance Italian culture.[18]

All of what I have written thus far, however, still has not really solved the issue that I raised at the beginning: why classify Tybalt's fighting style as "arithmetical"? In fact, none of the manuals that taught swordplay, and that Tybalt/Shakespeare could have known, based their teaching on "numerical principles." To the extent they resorted to mathematical models—and many, if not most, of them did—geometry was the science of choice. An English master of the early seventeenth century put it succinctly: "The Science of Defence is an Art Geometricall."[19] Because it could be used to create and analyze both space and movement in space, and because it had prestigious antecedents in Antiquity—notably Euclid—geometry was, for most people, the dominant branch of mathematics.[20] In his recent book on hand-to-hand combat in the Renaissance, Sydney Anglo has thoroughly and carefully outlined the ways in which the sixteenth-century theoreticians of fencing used geometrical models to teach their art and to illustrate their manuals (Anglo 61-90 and 138-140). The original Italian title of Giacomo di Grassi's book—*Ragione di addoprar sicuramente l'arme* [a mathematically based method for wielding weapons with surety]—gives us a sense of just what that means, and the book's illustrations reveal how it was put into practice. Grassi is teaching what amounts to a set of gestures derived from three-dimensional geometry, kinematics, and biomechanics, a series of problems whose solution will lead to the defeat of the fencer's opponent. He does not, however, speak of time, measure, proportion, or distance, i.e., of arithmetic, though both Saviolo and his antagonist George Silverdo. (see Plate 3)

The application of geometry to the physical and mental techniques of swordplay was conditioned by a technological advance in sword-making. Improved metallurgy allowed swords to be lighter without becoming more fragile, and this in turn meant that the weapon could be

envisaged more readily as an extension of the human body and thus be analyzed from a biomechanical point of view. It also meant it could be manipulated more easily, could have a sharper point, and was more suited to thrusting and to inflicting serious puncture wounds than was the long sword that had previously dominated the art of duelling. As Grassi puts it, "thrustes, though litle & weake, when they enter but iij. fingers into the bodie, are wont to kill" (Jackson 40). Thus the paradox of Mercutio's mortal "hurt." Though Tybalt was not close enough to him for his sword to penetrate very far—Romeo had interposed himself between the duellers—though the wound was neither wide nor deep nor even very visible, Tybalt's "thruste" was quite enough to kill.

The term generally in use to designate this new kind of light, thrusting weapon was "rapier," though as Sydney Anglo has shown, no one at the time seemed to be exactly sure just what was a rapier and what was not (Anglo 99-112). For Shakespeare a "rapier" is definitely a sign of modernity. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the faintly ridiculous Shallow, responding to Page's assertion that "the Frenchman [Dr. Caius] hath good skill in his rapier," remarks that "In these times you stand on distance, your passes, stoccadoes, and I know not what. " He then boasts that "I have seen the time with my long sword I would have made you four tall fellows skip like rats" (*MWW* 2.1). Similarly, when Juliet's father—specifically designated as "Old Capulet"—comes upon the brawl that opens the play, he calls for his "long sword," only to be reminded by his wife that he has more need of a crutch (*RJ* 1.1, 71-72). To handle the rapier required a completely different sword technique that privileged hand-eye co-ordination and the physical qualities of grace, lightness, and nimbleness of foot that one normally associates with dancing—and indeed, many Italian fencing masters abroad were also teachers of the dance.[21] As for Mercutio, who is neither old-fashioned nor foreign, but who is a dancer (*RJ* 1.4.12-13), he fights explicitly with a rapier, though he does not espouse arithmetical methods.

The new-style fencing books that taught a geometrical method combined with a discourse founded on musical arithmetic had started to appear about sixty years before *RJ*. The first was by the Bolognese master, Antonio Manciolino, and was published in Venice in 1531. In this book we

encounter a new vocabulary that signalled a different way of conceiving the actions of the fencer: words like "leggiadria" [lightness] and "grazia" [grace] that could not be used when speaking of heavy weapons like the long sword, but that were appropriate to the rapier and that also reflect the language of the Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (1528); terms like "scienza" [science] and "ragione" [mathematical logic] that imply an intellectualised approach to what had been theretofore a strictly physical endeavour; and most importantly, words like "tempo" and "misura" [measure] borrowed from music that denote counting and hence rhythm, precision, and control in the fencer's movements.

After Manciolino a Florentine master, Francesco Altoni, wrote a manual that carried sword-fighting one step further in the direction of mathematics. Altoni insists that, to be successfully understood, fencing must be abstracted, intellectualised, and reduced to a set of general principles. These are to be derived from geometry and from a kind of rudimentary biomechanics. The fencer must conceive of himself as standing in the centre of a circle whose diameter, represented by his outstretched arms, is two-thirds his height. Altoni's vocabulary repeats Manciolino's "tempo" and "misura," adding to them terms such as "armonia," "compositione," and "proportione." Further, he develops those ideas, firstly, by stipulating that a fencing thrust necessarily involves movement, and that movement cannot exist without "tempo," i. e., both time and rhythm; and secondly by refining the notion of "tempo" to include more complex concepts: "doppio tempo," mezzo tempo," and "contro a tempo" [double time, half time, counter time].

Though Altoni's manual is still unpublished, it seems to have been known to a Milanese civil and mechanical engineer, Camillo Agrippa. In 1553 he published a treatise on the science of weaponry that represents an analytical refinement on Altoni's teaching and establishes the standard geometrical models for fencing. Agrippa carried Altoni's principle of abstraction almost to its logical conclusion, reducing the human body to a set of two-dimensional lines and angles. As he says, the actions of a sword-fighter "are governed exclusively by points, lines, tempi, measures, and so on, and derive, so to speak, from mathematical considerations, or more

precisely, from geometry" (Agrippa f. III r°). Proportion is also an important concept for Agrippa and so too is the sequence or simultaneity of movement. In short, what Agrippa does is to articulate in geometrical terms the notion of the mind's conceptual control of the body that was first adumbrated by Manciolino. (see Plate 4)

However, the fencing manual that comes closest to being a "book of arithmetic" is the one written by Giovanni dall'Agocchie in 1572. Dall'Agocchie stresses the importance of theory in fencing and of the proper sequence of moves. In the second book he goes on to deal with biomechanics, and in the third he sets out the arithmetical basis for fighting (albeit he has in mind the distribution of pike-men in an order of battle, founded on the possibility of being able to extract the square roots of certain numbers. If the square roots cannot be found, then apply some other rules that have been concocted "per via de' numeri" [by means of numbers].

The books by Manciolino, Altoni, Agrippa, and Dall' Agocchie were, of course, only the tip of the iceberg. Fencing masters advocating all kinds of new methods undoubtedly based on tempo, measure, proportion, and geometry flourished in every city. Young foreigners found it exciting to go to Italy to learn the new techniques. Du Bellay went enthusiastically to Rome in 1553 with, among other things, a list of the self-improvement projects he had planned to accomplish. Prominently figuring among these was to learn mathematics and fencing (Du Bellay 100). Similarly, Michel de Montaigne records in the diary of his trip to Italy in 1580-81 his encounters with a number of teenage Frenchmen come to Italy to study fencing. Later he mentions that his own youngest brother succumbed to the lure and decided to stay in Rome to study the art instead of returning to France.

At the end of the sixteenth century, as we see in *RJ*, duelling over trivia had become endemic and the art of self-defence had become a crucial skill to possess. The fact that the Italians had succeeded in putting this skill on a theoretical basis derived from mathematics made their methods seem very modern to those in the sixteenth-century who considered themselves up to date. As Alfred Crosby has shown, one of the defining characteristics of the Renaissance is the increasing intrusion of mathematical models into other areas of endeavour. There is a train of

thought to be discerned that runs from the beginnings of clock-making and commercial arithmetic through Philippe de Vitry's theory of music, the *Ars nova* (1320), Leon Batista Alberti's invention of perspective (1435) to Galileo and Descartes—the process that Robert Klein called "la mathématisation de la nature" (Klein 333). This is the train of thought out of which emerged the modern world and it is more than a little perplexing that Shakespeare does not seem to be on it.

We may compare Shakespeare's disquiet in the face of arithmetic's encroachments on life and art with Rabelais's ideal monastery, the Abbaye de Thélème, the description of which fills the final chapters of his comic novel *Gargantua* of 1534 (Rabelais 139-50). This meticulously constructed building, whose every measurement and proportion are laid down with rational arithmetical precision, contrasts starkly with the impossibly gigantic numbers that mark the rest of the novel. To quote a few samples: the infant Gargantua drinks the milk of 17,930 cows; 260,418 Parisians (not counting women and children) are drowned when the giant relieves himself from the towers of Notre Dame; 7,408,345 gold coins of various denominations are set aside for the construction and endowment of Thélème. These numbers exemplify what Alfred Crosby says about pre-Renaissance arithmetic: "Medieval Europeans used numbers for effect, not for accuracy" (Crosby 41). On the other hand, the six towers of the abbey are each 60 yards in diameter; they are arranged in a hexagon each of whose sides is 312 yards long and six stories high; in the middle of each side is a circular stair consisting of 12 steps from one landing to the next; each of the treads is 22 feet broad and 3 inches thick; the main entrance archway is 36 feet wide; there are 932 apartments in the building as a whole.[22] Though the abbey was larger than any domestic structure of the time—Rabelais specifically compares it to the châteaux of Bonnivet, Chantilly, and Chambord, all recently built—the dimensions are so well thought out and so within human scale that it has been possible to make accurate drawings of how the building would actually look.

The establishment of the Abbaye de Thélème is presented as the crowning achievement of the novel's eponymous princely hero and, in a sense, as the logical outcome of his modern humanist education. After unsatisfactory training in Latin grammar and scholastic philosophy at

the hands of two old-fashioned theologians.[23] Gargantua had been taken to Paris and there subjected to a wide-ranging program of instruction that spelled out in greater detail the educational ideals that Rabelais had outlined in ch. VIII of the *Pantagruel* (1532)—Gargantua's famous letter to his son that is often included in anthologies of Renaissance culture. This program is very disciplined, and stresses the efficient use of the student's time—the heading of ch. XXIII is "Comment Gargantua feut institué par Ponocrates en telle discipline qu'il ne perdoit heure du jour" [How Gargantua was so disciplined by Ponocrates that he did not waste an hour of the day]—but is described as being a happy, fulfilling time for the young hero. None the less, of all the subjects he studies, only one is singled out as being so attractive to Gargantua that he becomes expert in it: arithmetic.

> Ce faict on apportoit des chartes, non pour jouer, mais pour y apprendre mille petites gentillesses, et inventions nouvelles. Lesquelles toutes yssoient de Arithmetique. En ce moyen entra en affection de icelle science numerale, et tous les jours aprés disner et souper y passoit temps ... plaisantement.... A tant sceut d'icelle et theoricque et praticque, si bien que Tunstall Angloys, qui en avoit amplement escript, confessa que vrayement en comparaison de luy il n'y entendoit que le haut Alemant (Rabelais 66).[24]
>
> [At this point they would bring in cards, not to play with, but that they might learn a thousand new and fine inventions, all of which were derived from arithmetic. As a result Gargantua became very fond of the science of numbers, and every day after dinner and supper he would pass the time pleasantly at it. ... As a result he learned the theory and practice of arithmetic so well, that the Englishman Tunstall, who had written a big book on the subject, confessed that in comparison to Gargantua he understood it no better than he did High German.][25]

However, despite the auspicious origins of its arithmetical precision, there is much in the abbey of Thélème that leaves the reader wondering if this lifeless monastery is really the ideal society that Rabelais wanted to construct. It is a place filled with handsome, talented, educated young people—

> Tant noblement estoient apprins, qu'il n'estoit entre eulx celluy, ne celle qui ne sceust lire, escripre, chanter, jouer d'instruments harmonieux, parler de cinq et

> six langaiges, et en iceulx composer tant en carme que en oraison solue. Jamais ne feurent veuz chevaliers tant preux, tant gualans, tant dextres à pied et à cheval, plus vers, mieulx remuans, mieux manians tous bastons que là estoient. Jamais ne feurent veues dames tant propres, tant mignonnes, moins fascheuses, plus doctes à la main, à l'agueille, à tout acte muliebre honneste et libere, que là estoient (Rabelais 149).
>
> [So nobly were they instructed that there was not a man or woman among them who could not read, write, sing, play musical instruments, speak five or six languages, and compose in them both verse and prose. Never were seen such worthy knights, so valiant, so nimble both on foot and horse; knights more vigorous, more agile, handier with all weapons than they were. Never were seen ladies so good-looking, so dainty, less tiresome, more skilled with the fingers and the needle, and in every free and honest womanly pursuit than they were (Cohen 159).]

—who nonetheless seem to put their talents and education to no very interesting use. In the abbey no one talks or laughs or sings. The six libraries that occupy the entirety of one of the six wings have no readers. Beyond dressing in the latest expensive fashions, as dictated each day by the female residents, the chief, indeed the only activities seem to be drinking, gambling, and hunting with hawks. Although there are no rules of conduct, and free will and pleasure are said to reign untrammelled, in fact the motto "fay ce que voudras" ["do what you will"] really turns out to mean "do what everyone else wants." The well-rounded humanist education to which these young people have been subjected has induced in them a spirit of complete and unquestioning conformity, and has inspired them spontaneously to quash any individuality: "Les dames au commencement de la fondation se habilloient à leur plaisir et arbitre. Depuis feurent reforméez par leur franc vouloir"(Rabelais 146) ["The ladies, at the foundation of this order, dressed according to their own taste and pleasure. Afterwards, of their own free will, they reformed themselves"] (Cohen 157).

Now the putative abbot of this institution is Frère Jean des Entommeures, a vulgar, and by his own admission, undisciplined, rough and ready monk who entered the novel at precisely the same time as Gargantua was forgetting his own coarse behaviour and learning to be an

arithmetician (ch. XXIII-XXVII). In creating Frère Jean, Rabelais was clearly creating a character after his own heart. Rejecting the passive attitude of his fellow monks, who resort to prayer when their abbey is attacked, he kills 13,622 marauding soldiers in one afternoon, and, significantly, he does so by striking out in a helter-skelter manner, using the non-arithmetical techniques of "la vieille escrime" [old-fashioned fencing] (Rabelais 79).[26] It is quite unclear just what role he might play among the unenergetic fops and fashion-plates of Thélème, but Rabelais does give him the final word. When the foundations of Thélème were being dug, a poem in the form of an enigma was discovered. Bringing a scholarly approach to its exegesis, Gargantua allegorises it to signify religious persecution and the courage of those who are persecuted. But Frère Jean's more pragmatic interpretation convinces us that it is really just a description of a tennis match—a game that, incidentally, the Italians had not yet subjected to the "book of arithmetic."

What would life be without arithmetic? The Reverend Sidney Smith the nineteenth-century divine who is the author of my subtitle, said it would be "a scene of horrors," but Rabelais and Shakespeare thought it would be a lot richer, a lot more poetic, and a lot more fun.

Victoria College,
University of Toronto

Notes

[1] The original presentation was accompanied by several more illustrations than reproduced in this volume. The included plates were those deemed crucial by the author.

[2] Quotations from *Romeo and Juliet* are taken from Jill Levenson's edition of the play; references to the play are given as *RJ* 3.1, to the notes and introduction as Levenson 256. Citations of other plays are from William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*. In its original form this lecture was a talk given to the Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium in March 1999; I am grateful to Prof. Levenson for putting her then still unpublished glosses of the play at my disposal on that occasion. A second, somewhat revised, version was given in French at the Université de Montpellier in November of 2000, at the invitation of Prof. François Roudaut, to whom I would like now to express my gratitude. The present text represents an almost complete recasting of the two earlier versions. A stimulating conversation with Jean Céard led me to rethink the final section of this essay.

[3] Professor Sheldon Zitner pointed out the significance of this passage some years ago (private communication).

[4] Salignac shows how to calculate the years since the creation (5,583) or the soldiers that Darius was able to raise in order to fight Alexander the Great (509,200), while Peletier applies arithmetic to astronomy and delves into such arcane matters as the extraction of cube roots.

[5] On the role of Florence and of books in the development of arithmetic, see Van Egmond.

[6] Theodora Jankowski suggested to me that we should think of Michael Cassio as the Renaissance equivalent of a West Point graduate who has studied the art of war in contemporary treatises—there were many such books written in the Renaissance, beginning with Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra* (1521)—but has never set foot on a battlefield. The fact that he alone in the play is identified by a first and last name implies his bourgeois origins. The real tragedy of the play may be that, with the appointment of Cassio as governor of Cyprus in the final scene, the bean-counters and the number-crunchers have won out over the men of action. For another disparaging use of "arithmetic," see *Cymbeline* 2.4.142.

[7] In most current editions of *R&J* this scene is numbered "4," but in Levenson's division of act II it is scene 3.

[8] Both Grassi (in English) and Saviolo have been reproduced in facsimile by Jackson. Levenson (102-103) believes Shakespeare started writing *RJ* in 1593 and that the play reached the stage in 1595.

[9] For other references to Shakespeare and fencing manuals, see Levenson's notes.

[10] *Stoccata* (Span. *estocado*) derives from *stocco* (Span. *estoque*, Fr. *estoc*), used to designate swords that had no cutting edges but only a point for thrusting; see Anglo 101 and 111.

[11] Saviolo in Jackson 213 ff. The illustration in question is reproduced in Bascetta pl. LXXVII. On the *passado* and other fencing terms, consult Morton. By the early 17th century the lunge (Ital. *lunga*, or "long thrust") was invented, which had the same purpose as the *passado*, but which, since it did not involve repositioning the feet, maintained the fencer's balance.

[12] This analysis of Tybalt's cool, precise fighting style is inconsistent with an earlier description by Benvolio:

> [...] in the instant came
> The fiery Tybalt, with his sword prepared;
> Which, as he breathed defiance to my ears,
> He swung about his head and cut the winds,
> Who nothing hurt withal, hissed him in scorn. (*RJ* 1.1. 104-108)

By this description Tybalt seems to be using his sword to cut (*RJ* 1.1, n. 68), but in *RJ* 2.3-4 and 3.1 his style is rather to inflict puncture wounds. Anglo (102-12) discusses these two styles of fighting that were advocated indiscriminately by both Spanish and Italian masters. Levenson inserts no comma after "house," but I think both the meaning and the delivery of the speech require one.

[13] Sixteenth-century fencers normally circled counter-clockwise, i.e., to the right, but, to gain an advantage, might suddenly shift left and then thrust.

[14] Silver's book was published in London in 1599; now in Jackson 489-570. Another book of Silver's, *Bref Instruction*, remained in manuscript until 1898 (Jackson 571-634).

[15] "Prick" is certainly one of Mercutio's favourite words; see *RJ* 1.4.24-26 and 2.3/4.106-07 ("The bawdy hand of the dial is now upon the prick of noon").

[16] For a sixteenth-century account of mensural and proportional notation, see Bourgeois; and for a modern clarification Sachs 198-233. A *minim* (= half-note) was in the sixteenth century the basic symbol of musical notation, the way the quarter-note is now.

[17] Controlled, measured behaviour is attributed not just to Tybalt but to the house of Capulet in general: "But let them measure us by what they will./We'll measure them a measure and be gone" (Benvolio at *RJ* 1.4, 6-7).

[18] Hotspur's speech to Henry IV (*1H4* 1.3, 29-68) also illustrates the reaction against Italian manners. The "popinjay" who had acted as Henry's negotiator with Hotspur is described by the latter as being "perfumed like a milliner," i.e., a Milanese.

[19] George Hale, *Private Schoole of Defence* (1614), quoted by Anglo 114.

[20] Professional mathematicians may, however, have thought otherwise. In the prefatory rondeau to his translation of Charles de Bovelle's *Géométrie*, Oronce Finé says that the only liberal art superior to geometry is arithmetic (Conley 281). Finé was Royal Reader in mathematics to king Francis I.

[21] Thus Montaigne speaks of the dancing master Pompey (Frame 112) whom we learn from another source was also the fencing master of king Charles IX (Brantôme 276-78).

[22] Beginning in the second edition of 1535 Rabelais increased the number of apartments to 9332; see Rabelais, *Gargantua*, première édition critique faite sur l'*Editio princeps*, par R. Calder et M. Screech (TLF 163; Genève: Droz, 1970) p. 286. Michael Screech analyses the numbers associated with Thélème in *The Rabelaisian Marriage* (London:Arnold, 1958) pp. 29-31, using the arguments advanced by E. V. Telle, "Thélème et le paulinisme matrimonial érasmien; le sens de l'énigme en prophétie," in E. Meylan (éd.), *François Rabelais. Ouvrage publié pour le IVe centenaire de sa mort* (Genève, 1953).

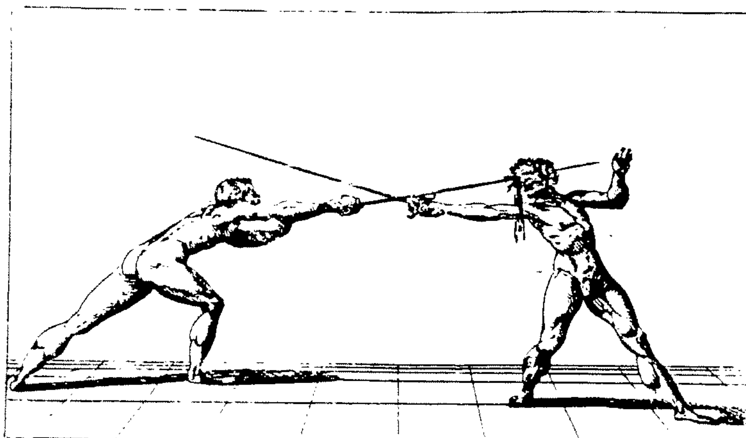
[23] In later editions Rabelais was forced by the censors to called them sophists.

[24] Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London and later Durham, had published a *De arte supputandi* in 1522 that had appeared in a French edition in 1529 (Paris: Robert Estienne).

[25] The translation is based on Putnam 126-27 and Cohen 88.

[26] Other examples of Rabelais's preference for the "vieille escrime" are found at Rabelais 820 where Silenus "s'escrime de son baston à la vieille escrime," and at Rabelais 316 where Panurge encourages Pantagruel to go after the three hundred Giants fighting for the Dipsodes "à vostre mast gualantement à la vieille escrime" ["with your mast gallantly, in the old fencing fashion" (Cohen 260).

Plate 1



N. Giganti, *Scola overo teatro...di parare e di ferire di spada*. "Del modo di tirar la stoccata."

Plate 2

Nº 14. DOWN THE HILLS CORINNA TRIPS.

In quick time.

SOPRANO. (CANTUS)
Down the hills Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Fetch-ing ma-ny wan-ton

SOPRANO. (ALTUS)
Down the hills Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Fetch-ing ma-ny wan-ton

ALTO. (QUINTUS)
Down the hills Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Fetch-ing ma-ny wan-ton skips,

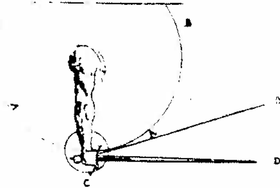
TENOR. (TENOR)
Down the hills Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Fetch-ing ma-ny wan-ton skips,

BASS. (BASSUS)
Down the hills Co-rin-na trips, Co-rin-na trips, Fetch-ing ma-ny wan-ton skips,

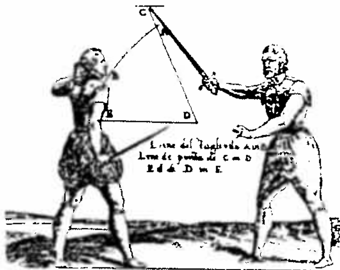
PIANOFORTE. (*For rehearsal only*)

Plate 3

Di Grassi's geometry of the foot. (1570)

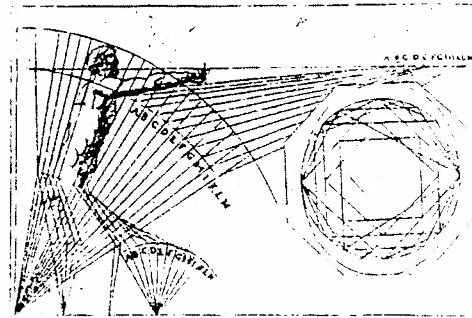


Di Grassi's geometry of the hand. (1570)

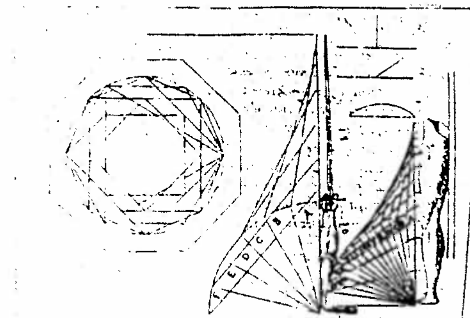


Di Grassi's geometry of the sword. (1570)

Plate 4



The geometry of arm movement in Agrippa. (1553, f. 4v)



The geometry of leg movement in Agrippa. (1553, f. 5v)

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Blinded by the Light:

***Troilus'* Dawn Song and Christian Tradition**

Jay Ruud

Readers have long recognized that Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is not merely a tragic narrative poem, but that it includes, at moments of heightened emotion, isolable lyric utterances in the voices of major characters. These passages serve to slow the pace of the narrative and enable the reader as well as the characters to step back and contemplate what has happened. They also provide a deeper insight into the individual characters speaking the lyrics. Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and Machaut's *dits* both provided Chaucer with models for this kind of structure, as to some extent did his immediate source, Boccaccio's *Filostrato* (Windeatt 164). But in keeping the rime royal verse form for both lyric and narrative, Chaucer creates a more seamless whole in Troilus.

One of the most important of these lyric passages occurs at the very climax of the poem. Troilus and Criseyde have finally been brought together through the machinations of Pandarus, and spend a blissful night together. In the morning, a long dawn-song or *aube*-like scene occurs (Bk. III, ll. 1415-1526), in which the lovers are awakened by the crowing cock, they curse the coming of the day, pledge eternal faithfulness, and part in sorrow. My concern is most specifically with Criseyde's apostrophe to the night, lines 1422-1442, and Troilus' answering apostrophe to the dawn, ll. 1450-1470. These lyric passages, inspired by a mere three lines of the *Filostrato*, play on the tradition of the "dawn song" in European poetry—a tradition Chaucer was quite familiar with. While doing so they underscore the characters of the two lovers as depicted in the rest of the poem. In addition, the reversal of the normal order of things in the dawn-songs serves to emphasize the lovers' misdirected lives. The ultimate effect of the *aube* scene, then, is to stress the contrast between the mundane love of the two lovers and the heavenly love associated with the dawn and the light in a Christian context.

That Chaucer was familiar with the dawn song tradition is clear in the beginning of the *Complaint of Mars*, as well as in the *Reeve's Tale* (Kaske, "An Aube"). Chaucer's are the first *aubades* in English poetry, and while only some eleven Provençal *albas* and six French *aubes* are extant (as compared with over a hundred German dawn songs), Chaucer seems comfortable enough with the tradition, and with his audience's familiarity with the tradition, to assume that the parody in the *Reeve's Tale* will be commonly understood.

Chaucer and his audience would have expected up to eight features in a dawn-song, as outlined by Thomas Honegger: First, one of the pair awakens. Then "reference is made to signs which herald the coming of dawn and thus implicitly refer to the lover's impending departure." Third, the lovers lament the fact that the man must leave, and then "they give verbal or nonverbal (kisses, embrace, lovemaking) mutual reassurance of love." This is followed by references to the dangers of discovery—"either to the lady's reputation or to her lover's life." The lovers make plans for coming together again in the future, and then "exchange farewells." Finally, the lover leaves (Honegger 193).

Most of these elements are present in the narrative surrounding the lyric passages in *Troilus* (see Honegger passim), leaving Troilus and Criseyde's *aubades* to focus chiefly on the lament. What is particularly remarkable about these passages is that the apostrophe to night is the only place in the entire poem where Chaucer gives Criseyde a lyric voice.

While my ultimate purpose here will be to show that the praise of worldly love demonstrated in these songs is undercut by the imagery of the songs themselves, it will also be necessary along the way to deal with two critical cruxes in the poem. On the one hand, Maureen Fries says that these two *aubades* contain "gender-role reversal"—typically, the male speaker of the *aubade* asserts "public affairs as a reason for having to rise from his lady's bed," while the female speaker gives "private excuses for their lingering and further lovemaking," but since here it is Criseyde who urges the necessity of parting. Fries believes that "Criseyde plays the male-linked accuser of the night, and—in similar indecorum—Troilus the female-linked postponer of leavetaking" (Fries 53). In this, Fries follows an older suggestion by Robert Kaske. But Gale

Sigal calls this interpretation into question. She insists that Kaske had qualified "his interpretation with a proviso that it is inconclusive, noting that the number of his exemplars are 'suspiciously slight'....Yet Kaske's interpretation has never been challenged: it has instead been accepted and elaborated" (Sigal, *Erotic* 52). The *aube* lady is always active and aggressive, according to Sigal, and assuming that she plays a passive role is, Sigal says, a modern bias (Sigal, *Erotic* 54).

The other critical crux concerns the relationship of Chaucer's lovers depicted by these lyrics. Sigal sees this passage as "two discrete lyric outcries" rather than a single song, so that each lover is focused on a different aspect of the dawn. Thus at this moment Troilus and Criseyde "turn away from each other. Their intimacy is symbolically shattered" (Sigal 192). On the other hand Clare Kinney suggests that "The lovers' shared act of creation as the sun rises forcefully recalls the mutuality in love" (Kinney 282).

A close reading of the two poems ought to help us clarify these issues. Criseyde's poem begins with an address to Troilus as her "hertes lyf" (l. 1422). She laments the fact that she was ever born, because she feels such woe "That day of us moot make disseveraunce" (l. 1424). It is she who insists that the time has come for Troilus to leave, for otherwise, her reputation ruined, she will be "lost for evere mo" (l. 1426). Winthrop Wetherbee calls this self-concern "pure Criseyde," as the lines "revive our sense of Criseyde's practical and self-protective instincts, and ...show her continual awareness of an outside world which Troilus, by contrast, willfully ignores" (Wetherbee 306). It has often been remarked, however, that the widow Criseyde and unmarried Troilus really have little to worry about in their affair, and that Criseyde's fears seems groundless. Honegger, for example, says "Criseyde's explanation is not as convincing as the usual danger to the lady and her lover in the form of the jealous husband" (Honegger 197). Such objections, though, ignore the real danger Criseyde found herself in after her father fled the city: she has been the target of slander and suspected of abetting her father's treachery. She truly needs to be above suspicion, so as to give the gossips of Troy nothing to talk about. Thus her fears are not groundless, and she is able to express the conventional worries of the *aube* heroine in a whole new context. In this Criseyde is quite conventional.

But not in everything, at least according to some critics: R. E. Kaske first noted that Criseyde's lines evince a reversal of roles, contrasting with the typical *aube* situation where it is the lover, not the lady, who usually is the one to initiate the leave taking, though it is true that Chaucer is here following Boccaccio (Kaske, "The Aube" 171). Jonathan Saville provides further support for Kaske's contention, remarking that the character of the lady in the dawn song is rather invariable: she is nearly always more passive, more grieved at the separation, more antagonistic to the day, and more preoccupied by love. It is nearly always the knight, not the lady, who is first to insist on the necessity of parting (Saville 153-54). Kaske points to other instances in this *aube* context of Book III where the conventional roles of lover and lady are reversed. Troilus' anguish at parting is much more intense than Criseyde's, according to Kaske (for Troilus sighs "ful soore" [l. 1471], will be "ded anon" if he must, for long, "fro yow sojourne" [ll. 1483-4]). Further, when Troilus asks Criseyde for assurance of her love (ll. 1485-91) and she pledges faithfulness, it is another reversal of the prevailing pattern (Kaske, "The Aube" 172).[1]

In fact, I would disagree with Kaske, Saville and Fries. As Sigal has shown, the dawn-song genre gave the courtly lady a voice—she is no longer the passive, distant object of the lover's complaint. It is not necessarily "masculine" for Criseyde to take an active role here. Indeed, as the most recent scholar to tackle this passage, Thomas Honegger, has shown, one purpose of the dawn song in general is to reestablish, after the temporary leveling intimacy of the act of love, the conventional hierarchy of the courtly love relationship in which the lady is the unquestioned superior. Such a relationship is, in the case of Troilus and Criseyde, a jarring twist. As Honegger says,

> Troilus, who is a prince of royal blood, stands higher in the social hierarchy of Troy than Criseyde, who is the daughter of a priest-turned-traitor. This, the courtly love relationship with the lady in the superior position is, in fact, an inversion of the actual social structure. (Honegger 205)

I suggest that it is not Criseyde's "speaking like a man," but rather this reversal of social roles that may imply a reversal of the normal, natural order of things—a situation further underscored by Criseyde's arraignment of the night in the following lines. This sort of reversal is not uncommon in courtly literature, where quite often, as F. Xavier Baron points out, "What is shameful and unreasonable for society is honorable for the lovers" (Baron 375). For Chaucer, however, this reversal of the social reality serves not to ennoble the lovers by setting them apart, but rather to emphasize the pair's misdirected lives.

Criseyde expresses a desire that the night would last as long as the one "when Almena lay by Jove" (l. 1428)—the night when Hercules was conceived, which purportedly lasted some three months. As Sigal says, "her love pits itself against natural, social, and cosmic law. She advocates—in defiance of all law—perpetual night" ("Benighted Love" 196). She addresses the "blake night" (l. 1429), with a double reference to the night's darkness as well as its *evil* in passing too fast. God made the night to give beasts and men rest from their labors, but this night is to blame for speeding by so fast that it allows for no rest. In the third stanza Criseyde refers again to God as the creator of nature, "maker of kynde" (l. 1437), and calls the night "unkynde," or unnatural, for its neglect of its *office*—like a monk rushing too quickly through his prayers. She expresses the desire that God, in punishment, will bind night eternally to her own hemisphere, so that it *never* will be day.

Now the irony in Criseyde's lines is hard to miss. For here is Criseyde, already having, in an "unnatural" manner, given her emotions sovereignty over her reason, and reversed the traditional male-female roles with Troilus, accusing the night of being "unnatural" merely for staying only its *naturally* allotted time, rather than the three months she wishes for in the beginning, or the eternity at the end. Saralyn Daly calls Criseyde's *aube* "blasphemous," saying "not only does she presume to criticize a work of creation and advise that God alter his arrangement, as sometimes occurred in the Provençal *albas*; but in do doing, she recalls and alters the very scriptural passage which concerns the creation of night and day" (Daly 443), by which

she refers to Criseyde's line to the night "That shapen art by God this world to hide" (l. 1430). What is truly unnatural here is Criseyde's *proposal*, not the *night*.

Another aspect of the unnaturalness of the lovers' feelings about the coming of the dawn is indicated by how out of step they are with the natural order of things, since all natural creatures rejoice at the coming of dawn, while the lovers curse it. Saville, discussing this conventional disharmony between lovers and nature in the *aube*, says that

> Nature is not merely a different world of feelings, a world of lower creatures who cannot understand or share the lovers' higher feelings. It is also felt as an antagonistic force of great strength, opposed to the lovers and trying to destroy their union. Nature and the lovers are not merely contrasted in respect of their values and their kinds of reality; they are in active, bitter conflict. And the focus of this conflict is that indispensable element of the *alba*, the dawn. (Saville 56)

In Chaucer's *aube*, however, it is not that the lovers are superior in their emotions to the rest of nature; it is rather that they, through free will, have mistaken mundane love for the highest good, and so are out of harmony with nature. It is instructive, I think, to take a look at Prudentius' very famous early Christian hymn to the dawn—a "dawn song" of a spiritual rather than a secular nature, that was well known throughout the Middle Ages. Such a contrast will make clear the discrepancy between Criseyde's love and the love that Prudentius depicts as typical of the natural world. Criseyde wants this night to last forever, but that natural pleasure in which she finds all joy in is a transient pleasure. Prudentius says:

> sunt nempe falsa et frivola
> quae mundiali Gloria,
> ceu dormientes, egimus:
> vigilemus, hic est veritas.
> aurum, voluptas, gaudium,
> opes, honores, prospera,
> quaecumque nos inflant mala,
> fit mane, nil sunt omnia. (ll. 90-97)
>
> (False indeed and paltry are the things which, as
> though asleep, we have done for worldly fame. Let
> us be wakeful; here is true reality. Gold, pleasure,
> joy, wealth, distinctions, success [sic], all the evil
> things whatsoever that puff us up, when morning comes,
> all are as nothing.)

What make Criseyde's *aube* seem deliberately intended to contrast with the traditional Christian idea of the dawn are the deliberate references to God as creator and the ironic berating of the night for its "unkyndeness." The concluding lines, in which Criseyde makes specific reference to time and place, emphasize the transience of her kind of love:

> "For now, for thow so heist out of Troie,
> Have I forgon thus hastily my joie.'" (ll. 1441-42)

The references to Troy here, and at the beginning of Troilus' answering *aube*, not only cast the shadow of doom over the lovers by recalling the doomed city, as Gardner suggests, but also emphasize the transience of all mundane things—as the power and glory of Troy, greatest of earthly cities, crumbled into dust, so the love of Troilus and Criseyde will vanish, as it must, in this sublunary world. And Criseyde's exclamation of how "hastily" her joy has been driven away by the dawn implies more than she intends, for it reflects the "hasty" demise of *all* worldly joys, and must of necessity suggest that one joy that *is* eternal: the "kyndely" love of "God, maker of kynde." Furthermore, as Kinney notes, "Criseyde's lament anticipates her own hieing out of Troy and her hasty 'forgoing' of Troilus" (Kinney 286).

Moving to Troilus' answering song, though a narrative stanza intervenes (during which time has apparently moved from night to day), I disagree that it signals a division between the lovers. Far from taking a new direction, Troilus' *aube* continues in much the same blasphemous vein, but Troilus condemns the day itself. He curses the sun's coming into Troy, saying that it *discloses* what the night and love have stolen and concealed. The "envious day" peers in at every hole with one of its bright eyes. The sun here takes the part of the envious "talebearers" of the courtly tradition. It is the "busy old fool" of John Donne, and Troilus asks what the sun could have lost, that it could be looking for here? He asks that God, "for his grace," quench the sunlight.

The irony of these lines must be obvious by now. Certainly it is the daylight, rather than the quenching of it, that is traditionally associated with God's grace. The sun's peering in at every crack suggests the spying of the envious talebearers, but also, as the images of Troilus' first lines imply, the searching out of wrongdoing, of crime. As Prudentius writes:

> Vox ista qua strepunt aves
> stantes sub ipso culmine,
> paulo ante quam lux emicet,
> nostri figura est iudicis. (11. 13-16)
> (The loud music of the birds as they are perched
> beneath the very roof, a little before daylight
> shines forth, is a symbol of our Judge.)

The eyes of the sun, then, may also be the eyes of the all-seeing Judge, whose coming scatters darkness and sin.

Ironic, too, in this context is Troilus' consigning the daylight, for its spiteful treatment of poor lovers who have never done it any harm, to hell: "Thyn be the peyne of helle!" he exclaims in line 1458. This, of course, is a complete reversal of the traditional associations of the darkness with evil and hell, the coming of light with Christ, the last judgment, resurrection and eternal life. The reversal only serves to further emphasize Troilus' confused perceptions. He goes on to accuse the sun of having "slayn" many a lover, since its light will not let them dwell anywhere in safety or in secrecy—so important, of course, to Criseyde and a keynote of "courtly love" in general. Perhaps the "slaying" refers only to the metaphorical "dying for love" so common in the courtly love situation, when the lover must be separated from his Beloved. But the imagery of the stanza, as Sigal points out, suggests that Troilus "personifies day as a violently willful antagonist" ("Benighted Love" 197). Thus the "slaying" may refer to the literal death of one or both of the lovers if they are discovered together by the *gilos*, the jealous husband, whose presence usually causes the need for secrecy in the first place (see Honegger 200).

But the slaying may intimate another kind of death—that of the spirit. If one conceives of those spying eyes of the sun as the all seeing eyes of God, then the lovers who sought to hide

from those eyes are revealed and, if their love is of a sinful nature, are consigned to the *everlasting* death of hell. In this way the daylight may surely be seen as having *slayn* many a lover.

The last three lines of Troilus' second stanza introduce a mercantile image intended by Troilus to put the lovers' world on a higher plane than the mundane, secular world of buying and selling to which the sun, in his opinion, belongs:

> "What profestow thi light here for to selle?
> Go selle it hem that smale selys grave:
> We wol the nought, us nedeth no day have." (1. 1461-63)

But *seals* are not merely *products*. They serve to insure truth and integrity in legal documents. In the figurative sense, according to the OED, as seal is "a token or symbol of a covenant: something that authenticates or confirms; a final addition which completes and secures." Troilus is about to ask Criseyde for some assurance to seal their love, some token of her faithfulness to the covenant they have made. She answers him with a series of "impossibilities" (see Schibanoff), vowing

> "That first shal Phebus fallen fro his spere,
> And everich egele ben the dowves feere,
> And everi roche out of his place sterte,
> Er Troilus out of Criseyde's herte." (ll. 1495-98)

Later Troilus, praying to the God of Love after it is decided that Criseyde is to be sent to the Greek camp in exchange for Antenor, declares that "ye Criseyde and me han fully brought / Into youre grace, and bothe oure hertes seled" (Bk. IV, 11. 292-93).[2] But Criseyde will break faith, break her vow, break the *seal*. So it is that the carvers of *seals*, makers of *truth*, are gladdened by the sun, but the lovers are not.

In addition, in keeping with the traditional association of the dawn with the judgment day, Troilus' allusion to the engravers of seals may allude to the seven seals of the book of Revelation, upon the opening of which the apocalypse will commence. Again, if Troilus sends the daylight to the makers of those seals, he is like those sluggish sinners in Prudentius' hymn, who say

"peccata, ceu nox horrida, / cogunt iacere ac stertere" ("our sins, like grim night, force us to lie still and snore") (11. 27-28), rather than those who welcome the opening of the seals on Judgment Day, looking forward to the bright dawn of Christ's second coming. Further, the allusion to judgment day recalls again the reversal of natural order that Criseyde's and Troilus' *aubes* both display. This kind of *reversal* was traditionally associated with the end of time, when, as Christ says, "many that are first will be last, and the last first" (Mat. 19:30), and when, according to Isaiah,

> The wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
> and the leopard shall lie down with the kid,
> and the calf and the lion and the fatling together,
> and a little child shall lead them.
> The cow and the bear shall feed;
> Their young shall lie down together;
> and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. (Isaiah 11: 6-7)

In his final stanza, Troilus changes from cursing the "cruel day" to chastising the sun. Portraying the sun as a somewhat less than ideal lover, Troilus (confusing the Titan Sun with Tithonius, consort of Aurora, the dawn) depicts the sun as a fool, who should be despised, since he allows his love, the dawn, to rise and leave so early only to pester other lovers. Indeed, Sigal says Troilus here "slurs Titan's manhood" ("Benighted Love" 199). The sun, then, is pictured as a boor, one who cannot love properly and who prevents others from doing so. It is an interesting stanza since here the lover, rather than showing himself, as he typically would, as being out of step with the natural world, depicts the natural world anthropomorphically, in the form of the lovers Titan and Aurora, as being out of step with the courtly love situation. It is a clever new twist, but in the overall context must be seen as an example of Troilus' loss of proper perspective in not realizing that *he*, not the sun, is misdirected.

The ultimate effect of the *aube* scene, then, is to highlight the contrast between the mundane love of the two lovers and the heavenly love associated with the dawn and the light in a Christian context. The most important statement in the *Troilus* of that universal love, though

placed ironically in the mouth of a still misdirected Troilus who does not really comprehend the significance of what he says, follows almost immediately in Troilus' "Hymn to Love," which occurs near the end of Book III (lines 1744-1771).

This is a poem based directly on one of Boethius' meters celebrating the order of the universe kept in check by God's universal love. But Troilus mistakes *eros* for *agape* in his rendering of the lines. One might argue that Troilus and Criseyde were pagans, and therefore could not be expected to recognize the difference. But Boethius had argued that human reason by nature sought the highest good, and that mistaking transient worldly joys for that *summum bonum* was an error that could only lead to misery. It is an error that manifests itself throughout Troilus and Criseyde's complementary dawn songs.

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Notes

[1] Clare Regan Kinney takes a completely different approach but winds up with the similar conclusion that Criseyde here is speaking like a man. Having suggested that Antigone's song in Book II of Troilus contains a female view of love as mutually beneficial and worthwhile, in contrast to Troilus' male view, Kinney goes on to say that the female "celebration of mutual bliss" of Antigone's song is abandoned in Criseyde's lyric: "Criseyde's upbraiding of the night (in the course of which she ceases to address Troilus directly after the first line) does seem to privilege the codes and preoccupations of the male 'plaintive' lyric" [in which the lover complains in the absence of the object of desire]. (Kinney 285).

[2] Winthrop Wetherbee sees a different biblical allusion in these lines: He claims that the image of those who "grave smale selys" comes "almost certainly from Ecclesiasticus, where such engravers appear in a catalogue of artisans whose work absorbs all their attention: they work 'by night as well as by day' and their work is skilful, but their absorption in it disqualifies them for the pursuit of wisdom and the exercise of political leadership" (Wetherbee 307).

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Protestant Preaching in the Renaissance: The Examples of Calvin and Knox

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Introduction

At the origin of this paper, there is a need. A need to understand the features of Renaissance protestant preaching. I became interested in pulpit oratory through the works of Agrippa d'Aubigné, a French protestant writer of the late Renaissance. In one book in particular, d'Aubigné, on several occasions, ridicules contemporary Roman Catholic preachers. Such scoffing is hardly surprising to one familiar with the religious context of the time in France, and in Europe in general. Protestant and Roman Catholic authors constantly attacked one another. As I was working on a chapter of what I hope will become a book on d'Aubigné, I realized that if I was to tackle Roman Catholic preaching, I would have to learn about protestant preaching, in order to understand why d'Aubigné, and all European Protestants with him, thought it was so much better. This is why I decided to look into Calvin and Knox, and in this paper I will share with you the findings of my investigations.

Renaissance sermons are not easy to find. There is a good reason for that: they were spoken, not written. In the best case scenario, they will have been recorded in writing, like those of Calvin. For those of John Knox, according to Richard Kyle, an expert on the Scottish preacher, only two sermons are fully intact, and aspects of others can be found here and there in his works. These sermons were published by David Laing in his edition of the *Works* of John Knox, published in Edinburgh in 1895. This edition comprises six volumes. The sermon I chose for this paper is found in volume four, from page 94 to 114. The other sermon is in volume six.

The reason why there is a written copy of this sermon is that Knox sent a written copy of it to some friends early in 1556. At that time, he had already met with Calvin in Geneva during two stays in that city. It is not clear when and where he pronounced this sermon, but it must have been in 1554 or 1555, either in Edinburg or in Geneva.

Calvin's sermons are more easily accessible. Apart from the sixteenth century editions, they became available through the enormous edition of the *Calvini Opera* started in 1860 for the *Corpus Reformatorum*. Since about 1960, a team of scholars have been publishing Calvin's sermons. I chose one of them, entitled la *Famine spirituelle*, published in Geneva in 2000 and edited by Max Engammare. This edition gives Calvin's sermon in French, with, conveniently enough, an English translation. How were Calvin's sermons recorded in writing? Well, the French protestants in Geneva hired a professional stenographer. His name was Denis Raguenier. He took down Calvin's sermons in short-hand, and then would transcribe his notes into long-hand manuscripts. We also know precisely where and when this sermon was given: it was in Geneva on Monday, July 25, 1558.

In this paper I will talk about the structure, the method, and the message of both sermons, but I will focus mostly on the method, inasmuch as a 20-minute presentation will allow me to do.

In his sermon Knox examines the passage found in the book of Matthew 4: 1-4, which I quote:

> Verse 1. Then Jesus was led by the Spreit into the desert that he suld be temptit of the Divill, &.
> Verse the 2d. And when he had fastit fourtie dayis and fourtie nichtis, he was efterward hungrie.
> Verse the 3d. Then came to him the Tempter, and said, Yf thow be the Sone of God, command that theis stonis be maid breid, &c.
> Verse the 4th. But he, ansuering said, It is writtin, Man liveth not be bread onlie, but be everie word whilk proceideth out of the mouth of God.

Calvin, as for him, explained the passage found in Isaiah, 55: 1-2a, which I will quote in French first, and then in English:

> Or ça, vous tous qui avez soif, venez aux eaux, et quiconque n'a point d'argent, venez, aquestez viande et mangez. Venez sans or et sans prix aucun, gagnez viande, vin et lait. Pourquoi despendez-vous votre argent sans avoir de pain et employez-vous votre labeur sans vous rassasier?

> Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy food, and eat; yea, come, buy food, wine and milk without money and without any price. Wherefore do ye spend your money without having any bread? and waste your labour without being satisfied?

The structure of these two sermons is very similar. Both Calvin and Knox, after reading to the congregation the biblical passage they are about to explain, begin with an introduction, that summarizes the contents of the sermon. Here is the introduction of Knox :

> The caus moving me to intreat this place of Scripture is, that sic as be the inscrutabill providence of God do fall in dyvers tentationis, judge not thame selves be reasone thaireof less acceptabill in Godis presence; but contrariwyse, having the way preparit to victorie be Chryst Jesus, sall not feir above measure the craftie assaltis of that subtill serpent, Sathan; but with joy and bold corage, having sic a gyd as heir is payntit furth, suche a championn, and sic weaponis as heir ar to be found, (yf with obedience we will heir, and with unfeaned faith beleive,) may assure oure selves of God's present favour, and of finall victorie, by the meanes of Him, who, for oure saifgaird and delyverance, hath entirit in the battell, and triumphed over his adversarie, and all his rageing furie.

By doing so, the preachers attempted to catch the attention of their listeners, gave them a foretaste of the message that was to follow, and briefly indicated how this passage from Scripture was relevant for them, and could be applied to contemporary life, as well as future life, because the validity of the Word of God is eternal. Afterwards, Knox even gives the outline of his sermon. First he will talk about this, second about that, etc. After the introduction came the exposition,and the sermon ended with a prayer.

So let me talk about the exposition itself now. What method of text analysis did Knox and Calvin use? Their method is known as expository preaching. It consisted in expounding a biblical passage, clause by clause, verse by verse. In that sense, the preacher was a teacher. His role was to make clear to his congregation the meaning of the entire passage. He had to do so in simple and clear vocabulary, because one of the most important goals of the Christian orator, as Saint Augustine had already said, was to

make sure that he was understood by a crowd that was not as learned and familiar with the Bible as he was. By doing so, however, he had to be careful to maintain his dignity, as an ambassador of God, to make sure that his language was appropriate to his function, and that his explanations and images did not trivialise his subject. That must have been tricky sometimes, as they were preaching without notes. Their discourse was extemporal. When Calvin and Knox went up to the pulpit, they knew exactly what they were going to say, because they had prepared themselves very well beforehand, but they spoke without notes.

The passages they explain in these two sermons are quite short, just a few verses. Yet their explanations are lenghty, they bring forth the richness of the Word of God. We see them clarifying the meaning of some words, such as "temptation", in the following excerpt from Knox:

> Tentatioun, or to tempt, in the Scriptures of God, is callit to try, to prove, or to assalt, the valew, the power, the will, the pleasure, or the wisdome, whether it be of God or of creatures. And it is takin sum tymes in gud part, as when it is said, that "God temptit Abraham," "God temptit the pepill of Israell," that is, God did try and examyne, not for his awn knawledge, to whome nothing is hid, but for the certificatioun of uthiris, how obedient Abraham was to Godis commandement, and how weak and infirme the Israelitis was in thair journey towardis the promissit land. And this tentatioun is alwayis gud, becaus it proceideth immediatlie frome God. [...] Otherwys tentatioun, or to tempt, is takin in evill part; that is, he that dois assalt or assailzeis, intendeth distructioun and confusioun to him that is assaltit: as when Sathan temptit the woman in the gardine, Job be dyvers tribulationis, and David be adulterie .

By tempting Christ, Satan, argues Knox, is trying to destroy him. This kind of temptation is evil. And this is the kind of temptation that every Christian should be afraid of. In his sermon, Calvin explicits the difference between material food and spiritual food. He does it in these terms:

> So when we eat and drink, if there was a single drop of good sense in us, certainly this would come to mind: 'Ho, I have taken good care to look for food for my body. And is not my soul far more precious? And then,

> if my body needs to be sustained, for I feel that it becomes weak when I have no bread nor sustenance, in the same way my soul needs to be sustained.' That's what we may think; but since we are so wrapped up in this world that heaven matters nothing to us, our Lord reproaches us here, as if he were saying: 'You poor beasts, you look for bread and water when you are hungry and thirsty, but do your souls not count for anything? Must you be so mindless that you never feel the lack of my grace and of all that is proper to draw you to me and to the eternal inheritance which I have prepared for you?' Briefly, that is why the prophet uses these comparisons of bread and water, of milk and of wine .

The style is interesting here. Calvin, and Knox does it too, often uses direct speech. Here, he pretends to have God directly addressing the congregation. The effect of this technique is to make the message more striking. Let me emphasize also that both Calvin and Knox use "we" and "our", that is to say that they do not put themselves above their listeners, but that they feel that the message is addressed to them as well, because they are sinners too. Finally, I would like to insist on the tone of this passage. It is one of reproof. Calvin reproaches himself and his congragation of not meeting God's standards, of falling short of his plan for us. The sermon reaches a climax here, indicates the seriousness of the matter. At this point, the preacher reminds the people that his speech must not be said in vain, that the purpose of preaching is the edification of the believers, and that sometimes he will have to tell them the truth bluntly and vehemently. A passage from Knox explains well this process of learning and edification:

> Thus are we taucht, I say, by Chryst Jesus, to repulse Sathan and his assaltis by the Word of God, and to apply the exempillis of his mercies, whilk he hath schewit to utheris befoir us, to oure awn souls in the hour of tentatioun, and in the tyme of oure trubillis. For what God doith to ane at any tyme, the same aperteaneth to all that hang and depend upon God and his promissis; and thairfoir, how that ever we be assaltit be Sathan, oure adversarie, within the Word of God is armour and weaponis sufficient.

I will use another passage of Calvin as an example of exposition of Scripture. Commenting the second part of verse 1 of Isaiah 55: *and you who have no money, come, eat, buy without gold, without exchange, without any price, that you may have all you need.* Calvin says:

> So here the prophet is not speaking to those who want to feed themselves on their own vain imaginings, but to those who, being empty of everything, only ask to come simply to God, begging him for alms in such a way that he will be glorified in granting them mercy, and that it should be known and absolutely clear that we bring him no price, but that he gives us freely all that we receive from his hand.

At that point Calvin explains that Isaiah is talking about Christ in this verse:

> Now it is certain that this prophecy has been confirmed in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. Although in all periods the patriarchs who hoped in God have found that he did not fail his own, and even that he gave them his spiritual gifts according to their needs, as we have already cited in part the proofs which show sufficiently that the faithful who lived under the Old Covenant experienced in their lives that God was feeding them for eternal life, even today God has desired to spread out his goodness more than ever, I mean since the Gospel has been preached, and above all since he has drawn himself more intimately close to us in the person of his only Son. It is here above all that he has shown his generosity. And that is why our Lord Jesus said in the 7th chapter of St. John: 'Come to me all ye who thirst, and I will satisfy you, and whosoever drinks of this water which I shall give him, it is sure that the fountains of living water will flow from his belly, that he will not only be refreshed and satisfied, but he will also have enough to look after the needs of others.' As also he said to the Samaritan woman: 'He who drinks once from this water that you give him, he will not fail to be thirsty again.'

This is a good example of how the preacher sheds light on the Holy Scripture, and guides his congregation through the Word of God. Calvin shows his knowledge of the Bible by connecting passages from the Old and the New Testament, helping his listeners to make sense of the Holy Scripture.

Finally, I would like to address briefly the message of these sermons. It is a message of hope, of comfort. Calvin and Knox speak constantly of the goodness of God, and of his availability for whoever seeks him. He is a God that supports his children in times of trouble, his faithfulness is certain, even in desperate times, says Knox:

> And thairfoir, albeit we be laid open sumtymes, as it wer, evin to the mouth of Sathan, lat us not think thairfoir that God hath abjectit us, and that he takith no cair over us. No, he permitteth Sathan to rage, and as it wer to triumph for a time, that when he hath poured furth the venoume of his malice against Godis elect, it may returne to his awn confusioun; and that the delyverance of Godis children may be mair to his glorie and comfort of the afflictit: knawing that his hand is so puissant, his mercie and gudwill so prompte, that he delyvereth his litill anis frome thair cruell enemy, evin as David did his scheip and lambis frome the mouth of the lyoun .

He can be an angry God, a punishing God, when his people fail him. But it does not have to be this way. The task of the preacher is precisely to encourage Christians to live according to the Word of God, to assert the love of God for his creation and for his creatures: Knox and Calvin speak of the reliability of God, of his faithfulness, of his strength, of his power. He is a God who answers prayers, Knox calls him the "champion" of his people.

Conclusion

In conclusion, what do the sermons of Knox and Calvin tell us about Protestant preaching? This type of Christian eloquence is characterized by its seriousness. The structure of the sermons is well defined, and suggests good preparation, and discourse that has been organized according to a definite pattern. But this pattern, or this form of the sermon, was not an invention of the Protestants. In fact, they inherited it from the first Fathers of the Church, such as Chrysostom, Augustine and Origen, and from eminent medieval theologians, such as Anselm, Bonaventure and Aquinas. Saint Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, the first manual on

preaching, and the *Artes praedicandi* from the Middle Ages had paved the way. So if they had a new doctrine, the Protestants did not have a new technique per se.

The seriousness of their sermons is also manifested in the precise and systematic exegesis of the biblical text. Renaissance Protestant preachers began with the Word of God, and they stayed within the Word of God. In their sermons, there were no useless and inappropriate commentaries, no far-fetched comparisons, no long and irrelevant digressions. The exegesis is methodic, precise, rigorous, and to the point.

By the same token, if Christian eloquence benefited from ancient rhetoric, its subject required a different art of speaking. Both Knox and Calvin had read Aristotle and Cicero, and applied their precepts to their own public speeches. But the ***orator christianus***, the Christian orator, did not trust rhetoric entirely. He did not seek primarily to make his discourse beautiful, and impress his audience with it. While he could still be eloquent by using a familiar and simple style, his main goal was to be understood and to clarify, through a dialectical approach, different passages of the Bible. While he tried to please his listeners with his words, it was more important for him to move them, in order to bring them closer to God, for his primary concern, as we have seen with Knox and Calvin, was the edification of his sheep.

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The Art of War: Shakespeare and Marlowe

Bruce Brandt

War and warriors figure importantly but differently in Shakespeare and Marlowe. Shakespeare is much more of a political scientist in his explorations of such questions as what makes an effective king, how private morality relates to effective leadership, and what psychic price must be paid by a man who would be king? One characteristic of the plays that most overtly address these issues is a distrust of the motivations that lead rulers to go to war. At least once, in fact, he seems to have gone far out of his way to suggest that the wars in which ordinary people shed blood and die are little more than political games for princes. Hamlet, on the verge of leaving for England, sees Fortinbras' army marching by on its way to Poland, and he pauses to question the Captain who has been dispatched to greet Claudius. What he learns is that the land these armies will fight over is worthless land, land not worth farming:

> Truly to speak [says the Captain], and with no addition,
> We go to gain a little patch of ground
> That hath in it no profit but the name.
> To pay five ducats, five, I would not farm it;
> Nor will it yield to Norway or the Pole
> A ranker rate, should it be sold in fee. (4.4.18-23)

Then, says Hamlet, "the Polack never will defend it" (4.4.24), only to be told that it is already garrisoned. Hamlet then twice describes the issue of this war as being worth no more than a straw, once in direct response to the captain, and once again in his subsequent soliloquy, when he rebukes himself for doing nothing despite having great cause to act, in contrast to all of these soldiers who have been asked to risk death for no reason at all. Hamlet describes Fortinbras' army as being

> Led by a delicate and tender prince,
> Whose spirit with divine ambition puffed
> Makes mouths at the invisible event,
> Exposing what is mortal and unsure
> To all that fortune, death, and danger dare,
> Even for an eggshell. (4.4.49-54)

The problem is that the eggshell for which this tender Prince fights may prefigure AThe eminent death of twenty thousand men" over a mere Afantasy and trick of fame" (4.4.61-2). The reader may already have reached this conclusion earlier in the play, independently of Hamlet's own reaction. Claudius has earlier averted a war between Fortinbras and Denmark through diplomacy, asking Fortinbras' uncle, the king of Norway, to stay his nephew's intended attack. Ostensibly, at least, the uncle has been ignorant of his nephew's intentions, and while this may be no more than a diplomatic fiction, it allows Norway to yield to

Claudius' diplomatic pressure and reign in his nephew. He will be allowed to fight Poland instead. I always imagine their conversation in terms of a parent intervening in something that a teenager was planning to do:

> I'm sorry, Fortinbras, but I'm putting my foot down here. You absolutely may not invade Denmark.
> But Uncle, I have my army all ready. What am I going to do now. You never let me have any fun.
> Well, why don't you go ahead and attack Poland like I thought you were going to do. That would be ok.
> All right! Thanks a lot.

My point, and I believe Shakespeare's point, is that it doesn't seem to matter much where a prince goes to war, as long as he gets to go to war.

That a king's reasons for going to war may not be good is explored more deeply in *Henry IV*, Part II and *Henry V*. Throughout his reign, Henry IV has promised to lead a crusade to the Holy Land, ostensibly to atone for any wrong done to Richard II. Only on his deathbed, however, does he speak openly of his own guilt and the "indirect crook'd ways" (4.5.183) by which he met his crown. There he suggests that the real reason for a crusade would have been to consolidate his power at home:

> To lead out many to the Holy Land,
> Lest rest and lying still might make them look
> Too near unto my state. (4.5.209-10)

The dying king suggests to his son that he should follow this same plan:

> Therefore, my Harry,
> Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
> With foreign wars. (4.5.10-12)

Is it any wonder then that Henry V begins with the new King's plan to go to war in France? We see him working hard to manipulate public opinion and put a positive spin on his decision to go to war. The church has clearly been maneuvered into supporting Henry through a favorable interpretation concerning the applicability of Salic law in exchange for protection from a new tax bill, and he takes advantage of occasions such as the Dauphine's gift of tennis balls to present himself as responding to foreign insult. The reality is that he has implemented his father's advice to enhance his political stature at home by fighting a foreign war, and he has even bettered the advice by picking a more convenient enemy. The Holy Land is far away, and France is right across the channel.

The question raised by Hamlet, whether a "trick of fame" is worth the lives of twenty thousand men, is here posed by the soldiers Bates and Williams. The disguised Henry's assertion that one "could not die anywhere so contented as in the King's company, his cause being just and his quarrel honorable" is met by the response "That's more than we know" (4.1.27-9). They must simply trust the king, and argue that "if the cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make" for all of the deaths and injuries suffered in his service (4.1.34-5). Henry has no real answer to this concern, though he does seem rather defensive about it. He shifts the argument to a different point, that the sins on one's soul when one dies are the individual's responsibility, and to this Williams and Bates agree. Still, they have reminded us that war entails the chopping off of legs and arms and heads, and they feel that such a price should not be paid for less than a good cause.

Shakespeare's understanding that kings may manufacture reasons to go to war is joined to two other powerful interrogations of warfare and warriors in *Henry V*. The first of these is the powerful but morally problematic speech through which Henry convinces Harfleur to surrender. The consequences of resistance, he argues, will be horrific. The citizens of Harfleur will see the rape of their daughters, their "fathers taken by [their] silver beards, / And their most reverend heads dash'd to the walls," and their "naked infants spitted upon pikes" in front of their howling mothers (3.3.19-40). Concluding his litany of atrocities, Henry then asks:

> What say you? will you yield, and this avoid?
> Or, guilty in defence, be thus destroy'd? (3.3.42-3)

The imputation is that if they defend themselves, the citizens of Harfleur will deserve whatever happens to them. Defense becomes a sin, something of which one is guilty. It is a repugnant doctrine, and one that has proven challenging in production. Desiring a spirit-raiser for wartime England, Olivier cut it. Through his facial expression, Branagh's Henry reveals that he was bluffing, that he really didn't mean it. But even if we thus finesse it, Shakespeare has raised another troubling question about the way war is waged, and about the attitude of conquerors toward those they oppress.

The second of these interrogations of warfare occurs during the Battle of Agincourt. Henry, hearing an alarum, orders his men to kill their prisoners. Such atrocities were far from being unheard of in Henry's (or Shakespeare's) time, and Fluellen will argue that the killing is justified since the French had first slaughtered the noncombatants at the English camp. However, Shakespeare has stunned us with the killing of the prisoners before we are told of any extenuating circumstances, and our judgment may not match Fluellen's. Praising Henry, Fluellen compares him to Alexander the Great. However, his native language is Welsh. He substitutes "big" for "great" and pronounces it with his decided accent, so that the name comes out Alexander the Pig. The joke is pointed. Was Alexander (and by extension Henry) "great," or was he a "pig." How should we measure human greatness? Is it truly the number of men that one has slain, or had slain?

These interrogations of Henry's motives and actions are not, of course, the totality of one's response to the play. It can engender feelings of patriotism and inspiration, and the

ending surely leaves one feeling good about Henry. Norman Rabkin has suggested that the play works something like an optical illusion in which one sometimes sees a rabbit, and sometimes a duck (Rabkin 44-5, 60). That is, one reading or performance may leave us focused on the inspirational Henry, while another leaves us focused on the Machiavellian Henry. Rabkin believes that we may rapidly flip back and forth between these reactions, but that we never have both at once, just as we always see either the duck or the rabbit, but never both at once. More simply, I would suggest that Shakespeare's practice is typically to raise questions that challenge received thinking about such things as war or love or gender, but to conclude with the status quo more or less intact. He does that here. He has used the received idea of a heroic Henry to question the reasons we go to war and the way we wage war, but he does not depart utterly from the received idea. Since I am focusing on the use of war in these plays, I would suggest that one of the ways Shakespeare provokes positive reactions to Henry is through the image of the warrior. Henry's St. Crispin's day speech engages us as fully as his speech at Harfleur alienates us. We see this again and again in Shakespeare. Hal's redemption in *Henry IV*, Part II, is manifest in his personal courage on the battlefield as he enters into hand to hand combat with Hotspur. Macbeth's courage in his final battle with Macduff reminds us of the lost potential of what he once was and redeems him sufficiently to grant him tragic status. Hamlet is granted military honors at the play's end, when he is borne like a soldier to the stage.

The plays in which Marlowe most fruitfully utilizes notions about war and kingship are his Tamburlaine plays. *Edward II* looks at a weak king, but it is primarily a love story set against a backdrop of politics and civil war. What Marlowe explores are the consequences of Edward's love of Gaveston, his lack of love for Isabella, and the relationship between Isabella and Mortimer. Moreover, even in the Tamburlaine plays, Marlowe is more interested in using martial imagery to manipulate our response to Tamburlaine than in exploring such questions as the political motivations for warfare. Kingship for Tamburlaine seems simply life's "sweet fruition," its "ripest fruit" (2.7.27-9). What interests Marlowe is how to complicate our responses to his protagonist. Our initial, positive impression is created largely through Marlowe's use of romantic images of martial gallantry. These include Tamburlaine's first dazzling unveiling of himself in armor, his courtly and chivalric behavior to Zenocrate (so different from the outrages attributed to him by Meander), and the gallantry displayed in his parley with Theridamas when he elects to stand where he himself will "bide the danger of the brunt" (1.2.151). The ensuing dialogue with Theridamas itself appeals to a romantic understanding of the camaraderie that is presumed to distinguish true fighting men, and when Tamburlaine turns against Cosroe, we applaud the daring of a men who thinks it a jest to charge twenty thousand men after giving them advance warning and the advantage of

numbers (Brandt 65-8). As the play continues, this image of Tamburlaine is increasingly challenged by Tamburlaine's violence, cruelty, and sadism, but the image of the gallant soldier never entirely dissipates.

Martial imagery continues to be the source of much of what is most attractive about Tamburlaine in Part II. There are differences. Tamburlaine is shown to be much more of a general that he was in Part I. His victories reflect not only daring and oratory, but knowledge of war and its strategies. His wars are now coordinated campaigns. When the play opens, his armies have been fighting on many fronts on three continents, yet his forces arrive almost simultaneously to join for the next great assault against the Turkish empire (Brandt 87-8). The military education he gives his sons also reflects this technical competence as his lecture moves from basic training to modes of assault and, finally, to the elements of fortification and defense. His discussion of the last is, in fact, based on Paul Ive's *The Practise of Fortification* and was as up-to-date as was possible in Marlowe's England (Kocher 249-55). He no longer engages in daring deeds for their own sake. When his son Amyras suggests releasing their conquered foes so that they can conquer them again, Tamburlaine merely suggests that it is better not to tempt Fortune (4.1.86).

If this type of military imagery distinguishes this Tamburlaine from the Tamburlaine of Part I, Marlowe also continues to utilize the more romantic image of the warrior to bolster the positive side of our feelings about Tamburlaine. The gusto with which Tamburlaine looks forward to feasting with his comrades at a victory celebration appeals to us in the same way that we enjoy Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, and the merry men celebrating in the forest. Finally, Marlowe does not cease to emphasize Tamburlaine's individual prowess as a warrior. He remains a man who can rise from his deathbed and rout an army.

Ultimately, I hope that these observations will cohere into a larger comparative study of Shakespeare and Marlowe. For now, though I will close with this thought. Marlowe, who is in many ways the more daring and confrontational of the two, is content to utilize martial imagery for its positive effects. Shakespeare, in many ways the more conservative of the two, will similarly exploit positive images of the warrior, but he is by far the more radical in his questioning of the reasons for war.

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Shakespeare's Comic Refusers II

Douglas A. Northrop

At the end of *As You Like It*, "Jaques' refusal to join in the dance and festivities is explicitly a rejection of the enjoyment of life. He will go seek Duke Frederick, now a hermit in a cave. He says in parting: 'So to your pleasures, / I am for other, than for dancing measures' (5.4)."[1]

In the three plays under consideration this time, the comic refusers again reject the comic resolution and thereby help us to understand what is involved in the society that has formed and which they refuse. Parolles refuses to change, Lucio refuses to marry, and Thersites refuses to fight. My argument is therefore that in *All's Well that Ends Well* Shakespeare explores several varieties of change. In *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare has created a play about marriage as reconciliation. And in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare ironically presents a society which can find unity only in conflict.

Twelfth Night and *As You Like It* are appropriately called festive comedies, ending in marriages and celebrations, and even *The Merchant of Venice*, I have argued, ends with a reflective calm and affirmation of forgiveness.[2] The three plays in the group to consider today have been called problem comedies as they probe more sharply into the possibilities of comedy with limited characters and mixed motivations.

In the three plays considered last time, the refusers were external to the society or at least marginal in it from the beginning. Jaques was unattached to any of the groups, Malvolio held a lower status, and Shylock was isolated by both his profession as moneylender and his religion. The situation is quite different in the plays under consideration this time. Thersites is an accepted member of the Greek camp. Parolles and Lucio are close companions of Bertram and Antonio respectively and in important ways parallel the actions and attitudes of their companions. It is difficult to call either Bertram or Antonio the hero of their comedies, but they are the young men who have the central position; despite their flaws they are the male romantic leads.

Parolles and Lucio in many ways possess the exaggerated faults of their more highly born and more honorably motivated companions, and part of the action of the plays is to get the romantic lead separated from the ill-directed companion. The parallel action of getting with child that links Antonio and Lucio is easily forgotten because Lucio had no intention of marriage. Similarly the parallel between Parolles and Bertram in their treatment of Helena can be easily overlooked. One of the difficulties of establishing Helena's character occurs early in the play in her confrontation and exchange with Parolles on the topic of virginity. If we are trying to elevate Helena into a superior being who will cure all ills and resolve all problems, we are somewhat disconcerted by her ability to jest with Parolles on sexual issues. Parolles' efforts are to commodify her virtue or her sexuality, to make her beauty a bargaining chip, to treat her as an aspiring woman who will seek to marry above her station. He projects at the beginning of the play precisely the attitude that Bertram will try to maintain later but will be forced to change.

The play provides us with other parallels between Parolles and his master. Parolles must be uncased, shown to be the thing he is. This revelation is accomplished by a plot that will keep him in the dark about with whom he is communicating. The parallel action is the bed trick which has Bertram equally in the dark about his company. The planning of these actions takes place in alternating scenes enforcing their connection. The results in both cases are to reveal the characters as dishonorable. Parolles is shown to be a coward who will both demean and betray his companions; Bertram is shown to be dishonorable at the time and evasive later in his denials of his actions, statements, and intentions. It is only in the final acts that the two differentiate themselves. Parolles will continue to be the thing he is; his external conditions change, but he remains the same character. Bertram is finally embarrassed by the thing he is and changes. The first sign of such change comes in the receipt of his mother's letter announcing Helena's death. The deliverer says, "there is something in't that stings his nature, for on the reading it he chang'd almost into another man" (4.3.2-4).[3] Bertram will later reveal the nature of that change when he says that Helena is "she whom all men prais'd and whom myself / Since I have lost, have lov'd" (5.3.53-4). By the middle of the play Bertram has been characterized as petulant, ill mannered,

ungrateful, and most of all unperceiving of true value. His fellow officer says of him: "He has much worthy blame laid upon him for shaking off so good a wife and so sweet a lady" (4.3.5- 6). The officers criticize his perversion of "a young gentlewoman here in Florence, of a most chaste renown" (4.3.13-4), and they have to argue with him to persuade him that Parolles should be unmasked for what he is. Bertram may be heroic in battle, but he is dishonorable in his relationships. Looking back to the festive comedies, we can see that the internal conditions often remain the same: Rosaline and Orlando, Viola and Orsino are good people, but they need a change in their external conditions, to doff their disguises, to reveal themselves. Bertram is different. His external conditions are fine; he is in his inherited place; he is heroic and rewarded for it; he is married to the right person. It is in his internal qualities that change is needed. He has the woman but does not love her. Thus, the final signal of his change is in his statement, "I'll love her dearly, ever, ever dearly" (5.3.310).

Comic refusers usually persist in their ways. Jaques will not give up his melancholy, and Malvolio will not give up his pretensions to higher worth. Even if external change is forced, as Shylock is forced to convert to Christianity, he will not change internally and is still excluded from the new society at Belmont. It is worthy of note that the quality of persistence which often identifies a comic refuser is also the quality that identifies the tragic hero. Thus, they become flip sides of the same coin, or as Northrop Frye has argued, it takes a small shift in balance or perspective to change a refuser of festivity into a tragic figure. Frye argues that both are scapegoats, and their exclusion or dismissal from society is necessary for the society to reform itself (165). Thus, to argue that Parolles in *All's Well That Ends Well* does not change is hardly to differentiate him from Lucio in *Measure for Measure*, or Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida* who also persist in their set ways and as a result are excluded from whatever level of comic resolution occurs. I need to insist, however, that Parolles doesn't change since the evidence seems so clear that he does. He is hooted out of the army; he loses his friendship with Bertram; after all the talk of his extravagant dress, he must be costumed more soberly in the final act; he ends as the

companion of Lafew who was the first to disclaim him and urge his exclusion. To all external appearances he is a different person by the end of the play.

Critics have noted the appropriate connection between Parolles and the drum he sets out to reclaim for the army; they are both hollow and capable of making a great noise (Bevington 363). Lafew's condemnation of Parolles to Bertram again comments on Parolles' emptiness: "there can be no kernel in this light nut; the soul of this man is his clothes" (2.5.42-4). This emphasis on his externals means that stripping him or uncasing him reveals who he is but does not change him. His response when he learns of his revealed treachery and cowardice is: "Who cannot be crush'd with a plot?" taking no blame to himself and recognizing no need for change (4.3.314). His soliloquy that follows is a classic piece of self-awareness and self-acceptance:

> Yet am I thankful. If my heart were great
> 'Twould burst at this. Captain I'll be no more,
> But I will eat and drink and sleep as soft
> As captain shall. Simply the thing I am
> Shall make me live. Who knows himself a braggart,
> Let him fear this; for it will come to pass
> That every braggart shall be found an ass.
> Rust, sword; cool, blushes; And Parolles live
> Safest in shame; being fool'd, by fool'ry thrive.
> There's place and means for every man alive.
> I'll after them. (4.3.319-29)

Even in his final speeches and final action, Parolles remains the thing he is. His answers to the king hedge the truth and yet once again he speaks too much and betrays his friend. Parolles may be dressed differently by the end of the play, but his actions still reveal him. Lafew's final words to him are, "Let thy curtsies alone, they are scurvy ones" (5.3.317-8).

The comic resolution gathers together those people who are able and willing to become something they should have been or were before but have departed from: the King of France has returned to health. Helena has returned to life and to her husband and not just in name, Bertram has returned to his wife, to his family, and to court, where he belongs in all cases and the value of

which he now recognizes. It excludes the one who does not grow internally, who is not cured of his illness.

Parolles, Lucio, and Thersites have in common their volubility; they won't be quiet even in their own interest. That Parolles will be wordy is signaled in his name, and he lives up to that nomination by talking too much too often. He talks war rather than fighting any. He talks policy without knowing any. He talks of sexual conquests without making any. Parolles says, "I love not many words," but his companion responds, "No more than a fish loves water" (3.6.80-1). Lucio is equally a talker, intruding his opinions and comments where they are not asked for nor wanted. Critics complain that in the final scenes of *All's Well that End's Well* and of *Measure for Measure*, Bertram and Isabella are strangely quiet, but given the examples of Parolles and Lucio, such silence is a blessed condition.[4] Their silence acknowledges their participation in the resolution that is unfolding, just as the noise from Parolles and Lucio indicates their alienation from that resolution.

Lucio seems to talk for the pleasure of hearing himself. There is no need to impress the friar with his inner knowledge of men in high places, but he rambles on nevertheless. His interruptions of the Duke in the final scene are equally unwanted. Mistress Overdone complains that it is Lucio who has given information against her, another example of his unsolicited chatter. He acknowledges that "'tis my familiar sin, / With maids to seem the lapwing, and to jest / Tongue far from heart . . . (1.4.31-3).[5] Even as he is dragged off to his marriage with Kate Keepdown, he must make another comment.

His intrusions into the final scene and the explanations he offers provide the best evidence of Lucio's defining function in the play. Among the fabrications, riddles, and paradoxes of that final scene, Isabella misleadingly claims, "after much debatement / My sisterly remorse confutes mine honour, / And I did yield to him [Angelo]" (5.1.102-4); then Mariana enters and denies that she is a maid, a wife, or a widow. She continues:

> My lord, I do confess I ne'er was married;
> And I confess besides, I am no maid.
> I have known my husband; yet my husband
> Knows not that ever he knew me. (5.1.185-8)

We might call these speeches equivocation by the speaker, but also by the playwright who is presenting information which the audience knows is false or riddles that the audience can solve more readily than the participants. The audience is being placed in the position of superior knowledge so that we can watch the outcome without the discomfort or uncertainty that most of the participants will experience. Lucio lacks such knowledge and also lacks the patience to allow the contradictions to resolve themselves. He offers solutions to Mariana's statements that are perhaps plausible in his world, but which we, and several of the characters, know are false. To the issue of not maid, wife, or widow, he responds, "she may be a punk" (180) and to the riddle of the husband's knowing and not knowing, he offers, "He was drunk then, my lord; it can be no better" (189). Lucio can only respond at the level of the flesh, he cannot solve the paradox of the union of flesh and spirit, he cannot marry the opposites together. Thus he thinks of Angelo as made from different stuff: "not made by man and woman, after this downright way of creation" (3.2.100-1). Lucio claims that Angelo is so far from having desires of the flesh that "when he makes water, his urine is congealed ice" (3.2.106-7). He speaks to Isabella "as a thing enskied and sainted / By your renouncement, an immortal spirit, /And to be talk'd with in sincerity / As with a saint" (1.4.34-7). It is likely that Isabella agrees with him at this point in the play. But she like Angelo will learn that the spirit bends to the call of the flesh, and they must reconcile those demands. Lucio will never learn that the spirit can sanctify the needs of the flesh, so for him marriage will be only a punishment. He makes the division of women into saints and sinners and cannot understand the union that can be achieved. Thus, he refuses the spirit of marriage which is the comic resolution of the play. These are not the marriages of *Twelfth Night* where social classes are resolved and roles in society are sorted out, but are marriages which bring uneasy partners together in imperfect harmony, creating unions that transcend the limits of the flesh in its

participation with the spirit but which need to recognize those limitations. Mariana's comment sums up the view of marriage as including the faults of humanity: "I crave no other, nor no better man" (5.1.424). Shakespeare is insistent on the imperfections of his characters in this play, not on their inadequacy for their roles but on their need for support and forgiveness. Critical or directorial efforts to turn any of them into saints or mark off others (even Barnardine) as irredeemable sinners is to fall into not the fault of Angelo but the fault of Lucio and to become a comic refuser.[6]

In *Troilus and Cressida* Thersites refuses two things. First, he refuses to aggrandize the other characters or their actions. He diminishes all persons and motives to the lowest possible level. In that way he becomes the commentator on the play, and if we believe his evaluations are just or more accurate than others', he becomes the spokesperson for the author or the audience. He guides our perceptions and directs our evaluations. He would be the voice of, perhaps marginal, sanity in an otherwise maniacal world. This is the role that is emphasized in productions that make Thersites a correspondent or reporter carrying his camera or tape recorder around the camp to record the inadequacies of all the others. But there is a second refusal: he refuses to fight. He insistently refuses combat. While there is no need in the action to have Thersites confronted first by Hector then by Margarelon (who incidentally has no other role or words in the play), Shakespeare creates the two scenes just so Thersites can be seen rejecting any possibility of actual combat.

Thersites may even show a moral superiority in his refusal to fight, for Shakespeare makes clear that no one in the play fights with pure motives or completely honorable intentions. The noblest character is assuredly Hector who argues that they shouldn't be fighting at all, but who joins battle for the glory of fighting. He carries his chivalric code onto the field of battle allowing his opponents to rest or to escape. As Anne Barton points out, however, it is not only his refusal to press his advantage against Achilles that leads to his downfall, it is also his pursuit of the lovely armor on a Greek who doesn't want to fight and who is nevertheless killed by Hector for the spoils. (480)[7] Shakespeare makes a point of emphasizing that the capture of Helen

is in reprisal for the taking of Priam's sister by the Greeks. Throughout the play both sides make clear that it is not the inherent worth of Helen that motivates the war. Thus the war is not fought for any clearly noble motive.

It is particularly the refusal of combat that identifies Thersites as the comic refuser of the play and helps us to define the qualities of the action. War seems to function as marriage did in *Measure for Measure*, as the only compromise available to our limited capacities for harmony and amity. The society that forms at the end is men on the battlefield. As all the participants come out to fight, the limited and ironic unity of the societies is reestablished. As Achilles arms and Ajax enters the field, Nestor comments, "So, so, we draw together" (5.5.45).[8] In a similar and similarly ironic way the Trojan men deny their women's love, pain, and fear and instead arm for battle. Andromache and Cassandra do all they can to keep Hector from his end, but there is unity in the men—Hector, Troilus, and Priam—to overcome them, and they are joined on the field by the other Trojan princes. Thus, we appear to have a play where the refusal of the spirit of the play may be the right thing to do. We have veered close to this point before in some interpretations of Shylock's role in *The Merchant of Venice*. But I have argued there that it is rather modern sensibilities than Shakespearean values that lead to such a conclusion. The case is more difficult with Thersites, for the characters are clearly diminished not only by Thersites' railing, but by their comments on each other and by their actions and words which reflect badly on them from Shakespearean perspectives as well as our own. Achilles' butchering of Hector has been decried from Greek times through Elizabethan and Jacobean eras to the present. Thus, we have reached in Thersites one extreme of the comic refuser, where his refusal is not just an alternative view as Jaques' is, and not just a wrong-headed view like Malvolio, Lucio, or Parolles. We may think Thersites to be crude or even despicable, but his view of the characters and actions has a validity that is difficult to deny.

However, Thersites also refuses to acknowledge the joy and the pain of life. He sees no difference between Helen and Cressida, or Diomedes and Troilus. He paints all with the same rhetorical or satirical brush. We know that Cressida must fulfill her historical role by betraying

her love for Troilus; what we don't know is how we will feel about it. Shakespeare is careful to establish the conditions in which Cressida must make her decisions. We can see her coyness or even coquetishness as a defense around her tender and fearful heart. She has loved Troilus before his wooing and beyond Pandarus' praises. She has hidden that love for fear of her vulnerability when it is revealed, and she no sooner reveals it than her fears are justified. Troilus instantly accepts the need to turn her over to the Greeks. She is destroyed not by the direct betrayal of Troilus, but by his participation in the betrayal of women in the course of war. Just as Hector places the demands of war over the love, fear, and pain of Andromache, so Troilus will place the demands of war over Cressida's. And Thersites can provide no insight into her love, her pain, or her fear. He has nothing to offer us here. His refusal of heroism is too broad, his mockery of motives too coarse, to be a reliable guide for the audience. He can only diminish characters; he cannot sympathize with them. When he urges on both Paris and Menelaus, we may share his impartiality. I at least have a very different reaction when he is equally impartial between Troilus and Diomedes. Troilus for all his seductive efforts wins our affection when he stands speechless in front of his much desired love. So we can forgive him some of his folly. We cannot be indifferent and join with Thersites when he ignores Cressida's conflict and sees only her capitulation to Diomedes. We cannot be impartial with Thersites when Diomedes wears Troilus' gift to Cressida and dares him to reclaim it. Thersites has refused the vanity and self-importance of the warriors, but other comic refusers have revealed similar weaknesses such as the sentimentality or myopia of their fellows. Their function is to control the swing toward romance and idealism; they add some grist to the mixture. Thersites does his job well in that regard bringing the heroes of legend down to human size, but when he refuses their humanity, we part company and note that he has refused us as well.

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Notes

[1]See Douglas A. Northrop, "Shakespeare's Comic Refusers." *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature.* Eds. Nicholas Wallerstein and Roger Ochse. Spearfish, SD: Black Hills State University Printing Center, 2002.
[2] See above, p. 118.
[3] Quotations from *All's Well that Ends Well* are from the Arden Edition, Second Series. Ed. G. K. Hunter. London: Methuen, 1966.
[4]Hunter argues that "in the later episodes of *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* we find that Shakespeare avoids (surely deliberately) the power of personal expressiveness which was his above all other authors'. No doubt the sense of Destiny working out its purposes in human lives would be lost if personal reconciliation were too powerfully expressed, but the mere substitution of Bertram's cryptic fustian or Isabella's silence for the elaborate recognitions of the earlier comedies does not remove from our minds the desire for some expression of what is being resolved" (lv).
[5] Quotations from *Measure for Measure* are from the Arden Edition, Second Series. Ed. J. W. Lever. London: Methuen, 1965.
[6] Lever argues persuasively for the importance of Barnardine as asserting "the major truth, that no man's life was so worthless as to be sacrificed to another's convenience" (xl).
[7] This point has a long history: E.M.W. Tillyard cites Lydgate as the source in *Shakespeare's Problem Plays*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 1949. See esp. p. 47.
[8] Quotations from *Troilus and Cressida* are from the Arden Edition, Third Series. Ed. David Bevington. Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998.

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"Gentillesse" in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*

Muriel Brown

A concept that is important in understanding the end of the *Wife of Bath's Tale* is the whole issue of what it means to possess "gentillesse." While the term seems to accompany privilege, the old woman in the Wife's tale insists that it is a characteristic that grows out of character, not privilege or inheritance. Certainly part of the issue she identifies arises at the time of Chaucer from the growing power of the laboring and middle classes because of the Black Death, resulting in these classes being able to make demands for increased pay and greater freedom to earn money in payment for their agricultural labor. People were questioning privilege openly and making demands because of their growing economic power, as well as their resentment of increasing taxes. A couplet, quoted by John Ball in a sermon at the time of the Peasants' Revolt, raises a question that probes deeply as it appropriates religious language to penetrate the source of privilege and in the process succinctly summarizes a medieval complaint:

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?
> (Trevelyan 315, Brewer160, Gardner, *Life* 237)

Thus, the issue essentially becomes if there were no gentlemen, what is the source of the whole concept of "gentilesse," that characteristic widely attributed to nobility?

Recent editors report that this concept represents character alone and, in fact, this idea is repeated in multiple medieval sources. In his text, *The Literature of Medieval England*, in a footnote accompanying Chaucer's short moral ballad entitled "Gentillesse," D. W. Robertson notes, "The doctrine that true nobility rests on virtue is a medieval commonplace." He goes on to say, "Inherited nobility implied a necessity to honor the virtues of one's ancestor and to emulate them. It was obvious, however, that a nobleman by birth might be villainous or base in action" (361, n1). *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* in a note also to Chaucer's poem

essentially repeats this idea, but adds, "It is important to observe, however, that the moral democracy implied by this doctrine was never transferred by the Middle Ages to the political or even the social realm" (229,n1). A similar comment is made in the notes to the *Wife of Bath's Tale* to the word "gentillesse" in the *Riverside Chaucer* (874). Thus the answer to the earlier rhetorical question would be that Adam and Eve possessed gentility if this quality was the result of virtue. But it also implies that the question is really about who belonged to the nobility, a social class, in the very beginning of things. The answer to the question becomes very different because the noble class had not yet been invented.

Chaucer's use of "gentillesse" occurs forty or more times within the *Canterbury Tales*, and he uses it in the two main senses that the *Middle English Dictionary* defines: 1. A characteristic that stems from social status, "nobility of birth or rank," and 2. A characteristic that grows out of character, "nobility of character or manners; generosity, kindness, gentleness, graciousness, etc." Chaucer's initial use of the term in the *CT* occurs early in *The Knight's Tale* as the widows of Athens plead with Duke Theseus to help them gain the right to bury or burn their husbands' bodies, their earlier pleas having been denied by the tyrant, Creon of Thebes. The oldest of the widows, all of whom have been duchesses or queens, appeals to Theseus's sense of virtue:

> Have mercy on oure wo and oure distresse!
> Som drope of pitee, thurgh thy gentillesse,
> Upon us wrecched wommen lat thou falle, [...]
> (Fragment 1. Lines 919-21)

The appeal is from the widow of a king to a duke, social equals, but the appeal is based on both his character and his social position; Theseus's granting of her plea substantiates his status and his character. He does have "gentillesse." Also early in the *CT*, as the Miller interrupts the expected hierarchical order of the tales, and readers are advised to choose another tale "Of storial thyng that toucheth gentillesse. / And eek moralitee and hoolynesse." (1.3179-80), presumably one that deals with noble characters who behave nobly, and I would guess, preferably men.

In contrast, the second meaning of "gentillesse" often seems to be applied particularly to women. In the *Man of Law's Tale*, Custance prays to Mary that out "of thy gentillesse" to have pity on Custance's child (2.853). In the *Miller's Tale*, in speaking of the courtship of Alisoun, the conclusion is drawn that "som folk [i.e. women] wol ben wonnen for richesse, / And somme for strokes, and somme for gentillesse" (1.3381-82). A similar statement is made in the Wife of Bath's Prologue about a long list of the qualities that women have that make them desirable to men, one of which is "gentillesse" (3.260). In the *Merchant's Tale*, January, even before he has met May, has figured out the many desirable qualities (he hopes) she possesses, and so,

> He purtreyed in his herte and in his thoght
> Hir fresshe beautee and hir age tendre,
> Hir myddel smal, hire armes longe and sklendre,
> Hir wise governaunce, hir gentillesse,
> Hir wommanly berynge, and hire sadnesse. (4.1599-604)

The differences, however, cannot be carried too far in their application to males or females because Chaucer applies both meanings of "gentillesse" to the quality being displayed rather than the sex of the character. I perhaps should add here that the quality is not limited to humans either since the fox speaks of Chauntecleer's mother and father as possessing "gentillesse" (7.3295-96).

When we come to the end of the *Wife of Bath's Tale* and the loathly lady's sermon on "gentillesse," we are dealing with two characters, the lady and the knight, whose military prowess would place him among the upper or noble class, but whose behavior has been anything but genteel; after all his rash promise to do whatever she asks, which turns out to be to marry the old woman, represents his reprieve from a death sentence, granted because of the queen's mercy, for his rape of a young woman, an action that hardly comes out of virtue.

The knight spends a long day after the morning wedding ceremony as he puts off going to bed with his bride as long as possible, until she chides him and reminds him that he owes his very life to her; not only that but she has done nothing to offend him. And so she asks him as a part of what Peggy Knapp calls "her pillow lecture" (49), "What is my gilt? [. . .] tel it, / And it shal been amended [. . .] (3.1096-97). Earlier the young woman has had no reason to object to his

knightly appearance; however, she has every reason to find his behavior reprehensible. In contrast, the knight's objections to his aged bride, however, are not to her character or behavior, but to her appearance, age, and birth, especially disturbing to him because all of these things she ostensibly cannot change. He notes,

> Thou art so loothly, and so oold also,
> And therto comen of so lough a kynde,
> That litel wonder is thogh I walwe and winde. (3.1100-02)

After his new bride hints that she could change all this, she goes on to preach her sermon on "gentillesse"–the type of sermon that the Wife of Bath must have endured many times both in church and from her husbands who were clerks, perhaps even from her first three husbands who were old. This exploration of what it is to possess "gentillesse" answers the knight's objections one by one, as well as subtly reprimands his behavior with the maiden at the tale's beginning.

Her homily is carefully organized around three main ideas: gentility, poverty, and age. She argues persuasively that the behavior associated with those of noble birth is not an inherited quality, but one that is learned. Because "virtuous lyvyng" is an acquired characteristic (3.1122), it is a quality that comes from Christ, not one's parentage. Although she is ostensibly defending her own lack of "heigh parage" (3.1120), her words are directed more toward his behavior, as her references are about males who depend on inheritance to convey to them this quality. She notes that even if a male is a duke or an earl but does no gentle deeds, he is not gentle. "For vileyns synful dedes make a cherl" (3.1158). She quotes authorities for support: Dante, Seneca, Boethius and others, where he might read that "he is gentil that doth gentil dedis" (3.1170). All of this takes him to task, not so much for the charges that he has just leveled at her, but rather at his raping of the young woman at the beginning of the tale. (Some critics of this tale argue quite persuasively that she and the loathly lady are the same person.) Finally, in the last six lines (out of seventy eight) dealing with gentility, she applies what she has said to herself, pointing out that even though her family is of humble origin ("so lough a kynde"), she possesses this quality when she lives virtuously.

She proceeds similarly in defending her poverty—a charge that also grows out of his accusation of being "so lough a kynde." First, she points out that Jesus himself voluntarily chose to live his life in poverty. In addition, poverty in someone who does not covet anyone else's wealth may well be considered rich, while a rich man who covets what another has is poor. Poverty has the advantage of teaching the one who has it wisdom if he bears it with patience, as well as aiding him to know God and himself and to be able to identify his true friends. Again most of her lines are applied to males; only the final two (of thirty lines) note that she should not be reproved for being poor.

Her third and shortest section refutes his objection to her being old. Again she speaks of men of honorable birth respecting the person who is old and calling him "father." She cites no authorities here as she has done earlier, but does mention that there are authorities for this view. Finally she tells him that because she is old and ugly he will not have to fear becoming a cuckold. This argument is evenly divided between those lines which apply mainly to him and those which apply to her (six lines each).

The proportions of her defense amount to her having spent more than a hundred lines defending herself against his single charge of her being of low birth, not being of the noble class, while twelve are devoted to answering two charges of her being old and ugly. Or if we look at her defense from another perspective, fourteen lines are spent defending herself, while the rest of her sermon is directed toward males, and most of that is directed at the quality he most lacks—"gentillesse" of character.

After the old woman's sermon on "gentillesse," she gives him the choice of whether he would have her be old, ugly, and faithful or young, fair, and perhaps unfaithful. His response does not come immediately. He takes some time to think his decision over, sighing, before he "atte laste" says, "I put me in youre wyse governance: / Cheseth youreself [. . .] / For as yow lyketh, it suffiseth me" (3.1231-32, 1235). He shows he has learned his lesson well, and in allowing her to choose he finds there is another alternative; she becomes what he would have

desired all along: young, fair, and faithful. And although she gains sovereignty, she also chooses to be obedient to him.

So what difference does it make what the meaning of "gentillesse" is? What difference does it make that the working class during Chaucer's time was demanding to know the answer to the question: When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?

If John Gardner is correct in his assertion that marriage is used by medieval poets to delineate headship or hierarchical relationships, the relationship of God to the church, the king to his subjects, or a husband to his wife (*Poetry* 266-67), then the implications of a story like the Wife's extend far beyond those of a fairy tale transformation. The knight's bride would seem to represent any group which fails to have control over its own destiny, such as those who participated in the Peasants' Revolt, raising their objections about an unjust taxation system, their inability to be anything but skilled hirelings after completing apprenticeships, their dislike of skilled alien artisans and merchants, especially the Flemings, and their exploitation as villeins, those who worked the land (Gardner, *Life* 236-38). If these groups are seen as lacking "gentillesse," of being of low birth and "loathly," perhaps of being old before their time, they might conclude it is not their fault, but rather the fault of a system that gives them very little control over their own lives.

Similarly, as I reflect on the action of this tale, I find myself thinking about the initiating action of rape and how it might be understood in the broader context of the relationship between king and subjects. As writing about women's issues today has expanded, we have come to see rape more and more as a power issue, and it is a word that is often used metaphorically. For example, the analysis of metaphorical language in discussing the exploration of this nation and describing the land in terms of feminine pronouns and its subsequent exploitation as "rape" is common. Thus, rape in this tale may well be a covert way of expressing the way those who work have been wronged, resulting in those people rising up and using force to gain power, even forcing the nobles to lose control over their own lives, even to lose their lives, literally their

heads, as was true of Archbishop Sudbury, treasurer Sir Robert Hales, tax collector John Legge, and William Appleton, John of Gaunt's physician, in the Peasants' Revolt (Brewer 152-58).

The tale suggests that it is in the relinquishing of those external controls, allowing those ruled to gain sovereignty, that allows subjects to choose freely what they would become, and in the process of gaining some measure of control over their own destiny, they might become closer to the transformed bride; they might become closer to being ideal citizens, attractive, younger because of burdens having been lifted, being able to be a part of the movement toward upper mobility in class designations. (After all Chaucer himself was a beneficiary of increased wealth and power, one of those who became a member of the middle class.) Another way of looking at the ending is that there has been no transformation of the lady at all; instead, the knight looks at her with new eyes, or as Knapp expresses it, "he [. . .] develop[s] the insight to see his loathly lady as beautiful" (49) or as Larry Benson notes, "He becomes gentle in accord with the courtly dictum that love makes the lover virtuous, and she becomes beautiful in accordance with the doctrine that to the eyes of a true lover his lady is always beautiful" (11).

The tale helps to remind the audience of the mutual dependence of king and the people, the mutual dependence of those who govern and the governed, as well as the mutual dependence of husband and wife. Thus, a romance like *The Wife of Bath's Tale* has much to say especially about the transforming power of relinquishing control over those who work, the third estate. I wonder if Richard II and other nobles listened to such tales as The Wife's and heard the subtle questioning of authority, perhaps even wondering whether the "gentillesse" they possessed was only the result of noble birth, and that they needed to work to extend "gentillesse" to their character, that the solution to the terrible conflict of events like the Peasants' Revolt was for "authority to correct itself" (Gardner, *Life* 255), to see their subjects with new eyes.

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Strephon Meets Senesino: Social Duality in *The Musical Entertainer*

Silvia Herzog

As the balance of power in eighteenth-century Britain moved from the palace to the Parliament, the leading aristocrats of the age realized the need to refashion their image, creating an impression of affability that would resonate with their constituency and that would assure all levels of society that they were capable of comprehensive and democratic leadership. Among the many cultural artifacts that shed light on this refashioning, the song repertoire of the age offers particularly illuminating evidence for a kind of shape-shifting that took place in English musical style, blending and juxtaposing the high (and foreign) musical style of Italian opera and French dance with the lower style of British folk song and urban broadside ballads.

The Musical Entertainer, 175 songs in two volumes collected by George Bickham between 1737 and 1739, provides a wide range of examples of such shape shifting. Although it is dedicated to the highest echelon of patrons and elaborately presented with French-inspired illustrations, it contains a mixed repertoire for an upper-class audience that could jovially laugh at its own highbrow affectations and that viewed the life of the peasantry with touching sentimentality. Important as well is the wide range of dissemination made possible in two formats available for purchasing the works. The work remains more familiar to us in its two-volume form, bound in fine red morocco gilt covers, with wide and elaborate borders of rolls and foliage enclosing a central lozenge of flowers, strawberry plants, and small tools. These volumes contain a subscription list of 548 names that extended the social class of Bickham's buyers from the highest levels of the nobility down to the level of professionals, merchants, and musicians (Hunter 33-34). The songs also appeared earlier, however, in groupings of four songs each for the price of 1/2 shilling the set, without the fancy binding. In this format it seems likely that the audience for the songs extended further below the dedicatees and subscribers, thus offering an even more compelling argument that these songs revealed to a broad spectrum of society the ideologies of its patrons.[1]

Bickham was shrewd to select a wide range of music, for high art, such as the songs of Henry Purcell, published in his *Orpheus Britannicus*, could not compete in the marketplace with the pastoral songs and ballads in popular volumes such as Thomas D'Urfeys *Pills to Purge Melancholy*—Purcell's collection was printed 500 times, D'Urfey's 1500 (Day iii). Bickham's collection borrowed enthusiastically from both of these as well as many other single songs and collections that appeared between the end of the seventeenth century and his time. However, Bickham's collection is distinct from its sources by virtue of its elaborate presentation, and it is this quality that occasionally stimulates a brief mention in the histories of eighteenth-century English song. The lavish pictorial vignettes for the songs, from etchings by Gravelot, Watteau, and Bickham himself, elevate the collection to the loftiest heights of consumer elitism. Owning these lavish prints was a sign of good breeding, and the works within the collection therefore may be understood to represent the tastes of the elite, conscious that they are making these tastes public knowledge. What, then, do these musical tastes reveal?

For a start, the elite seem (or wish to appear to seem) very genial and sympathetic to the peasant culture of England. From the pure folk tradition of Scottish song to urban popular ballads, we find songs and illustrations that exalt the peasantry. The illustration for a song called "The Dream" (Plate I) employs the urbane style of Gravelot to depict a rural shepherd, perhaps the fabled Strephon of rustic lore (Bickham 1:94). Immediately one sees a selective blindness in the elite interpretation. The shepherd is surrounded by tools whose use would likely exhaust the lad, and yet he is shown lost in idyllic laziness, while the lilting musical meter of the Siciliano below enhances the pastoral character of the setting. Obviously, these depictions are not realistic; instead, they present an Arcadian fantasy of the joys of peasantry, and reveal that even at the level of an individual picture, we can interpret the pages of the *Musical Entertainer* as an essay on high society looking downward at low society.

The interplay between high and low cultures becomes even more complicated when we add the parameters of poetry and music to illustration. A pair of examples more clearly concerning the *topos* of Strephon and his pursuit of love illustrate this interplay. "The Coquet,"

(Plate II) begins with an illustration of a world quite distant from the rural shepherd; Strephon appears to have shopped in town for his elegant topcoat and waistcoat set. Here we see not idle laziness, but purposeful laziness, as two lovers engage each other, having abandoned the tools of their trade—books to cultivate the mind and a mirror to prepare the visage—at the table to their left. The title suggests that Strephon will meet some degree of resistance in this world of high society. The poetry and song, however, suggest a very different world. The poetry is of the standard ballad variety with three stanzas of four lines each, alternating eight- and six-syllable verse, a setting appropriate to the musical language of our rustic hero.

"The Coquet"

From White's and Will's to purling Rills,
The lovesick Strephon Flies;
There full of Woe, His Numbers flow,
and all in Rhime he Dies.
The Fair Coquet,
With feign'd regret,
Invites him back to Town;
But when in Tears
The Youth Appears,
She meets him with a frown.
Full oft the Maid
This Prank had play'd
Till angry Strephon swore;
And what is strange,
Tho' loth to change,
Would never see her more.
(Bickham 1:8)

The poetry announces his imminent return to the country, fleeing the fashionable clubs of London, because the women of that town are simply not to be trusted. The music for this poetry is in strophic binary form with an opening ritornello. The meter and melodic contour suggest that this is a stylized contredanse—that is, a work that suggests the qualities of a contredanse with no intention of serving as functional dance music. Throughout the volumes of the *Musical*

Entertainer, we see the ballad stanza and the contredanse associated with a lower style; in this example the high style of the illustration and title are in conflict with a low style of poetry and song. This song comes from a set dedicated to the Earl of Loudon, Grand Master of the Masons, suggesting that the patron might be sympathetic to Strephon's trials and might wish to flee with him from the wily ways of the city.

A similar example appears in another song entitled "The Dream" (Plate III), which further extends the allegory of the corrupt city (Bickham 1:97). Here the ballad stanza and song is matched by an illustration that transgresses the boundaries of civility, with naked ankles akimbo resisting the predatory stance of another very stylish Strephon. Celia's resistance, as can seen in the fifth stanza of text, is inspired by her distrust of Strephon.

"The Dream"

When night had set the world to rest
And mortal Cares appeas'd
Strait was my longing thoughtful Breast
With Celia's image Seiz'd

And she appeared yet smiling too,
Willing and yet afraid:
She blush'd and knew not what to do,
But thus she sighing said:

Cease Strephon cease it must not be,
In vain you weep & sigh,
Talk not of Love or Flames to me,
For I must still deny:

Do but this wither'd Rosebud see,
How dead it does appear,
Before twas gather'd from the Tree
You thought it fresh and fair.

False men with study'd treacherous Arts,
Fond innocence betray.

The talk of Charms and Flames and Darts,
But mean not what they say,

Yet ah! could Strephon faithful prove,
And constant to these Charms,
No more, said I, no more my Love
But clasp'd her in my Arms.
(Bickham I:97)

He has already used her, and now she fears abandonment. Does this suggest that the city itself is not the culprit? Perhaps the real danger is that among London's growing population are rural fortune seekers. Yet, if Strephon were to stay and be faithful, his cultivated Celia would show not the slightest bit of resistance to his rustic charms.

An example where all three parameters (pictures, poetry, and music) are in conflict features Strephon as well. In "The Inconstant Fair One, or Strephon's Complaint" (Plate IV), a rollicking five stanzas of anapestic verse is accompanied by a picture of pastoral lovers in a completely rural setting.

"The Inconstant Fair One"

How can You, lovely Nancy, thus cruelly slight,
A Swain who is wretched when banish'd your Sight;
Who for your Sake alone, thinks Life worth his Care,
But which soon, if you frown on, must end in Despair.

If you meant thus to torture, O why did your Eyes,
Once express so much softness, & Sweetly Surprize!
By their Lustre inflam'd, I cou'd not believe,
As they shed such mild Influence they e'er wou'd deceive.

But alas! like the Pilgrim bewilder'd in Night,
Who perceives a false Splendor at distance invite,
Overjoy'd He hastes on, pursues it and Dies;
A like Ruin attend me if away Nancy flies.

O forget not the Raptures you felt in my Arms.

When you call'd me dear Angel, & unveil'd all your Charms,
When you vow'd lasting Love, & Swore with a Kiss,
That in my fond Embraces was center'd all Bliss.

Fairest, but most obdurate consider that Woe,
Will like Sickness neglected, more desperate grow,
That your Heart may relent, I implore the kind Powers
Since I'm constant as your Sex, be not fickle as Ours.
(Bickham I:29)

The music for this example, however, is a stately minuet, establishing a conflicting upscale urban context. Thus, the illustration suggests a rural low culture, the jingling anapestic meter an urban low culture, and the music an urban high style. The Duchess of Manchester, to whom this song is dedicated, genially associates herself with a full spectrum of the social landscape, and Strephon and Celia, scarcely acknowledging any social controversy, focus instead on the universal duality of love and fidelity.

In the examples presented thus far, the *topos* of Strephon and the popular ballad stanza and anapestic verse fix the focus on a lower style. Strephon is corrupted by the city and retreats to the country, only to find he cannot shake the sophistication of the city from his shoes. The dedicatees are entertained with a mythical Arcadia anglicized by the replacement of shepherds by the English swain, Strephon, who shifts his shape as necessary to mirror the rural, the urban, the political, and the human.

The lure of the city draws poor Strephon back as we examine the extreme of what we can call high style, represented in Bickham's collection by the world of Italian opera, the da capo aria, and the trials of the great Italian castrato Senesino. Despite the closing of the Opera of the Nobility and the Royal Academy of Music in 1737, arias from Italian operas were performed in the recital series produced in the city and the pleasure gardens, and continued to be printed in song collections. Criticisms in local newspapers reveal a great deal of ambivalence toward this foreign music, but English composers nevertheless felt compelled to accept the challenge of imitating the foreigners. Bickham's collection addresses this criticism, no doubt because of the

contributions of John Lampe, who acted as musical advisor for the collection. Lampe's music and the texts of his most famous collaborator, Henry Carey, abound in *The Musical Entertainer*. The criticism of Carey and Lampe, however, was not presented in the form of biting satire. Their most famous collaboration appeared in a burlesque opera, *The Dragon of Wantley*, which quotes Horace (*Satires* I:10) in an inscription on the title page of the libretto: "Ridiculum acri fortius & melius." That is, "Ridicule is stronger and better than sarcasm" (Horace 29). The wildly successful work saw more performances than John Gay's famous *Beggar's Opera*, and enjoyed a healthy schedule of performances throughout the century, appearing sixty-nine times in its first full season in the Fall of 1737, seven more than the *Beggar's Opera* (Fiske 149). The main characters of the story are from an old broadside ballad that appeared in 1685, although it probably existed in the oral folkloric tradition far longer (Martin 45). Moore, played by Farinelli, is a hero far less noble than his legendary inspiration, St. George, or his more contemporary model, George II. He is, in fact, like our rustic Strephon, with a gift for the simple and a lust for the earthy life.[2] Some audience members viewed the eponymous Dragon that Moore must slay as Robert Walpole, excreting all over the citizens of London with his excessive taxation. Meanwhile, the secondary characters Margery and Mauxalinda, two damsels waiting in the wings as prizes for the victorious Moore, are drawn into conflict in a parody of the feud between the leading sopranos of the day, Faustina Bordoni and Francesca Cuzzoni. Local politics and Italian music are woven together in a tapestry of social dualities that explore the full range of satiric expression from the Horatian, to the Juvenalian, to the Menippean.

"Moore Fighting with the Dragon" (Plate V), is among the eight songs from *The Dragon of Wantley* that appear in the *Musical Entertainer*, offering to historians of the theatre some excellent illustrations of the staging of the work (Bickham II:32).[3] The most obvious send-up of Italian opera among these examples is "Poor Children Three" (Plate VI), a through-composed recitative with exaggerated melismas on the words "grapple" and "apple" (Bickham II:24). The syntax of the poetry is matched to Italian syntax in the fuller line of "Poor children three, devour

did he, that could not with him grapple," and the illustration perpetuates the caricature of the elongated disproportion of the castrato anatomy.

"Poor Children Three"

Poor children three, Poor Children three,
devour did he, devour did he,
that cou'd not with him grapple, grapple,
but at one sup he did eat 'em up
as one wou'd eat an Apple, an Apple.
(Bickham II:24)

Four of the *Dragon of Wantley* songs are da capo arias, considered by most audiences to be the most elevated, if unnatural, form of musical discourse presented in London theaters. The virtuosic warbling of castrati in the non-discursive form of ABA', combined with the endless repetition of words, both amused and bemused audiences. When sung in Italian, removing any possibility of comprehension, the hilarity increased exponentially. Lampe and Carey refashioned the style, as can be seen in the "Moor Circulating the Cheerful Glass" (Plate VII, Bickham II:4). The text is a drinking song that draws from the lofty realm of Classical antiquity to provide the antithesis of *opera seria* plot material.

"Moor Circulating the Cheerful Glass"

Zeno, Plato, Aristotle
all were Lovers of the Bottle;
Poets, Painters, & Musicians,
Churchmen, Lawyers, & Physicians
all admire a pretty Lass,
all require a cheerful Glass.

Ev'ry Pleasure has its Season,
Love & Drinking are no Treason.
(Bickham II:4)

The sturdy four-measure phrase groups of the music infuse the form with the artless simplicity of a common march. And yet Lampe, trained in the Hamburg school of Reinhard Keiser and Handel, contributes an air of harmonic sophistication to this simple style, particularly in the B section where he moves through the submediant and mediant minor regions before returning in the A section to the bright key of G major.

Commentaries on Italian opera are not limited to the *Dragon of Wantley* or to the da capo aria. In "The Taste: A Dialogue" (Plate VIIIa), music by Handel is recast, (I suspect by Carey) with a silly text employing nonsense "o's" at the ends of lines to imitate the feminine endings of Italian poetry.

"The Taste: A Dialogue"

C: O my pretty Punchinello
O my little Dapper Fellow
have you heard that Farinelli is coming over,
P: no my Columbino
I hear that Carestino
the famous Carestino
who has pleas'd both King and Queen O
both King and Queen O
sets out for Dover.
C: But I hope my Senesino
is no such Rover
P: O no your Senesino
has licked himself quite clean O
has Thousands got fifteen O
and lives in clover.
C: After Porpora or Handel
Where d'ye think the Town will dandle
Or which must hold the Candle.
P: I don't care a Farthing
But Harlequin O Lun O
Has Cook'd a deal of Fun O
Of Pantomime and Pun O
And expects a mighty run O

C: Shall we go and see the Fun O
At Covent Garden
P: In Playhouses full Six O
One know not where to fix O
Till they let us in for Nix O
That's Punches bargain.
B: We'll see'em round all Six O
If they'll let us in for Nix O
That's allways our bargain.
(Bickham II:66)

The references to Punchinello in the poetry and illustration mock the gravity of Italian *opera seria* with the formulaic folly of *commedia dell'arte*. The illustration for the second page of this song (Plate VIIIb) shows an urban theatre with a shrieking birdman, Senesino, challenged by the braying jackass (perhaps Farinelli) vying for the lead. Even members of the audience participate in the play as the suitor in the bottom right-hand box distracts his lover from her attention to the stage, wooing her in his own Punchinello costume. Senesino captivated the sensibilities of the English, but clearly, devotion to such artifice is viewed as irrational, effeminate, and downright risky.

Nevertheless, we find, in a song entitled "The Ladies Lamentation for Senesino" (Plate IX), an expression of sentimental tenderness for poor Senesino. Henry Carey provided both text and music for this setting, as he did for most of the approximately 250 songs he produced between 1715-1740; the song appeared in the same year in his own collection of ballads, the *Musical Century* (Carey 1).[4] Although Carey had mastered the Italianate influence in his chamber cantatas, he chose the ballad as a format for his lament, which brings Senesino back to Strephon's world evoking a bucolic Eden of linnets and blackbirds—and castrati? The illustration, in contrast, places us on an urban dockside, with foreign servants portering "Ready Money" to retain Senesino, while disconsolate women reach out to touch the sacred creature. He is celestial, he is avian, and as the fourth stanza of the poem tells us, he is transgendered as well. Dualities continue through the final stanza:

"The Ladies Lamentation on the Loss of Senesino"

As musing I rang'd in the Meads all alone,
A beautiful Creature was making her Moan.
Oh! the Tears they did trickle full soft from her Eyes,
And she pierc'd both the Air and my Heart with her Cries.

I gently requested the Cause of her moan.
She told me her sweet Senesino was flown,
And in that sad Posture she'd ever remain,
Unless the dear Charmer wou'd come back again.

Why who is this Mortal so Cruel said I,
That draws such a stream from so Lovely an Eye,
To Beauty so blooming, what Man can be blind,
To Passion so tender, what Monster unkind.

Tis neither for Man nor for Woman, said she,
That thus in Lamenting I water the lee,
My Warbler Celestial, sweet Darling of fame,
Is a Shadow of something, a Sex without Name.

Perhaps 'tis some Linnet, some Blackbird, said I,
Perhaps 'tis your Lark, that has soar'd to the sky;
Come dry up your Tears, and abandon your grief,
I'll bring you another, to give you relief.

No Linnet, no Blackbird, no Skylark, said she,
But one much more tunefull, by far than all three;
My sweet Senesino for whom thus I cry,
Is sweeter than all the wing'd Songsters that fly.

Adieu Farinelli, Cuzzoni, Likewise,
Whom Stars and whom Garters extol to the skies;
Adieu to the Opera, adieu to the Ball,
My darling is gone, and a fig for them all.
(Bickham, I:38)

Now that Senesino is gone, our troubled maiden will give up her desire for the unnatural. The uncluttered binary form of this ballad restricts her plangent cries to timid sentimentality, in direct contrast to the dramatic recitative or *fioratura* of a da capo aria that one might expect in an Italian setting of a similarly expressive moment. The seven stanzas of narrative anapestic verse feature rhymed couplets that propel the discourse forward but are reined in by the formal return to the B rhymes of the first stanza, on "eyes," and "cries," in the final stanza on "likewise," and "skies," creating a closed arch over the discursive narrative (Fig. 1). This arch is reinforced by the echoing arches of the A, D, and F rhymes establishing a peak of arches in the fifth stanza of the poetry. Each stanza is treated to a similarly closed musical structure in rounded binary form that reaches the peak of its arch at mm. 17 (Fig. 2). The simple strophic ballad ideally illustrates the duality of closure and discursiveness when matching rhymed narrative poetry with closed musical forms, and ironically results in precisely the sort of structure criticized in the da capo aria with its ABA' form; rounded binary and da capo forms become one and the distance between high and low musical styles is made narrower.

Suzanne Aspden has argued that the ballad played an important role in English responses to operatic form, a role that emphasized a national ideology and characterized the English as a crude but honest people (Aspden 24). "The Syren of the Stage," another lament on the waning of opera, confirms this ideology in its final verse, "To this island bid farewell, leave us as we ought to be, leave us Britons, rough and free" (Bickham 1:87). With "The Syren of the Stage," the circle is made full. Senesino and what he represents is banned from the island, and Strephon returns to his original rough and rustic shape. George Bickham's selection of songs and interwoven narrative of illustration shows us aristocrats fleeing the world of their own making for a fantasy union with Arcadia and the ascendancy of the pastoral tradition in Britain. In addition, we can see a playful descent into bawdy burlesque, as the nobles promote a kind of middle-class chic. They are portrayed as genially aware of their own irony, as in the long run they realize that they actually are what they are pretending to be.

For music historians, these songs deconstruct the various layers of French and Italian influence that blended with the rustic instincts of an inherently English style, identified with composers whose musical language was shifting from the flamboyant drama of the Baroque to the decorous order of the Classical style. Carey and Lampe are in control of their shape-shifting heroes Strephon and Senesino, as they mediate the dualities proposed by sociology, syntax, and song.

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Notes

[1] See David Hunter, "Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences: Intersections of Class, Money, Music and History," *Early Music* (February 2000): 33-49, for a discussion of economic strata of London Society. Ostensibly the subscribers for these volumes would have had an annual income of no less than £200-400. The four-song sets would extend the economic strata of the patrons downward to include those with an income of £50-200.

[2] Lampe wrote a burlesque scene with the librettist J. Ayres, entitled *The Queen of Spain, or Farinelli at Madrid* (1744), another satire of Italian opera focusing specifically on Farinelli.

[3] The complete list includes "On Loosing their Toast and Butter (I:96); "On Galant Moor of Moor Hall" (I:100); "Moor Circulating the Cheerful Glass" (II:04); "Moors Engagement to Margery" (II:08); "Moore Coaxing Mauxalinda" (II:12); "Poor Children Three" (II:24); "Moore Fighting with the Dragon" (II:32). An example similar to the "Moore Fighting with the Dragon" appears as "Moore in Armour to fight the Dragon" (II:28), but this song is not in the burlesque.

[4] Volume II of the *Musical Century* (1740) contains a similar example in "The Beaus Lamentation for the Loss of Farrinelli(sic)," II:4.

Fig. 1. "Ladies Lamentation for the Loss of Sensino," poetic form

MM	1	5	9	13	17	21	25
key	G: I	I	I	V	V	I	I
poetry	A	A	B	B	B	B	
music	a	b	c	c	a'	a"	a"

Fig. 2. "Ladies Lamentation for the Loss of Sensino" musical form

The Words from Waller — Set by Antony Neale

The Dream.

Andante

Say lovely Dream where couldst thou find Shades to coun-ter-feit that Face

Co-lours of that glo-rious kind Come not from a-ny Mor-tal place.

In heaven it self thou sure wert drest
With that Angel-like disguise
Thus deluded I am blest
And see my joy with clos'd Eyes
But ah! this image is too kind
To be other than a dream
Cruel Sacharissa's mind
Ne'er put on that sweet extream
Fair Dream if thou intend'st me grace
Change that heavenly face of thine
Paint despis'd love in thy face
And make it to appear like mine.

Pale wan and meagre let it look
With a pity-moving shape
Such as wander by the Brook
Of Lethe or from graves escape
Then to that matchless Nymph appear
In whose shape thou shinest so
Softly in her sleeping Ear
With humble words express my woe.
Perhaps from greatness state and Pride
Thus surprised she may fall
Sleep does disproportion hide
And Death resembling equals all.

PLATE I. "The Dream," *The Musical Entertainer.* 1:94.

The Coquet.

Set by Mr. Vanbrugh — G. Bickham jun. Sculp.

Andante

From White's and Will's to purling Rills, The love-sick Strephon Flies;

There full of Woe, His Numbers flow, And all in Rhime he Dies.

The Fair Coquet,
With feign'd Regret,
Invites him back to Town;
But when in Tears
The Youth Appears,
She meets him with a Frown.

Full oft the Maid
This Prank had play'd,
Till angry Strephon swore,
And what is strange,
Tho' loth to change,
Would never see her more.

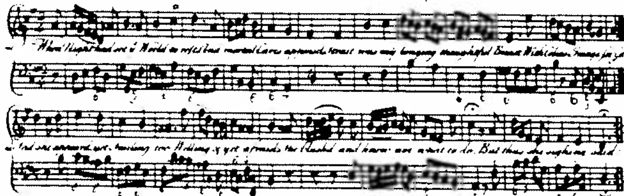
For the Flute.

PLATE II. "The Coquet," *The Musical Entertainer.* 1:08.

The Dream.

To his Grace ye DUKE of SOMERSET these four Plates are humbly Inscrib'd.

The Words by John Mottley Esq.r



Cease Strephon cease it must not be	*False Men with studyd treacherous Arts*
In vain you weep & sigh	*Fond Innocence betray*
Talk not of Love or Flames to me	*They talk of Charms & Flames & Darts*
For I must still deny	*But mean not what they say*
Lo but this wither'd Rosebud see	*Yet ah! could Strephon faithful prove*
How dead it does appear	*And constant to these Charms*
Before 'twas gather'd from ye Tree	*No more said I no more my Love*
You thought it fresh & fair	*But clasp'd her in my Arms.*

FLUTE.

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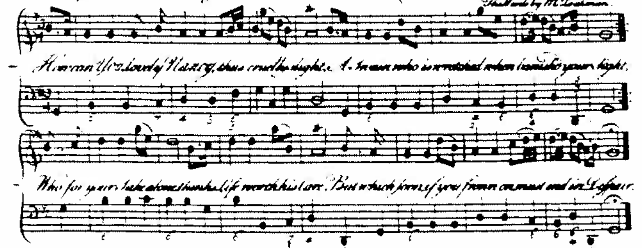
PLATE III. "The Dream." *The Musical Entertainer.* 1:97.

The inconstant Fair-One, *Or Strephon's Complaint.*

To her Grace the Dutchess of Manchester, these Four Plates are humbly inscrib'd.



If you meant thus to torture O why did your Eyes	*O forget not ye Raptures you felt in my Arms.*
By their lustre inflam'd I could not believe,	*When you call'd me dear Angel & unveil'd all your Charms.*
	When you vow'd lasting Love & swore with a Kiss.
	That in my fond Embraces was center'd all Bliss.
But alas! like ye Pilgrim bewilder'd in Night.	

FLUTE.

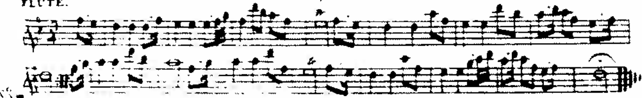


PLATE IV. "The Inconstant Fair One." *The Musical Entertainer.* 1:29.

32

Moore fighting with ye Dragon.

For the Flute.

PLATE V. "Moore Fighting with the Dragon," *The Musical Entertainer.* II:32.

24

Poor Children Three.

For the Flute.

PLATE VI. "Poor Children Three," *The Musical Entertainer.* II:24.

PLATE VII. "Moore Circulating the Cheerful Glass." *The Musical Entertainer,* II:4.

PLATE VIIIa. "The Taste: A Dialogue." *The Musical Entertainer,* II:66.

67

The Masque at the Old House

FLUTE

PLATE VIIIb. "The Taste: A Dialogue," *The Musical Entertainer.* II:67.

38

The Ladies Lamentation for y^e Loss of Senesino.

FOR A FLUTE

PLATE IX. "The Ladies Lamentation for the Loss of Senesino," *The Musical Entertainer.* I:38.

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Contraband as a Way of Government, Rio de Janeiro in the Eighteenth Century[1]

Ernst Pijning

The eighteenth century was the last and most elaborate stage of mercantilist economic ideology. This theory demanded that trade should be monopolized by individual countries in order to improve their economies. Accordingly, the European expansionist powers organized themselves either in trading companies set up by merchants, or within a system of royal monopolies set up by the state. The Dutch, English, and to a lesser extent the French had a sophisticated administrative apparatus at hand in the form of privately run innovative trading companies who had obtained a trading monopoly. The Portuguese and the Spanish state systems, however, had to rely on a pre-modern bureaucratic system, whose officials were often times corrupt and incompetent, condoning contraband trade. The Danish historian Niels Steensgaard maintained that this caused a downfall of the Portuguese economy in the East Indies, where the Northern countries prevailed. (Steensgaard 81-95) In this sense, the Brazilian historian Fernando Novais recognized that the feature of contraband trade was part of what he titled the "Dynamics of the Ancient Colonial System," and he affirmed that this confirmed rather than contradicted the working of the Portuguese Atlantic economy. (Novais 91, 121)

The Portuguese and also the Spanish colonial system showed more elasticity than this simplified view. I would argue that given the military and economic possibilities, the organization of the Portuguese colonial administration served its needs. It had the internal flexibility to import and export whatever was necessary, within the margins of the exclusive policies.

Portuguese political economy was based on the monopoly of trade between mother country and colony. This monopoly was not restricted to commerce, but affected also educational and cultural aspects of society. Brazil was not allowed to trade with European countries directly, but only through Portugal. The production in Brazil of goods provided by Portugal was discouraged by the crown, and manufactures were outlawed. There was no university in Brazil, so Luso-Brazilians had to go to Coimbra in order to obtain a degree. Even a printing press was forbidden in Brazil. Brazil was, as king John IV stated in 1640, truly regarded as Portugal's milking cow.

Portugal lacked the military and economic power to enforce such a system of particularism. When Portugal returned from its "Babylonian Captivity," that is became independent from the Spanish in 1640, they were afraid of a new Spanish invasion. Thus, the Portuguese needed another foreign power to help them in times of need. This was to be the English. In return, the English enjoyed many commercial advantages, the most famous being

laid down in the Treaty of Methuen in 1703. The English obtained a monopoly of textiles on the Portuguese market, while on the other hand the Portuguese wine was preferred on the English market. In practice, this meant that Portugal had a negative balance of trade with England, and thus had to pay off this deficit with gold from Brazil.

The Portuguese were unable to provide Brazil with the goods it needed. Thus, the English invested in their monopolized trade, but, in return, the Portuguese had to allow certain advantages for the English. One of these concessions was to leave the English packet boat between Oporto and Falmouth uninspected. This was an important concession from the Portuguese crown to English merchants, since much gold was smuggled out of the country in this way. The Portuguese administration essentially bargained the allowance of contraband trade, in exchange for economic and military support.

The relationship between the French and the Portuguese was more ambiguous. France was not an ally of the Portugal, but on the other hand the Portuguese could not afford to anger the French. The Portuguese allowed French vessels into Brazilian harbors, since they were afraid that otherwise the French would use violence against them. In 1711, for instance, the French navy had conquered and ransomed the town of Rio de Janeiro. As a consequence, French ships were received in Brazilian harbors with much more fear, and with much more reluctance, than English vessels. And sometimes the denial of services to the French did indeed lead to violent disturbances.

Administrators who were supposed to suppress contraband trade were the very persons who were engaged in it. This seemed to be recognized even by the crown. In fact, at the sale of offices in Portuguese India, the prize of those offices were not determined by the honor of holding them, but to the amount of money that those civil servants could earn by illegal activities. (Pearson 22) Thus administrators were middle men. They could determine who would be allowed to engage in this commerce, and who would not. This was determined by tradition, "the customs of the country," and the standing of the persons involved. As for the latter, there was a distinction between officials who were Portuguese of origin and those who were Brazilian-born. The highest officers were Portuguese natives. But one should not overestimate those differences, since all stayed for a longer period of time, except for the viceroy, who had a three year term. Thus it did not take much time for those administrators to adapt themselves to Brazilian society. Not everybody could engage in illegal trade, and their status depended on the extend to which they were allowed to do so. Jealousies between administrators were frequent, and these conflicts were stimulated by the crown, and by overlapping, changing, and confusing jurisdictions.

I regard contraband trade as an incorporated part of the Portuguese political economy. It would be incorrect in this sense to see contraband trade as something against the

morals of society. But some contraband trade was, as several administrators were convicted in engaging in illegal trade, some merchants and peddlers were degraded to Angola, and a few foreign ships were confiscated by the Brazilian authorities. The study of those cases are important because they demonstrate where the boundaries lay between what was condoned, and what was not. Foreigners sometimes had a hard job to get acquainted with the local circumstances. I will demonstrate this by the following two case studies of foreign vessels who entered the harbors of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro during the eighteenth century.

* * *

Direct trade between European countries and Brazil was strictly forbidden. Foreign ships entering the harbors of this colony did negotiate with local merchants. To prevent these illegal dealings, the king issued several orders which required strict investigation of all boatmen. Most of the times the reasons for calling were the need for supplies or for repairs. Should the officials conclude that these reasons were not sufficient, then the vessel could be confiscated. Upon arrival, foreign ships were surrounded by sloops filled with military guards. Even though these measures apparently were quite tough, they did not suffice to prevent illegal trading with those vessels. However, these regulations did help add to the bargaining power of the side of the Brazilian authorities as will be demonstrated by the following case studies.

Le Gentil de la Barbinais was a French official sailing in a vessel into the harbor of Salvador at the end of 1717. His ship, which was one of three, was damaged and needed repairs. The vessel was richly loaded with merchandise from Peru and China. Upon entering the harbor of Salvador, the director of the ship embarked to have an audience with the viceroy, the Count of Angeja.

The viceroy explained the measures that would be taken against the vessel, and that the ship might be confiscated if they did not have sufficient reasons for entering the harbor. He stressed that many French vessels had visited Salvador, and that the experience with those boats had been very negative. This did not restrain the French from proceeding, although the conversation with the viceroy impressed them. They gave all the visiting inspectors presents, which they accepted, but with grim faces. The presentation of gifts was intended to gain the goodwill of those officials, yet the officials had other things on their mind, namely to obtain a position where they could determine who should trade with the French vessel, as will appear from the continuation of Le Gentil de la Barbinais account.

The report of those officials was, that indeed the vessel urgently needed repairs. More importantly, they advised that the ship should be abandoned and the goods stored in a warehouse. The French captain thought differently, and the ship was repaired in the harbor.

Illegal trade was therefore conducted in the harbor itself, where the visiting inspectors had less control. As a consequence, the military guards in their sloops surrounding the ship were less hostile to the crew. They could offer the crew their services, and every night local merchants came up to trade with the ship.

These actions did not contribute to the goodwill of the three inspectors of the vessel, the chief inspector of the Treasury, the inspector of the Customs, and a high court judge. On the contrary, they became quite obstructive. The inspectors delayed the process of repairing the ship, and even threatened to confiscate the vessel. The viceroy seemed to abstain as much as possible from these intrigues, but he was sympathetic to the well-being of the French merchants. He knew that the intentions of the three inspectors were not so much in any scrupulous regard for the execution of the king's orders, but rather to obtain their slice of the cake. Their revenge for not receiving their share was to come shortly.

It took seven months to repair the French vessel. Upon leaving the capital of Brazil, the captain discovered that water was still leaking in the boat. Upon return some friendly officials informed Le Gentil de la Barbinais that:

> Prisons [...] are filled with unfortunate Merchants who have traded with him, and whose goods one must confiscate, since they have transgressed the Kings Orders. [...] They added that the three Inspectors [Judges] <u>of the Treasury</u>, avaricious and involved persons, will do all their efforts to persecute him. [...] The Frenchman answered that as the Inspectors [Judges] <u>of the Treasury</u> are avaricious people, it should not be difficult to win them for us, by promising them a good trade. (Barbinais 1:168-169; original emphasis)

By an intrigue of the Gentil de la Barbinais, local support was gained for the smoothening of the affair. Through support of two high officials who were more positively inclined to the French merchants, and of the viceroy, the inspectors were forced into a minority opinion. As a consequence, the carpenters responsible for the poor repairs were imprisoned, the inspectors obtained some more presents from the French sailors, and the vessel was able to return to its home country in a short period of time.

In this case study, we have seen a richly loaded French vessel, offering many goods to the local merchants. Luso-Brazilian administrators, by using exactly the powers that the Portuguese king had given them in order to combat illegal negotiations, obtained powerful tools in order to regulate this to their own advantage. Therefore, in practice, these regulations did not work out exactly as the king would have imagined. Foreign vessels did enter the harbor, and did trade with local merchants. On the other hand, those royal measures enabled the local authorities to have a grip on these negotiations. Among those administrators there were some internal struggles over who should have what slice of the cake. This lead to the floods of reports which we find back in the Portuguese archives. Yet, the bottom line is that

most returned satisfied. The French vessel could obtain its repairs at a reasonable price, and they obtained some local goods; the local traders got merchandise that was hard to obtain somewhere else; the administrators had some part of the commercial transactions according to their mediating role. In the end, the local authorities were able to streamline this trade in the proper directions.

* * *

The "success story" of the cooperative Gentil de la Barbinais, stood in a sharp contrast to the reception of the well known Captain Cook in Rio de Janeiro. Captain Cook on his first explorative voyage, came to the harbor of Rio at the end of 1768. (Alden 409-410) The aim of his call was to obtain provisions and to do some investigations of the flora and fauna in the environs, and some astrological observations. The viceroy, the Count of Azambuja, who had his seat in the town which had become the capital five years before, had other opinions about the English vessel.

Captain Cook was unfamiliar with the codes on reception of foreign vessels in Brazil. Thus, when he arrived in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, he sent of his first officer to the viceroy. The first lieutenant asked for a pilot, and indicated the spot where he would like to anchor. Furthermore, he had the orders of Captain Cook to be as secretive as possible to reveal the purpose of the journey. The lieutenant was promptly arrested, his vessel, The Endeavour, was surrounded by sloops with soldiers, and his crew was interrogated.

The viceroy, the Count of Azambuja, was one of the exponents of the policies of the Marquis of Pombal, Secretary of State in Portugal. Pombal wanted to increase Portugal's income, by developing its economy and by decreasing its dependence on England. To obtain his goal, he strengthened the mercantile rule. He erected several trading companies, two of them in Brazil, which had an exclusive right to trade in the north and the northeast of the country. Pombal reorganized the Royal Treasury, he modernized the curriculum at the University of Coimbra, and he installed the Inspection Board in Brazil. In practice, this did not mean changing of policies, rather it meant a strengthening the old ones. English and other foreign merchants were the main target of these projects. The effect of these new measures in the Brazilian ports was to strengthen the powers of the local administrators over foreign perpetrators. Whenever they showed much intransigence, like Captain Cook did, they had to be put back in their place. The viceroy pleaded that this was in compliance of his King's Orders, to whom he had in fact applied in full, as he stated in his memoir of November 17, 1768:

> I am not surprized at the Novelty that Lieutenant James Cook finds in the treatment that his Ship had in this Port; being in all its points which he takes Notice of, in Conformity not only with the Orders of

> His Most faithful Majesty my Master, but also to the Ancient Custom of the same Port...And this is the reason why before any thing else the Solemn Ceremony was made I practised with your Officers, in asking them if you would subject yourself to the Customs & Orders that are in this Port, because only under this Subjection & the information that is taken in the Visit which is made that you put into this Port with real necessity, it is that you are admitted. Wherefore, if you think it hard Submitting to what in your Memorial you Express, it is in your power to leave the Port...Ships have always Subjected themselves in these Ports to all cautions that are taken to this End, which is never more necessary to be put in Practice than when the same Ships oppose them; because they become more Suspicious.
> (*Voyages* 1:488-489)

In the following weeks, Captain Cook suffered several defeats. The Count of Azambuja did not honor his request to be relieved of a guard, who had to stay near him while he was on shore. Cook had to buy the goods he needed with the aid of a factor appointed by the viceroy. No other person was allowed to go on shore, except himself. Against all these measures he objected, in vain. Cook asked if two of the scientists on board could go on shore, since they had to measure the Transit of Venus over the Sun. According to Cook, the viceroy did not understand the meaning of all this, but thought that he had in mind that the North Star should go over the South Pole.

James Cook miscalculated that he could win over the viceroy's opinion by arrogance. He demanded the presence of Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander on shore, the relief of his guard, and free trade. He was surprised that the Count of Azambuja did not give in. The latter thus showed his contempt for those Englishmen who did not behave in a proper way.

The viceroy accused Captain Cook of being a smuggler, for which reason he was calling at Rio de Janeiro. Cook did his best to avoid this stigma. Azambuja treated the English Gentleman with caution because "[n]otwithstanding all care I [the Viceroy] am informed that always your People have Smuggled some goods" (*Voyages* 1:488-489). And correctly so, as we learn from Sir Joseph Bank's journal entry of November 26, 1768:

> I myself went ashore this morn before day break and stayd till dark night; while I was ashore I met several of the inhabitants who were very civil to me, taking me to their houses where I bought from them stock for the ship tolerably cheap. (*Endeavour* 190)

On the other hand, Captain James Cook did point out that he wished that his own officers were laid under the same restriction as "this would have prevented such of them as even under His Excellency's roof [i.e. in the palace of the viceroy] from tempting such of my People as were ashore...the Carrying on of Contraband trade" (*Endeavour* 497). Moreover, some Spanish ships from Buenos Aires had arrived, and they received a far more favorable treatment. With these last remarks the duel ended. Cook sent the correspondence to the

Admiralty, hoping that both Courts would do something against this "unfriendly" reception of English vessels. In fact, he should have been glad his ship was not confiscated. However the merchants, one of them a naturalized Englishman, who did negotiate with Cook, were arrested and met with many problems before they were released. (*Endeavour* 321-323)

It was beside the point whether or not Azambuja really wanted to prevent the English vessel to engage in contraband trade. I would argue that possibilities to engage in contraband trade, or to buy goods cheap, could be earned, due to the behavior of the captain. European travel accounts were riddled with remarks about the degeneration of the Portuguese, who neglected agriculture out of ignorance, who let thieves go unpunished, whose women eagerly pleasured foreigners, and who wanted to exchange merchandise with visitors. Time and again those authors condemned the very activities in which they were by themselves involved. In fact, as in the case of Captain Cook and his *Endeavour*, they actually counted on a favorable treatment. They thought that they had a right to do such.

James Cook wrote several letters of complaint to the English and Portuguese authorities on the conduct of the Count of Azambuja, who held strictly to all the regulations because of Cook's behavior. This tendency of having a double standard can only be explained by the superiority of England over Portugal. In Europe, Portugal depended for its survival on England. Yet, strict enforcement of the mercantile rules were against the prevailing custom that stronger countries can impose themselves on weaker ones. These views, as expressed by James Cook, were the same as the Portuguese secretary of state the Marquis of Pombal experienced while he was ambassador to England. These were also a reason for Pombal's anti-English attitudes.

* * *

The experiences of the Gentil de la Barbinais and James Cook were quite different. Partly this can be explained by their personal behavior. The Frenchman had much more feeling for how to deal with the authorities, and when the situation threatened to go wrong, he knew what action to take. James Cook, on the other hand, behaved like an elephant in a porcelain shop, and therefore angered local authorities. Another difference is that James Cook had nothing to offer to the merchants of Rio de Janeiro, while on the other hand the Gentil de la Barbinais vessel was loaded with very interesting goods. The organization of the Portuguese colonial system enabled Brazilians to react with much flexibility to entering foreign vessels. Their most effective tool was the usage of selective application of the harsh royal legislation.

Policies have also changed over time. In the early eighteenth century, Brazil was in its "Golden Age." The gold rush put up an large increase in demand, while goods could be

bought with this noble metal. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Brazilian economy became less dependent on gold. The Brazilian economy was diversifying. As trade statistics from the late 1790s on show, the Brazilians produced for markets from the Levant to the Baltic. (Arruda *passim*) In fact, there was a report that Brazilian vessels sailed directly to Liverpool to sell their products. (Novais, *Proibição* 154-155) Thus, the bypassing of Portugal as an intermediate station was taking serious forms. The number of vessels engaged in the Atlantic trade increased, private trade prevailed over organized commerce, and Adam Smith provided the Brazilian with the necessary economic ideology. Portugal became dysfunctional.

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Notes

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Groupies for Jesus: Sexual Freedom and Female Identity in Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* and *The Book of Margery Kempe*

Jane L. Huenneke

Introduction

As a woman, I have always been interested in the commonality of female experience. What I'm describing is a curiosity to discover if women in different time periods and different circumstances encountered the same kinds of challenges and issues in their lives that I and other contemporary women are familiar with in our lives. I suspect there is a kind of continuum of female experience, so this is the filter that I automatically adopt. When I started reading about medieval Christian women, this "autofilter" turned on, and I began looking for a way to see connections between the experiences of these women and those of contemporary women. Since my own personal interest is in pop culture, specifically rock music, I thought it would be challenging to see how the female experience continuum would relate these two seemingly different cultures and time periods through this common female experience.

One of the major issues for women across culture and time has centered on how their sexual freedom is restricted. Within this restriction, how they make choices about how they use their bodies sexually, and how these choices contribute to their sense of female identity is what I am interested in. Leslie Donovon, writing about female saints, states:

> The lives of these women establish compelling ancient perspectives on themes important to contemporary audiences: (1) that women's bodies can be powerful forces for effecting social and spiritual change; (2) that women have the right of control over their bodies; and (3) that female identity is the result of the union of body, mind, and spirit. (133)

This union that Donovon speaks of is possible for these medieval Christian women because they decide how they will use their own bodies. Although they must constantly resist the obstacles of tradition that society has erected in their paths, they are all willing to endure this fight. And they

are all rewarded, not only with Jesus' love and salvation, but also each with a sense of female identity that they establish through their autonomous female bodies.

In the twentieth century, this issue exploded in the 1960s with the birth of rock music culture and the unprecedented sexual freedom that it celebrated and promoted, especially for women. To express this new sexual freedom, some women became "groupies." Most people probably have a concept of what "groupie" means, but the OED defines it as "girls who deliberately provoke sexual relations with pop stars" (OED online). I believe the freedom for these women to "provoke" these activities with rock stars also allowed them to form a sense of female identity that was linked to the choice of how they used their bodies sexually. So my concept of groupie includes a deliberate strategy for female identity formation.

In the mid-twentieth century, young people began to seriously question the norms and values of the traditional culture. Simultaneously, rock music became both a venue for and a celebration of the youth culture rebellion. Yet, opportunities for women to participate in this rebellion were still somewhat restricted. According to Simon Reynolds and Joy Press, writing in *The Sex Revolts: Gender, Rebellion, and Rock 'n' Roll*, "For the most part, women's medium for rebellion was limited, in the counterculture, to sexuality" (232). Many women opted to express their freedom from the oppressive culture of their parents by rejecting the expectation of sexual abstinence until marriage. Chappel and Garafalo note "Like men in the counterculture, groupies were rebelling against the plastic uptightness of straight American consumer society [. . .]" (279-80). Groupies were women who were part of this counterculture rebellion whose goals included the formation of personal female identity in association with the "gods" of their era, rock stars.

Groupies, as women, were allowed to experiment with sexuality in a way that had been unavailable to their mothers. Available, effective birth control methods such as the birth control pill, enabled women to approach sexual encounters without the fear of pregnancy. Victoria Balfour, interviewing several wives and girlfriends of famous rock musicians, notes "[M]ost of the women I talked to were attracted to the rock-star lifestyle because they saw it as a ticket to freedom, a world where they could throw away their bras, hitchhike around the country, and be

sexually liberated" (17). Groupies saw their sexual freedom as representative of their break from the rules and expectations of their parents' generation. This rebellion against the sexual restrictions imposed on women by the traditional culture allowed groupies to formulate a female identity, which, although still limited in its range of choices, was based on personal, autonomous decisions made by women about what they would do with their own bodies.

Medieval Christian women as Jesus' Groupies

Now how does this connect to medieval Christian women? It might seem strange to conceptualize medieval female Christians as groupies. And certainly, not all of them were. But there were Christian women in this time period who chose a particular strategy to assert authority over their bodies and their lives that revolved around a spiritual, sexual relationship with Jesus. Jesus was the medieval analog of a rock star, and some medieval women became his groupies because this choice offered them the option of sexual autonomy that was not possible through the other sexual choices available. I believe these women made this choice deliberately to assert a female identity based on their own sexual control of their own bodies just as rock music groupies did .

For medieval Christian women, union with Jesus, although not physical, did include a sexual component and allowed them to gain identity through directing the use of their bodies. These women flocked to Jesus in much the same way that groupies flocked to rock stars, choosing this lifestyle as an alternative to the limiting choices of motherhood and wifedom, allowing them to exchange obligatory conjugal duties or "marriage debt" (Heffernan 187) to a human man for the consummation of a relationship with their Lord. Michelle M. Sauer explains this spiritual sexuality: "The resurgence of mysticism during the low Middle Ages, and its increasing popularity throughout the era brought with it a new view of women's authority within the Church and society" (76). Medieval groupies sought this authority which they expressed through the sexual use of their bodies. The results of this sexual choice was liberating because it circumvented some of the negative consequences of traditional sexual choices, such as the risks

of childbirth and the ownership of the woman's body by her husband. For the women who made this choice, the relationship with Jesus offered them an avenue to female identity that they controlled instead of having it imposed on them by a distinctly patriarchal society.

Sexual Choices for Medieval Christian Women

What were the sexual choices available to medieval Christian women? First, they could choose a Church-sanctioned, heterosexual marriage. The medieval Church taught that his option was necessary for procreation and as James Brundage writes, "for the avoidance of fornication" (577). In an era where most women were not consulted in the choice of marriage partner, their fathers being the primary authorities in this decision, it is not hard to imagine that many women could expect to marry men with whom they were not in love, were not attracted to, and in some cases, found repugnant. It must have been difficult for these women to contemplate lives where their only acceptable sexual expression, if they married, would involve submission to such a husband.

The second option was a celibate marriage, as long a both parties agreed. Within this sanctioned marriage, couples could decide to practice sexual abstinence, as in the mythic example of St. Cecilia. As a young bride, Cecilia preserved her virginity by converting her pagan husband to Christianity, and convincing him of the need for both of them to remain celibate (Donovan 58-9). St. Cecilia desired a spiritual relationship with Jesus, and by exercising sexual autonomy, she created a female identity through this use of her body. Her example became a model for married women who wanted to have spiritual union with Jesus. Leslie Donovan explains:

> By appropriating the same ideal of virginity that was intended to limit women's bodies and autonomy, these women saints [of which Cecilia was one] take control of their bodies by transforming their sexuality. In so doing, they establish authority over the direction of their lives and, especially, of their souls. (123)

In fact, for a medieval Christian woman, sexual freedom meant the ability to resist an imposed sexual relationship with her husband, or the third option, to resist marriage altogether in order to follow Jesus. This option allowed a woman to remain physically celibate while symbolically

engaging in a spiritually sexual union with Jesus. Similar to the kind of female body ownership that groupies experienced. Donovan describes this sexual choice for medieval Christian women:

> Much like contemporary women, medieval women struggled to maintain control of their female identity within cultures that perceived the female body as an object for violence and abuse as well as a temptation toward physical excitement and sexual pleasure. (125)

Celibacy, whether within marriage or as an alternative to marriage, existed as the primary expression of sexual freedom for medieval Christian women. Jesus, then, became the focal point for this celibate expression just as rock stars became the focal point for the twentieth century groupies' sexual activity. Both strategies reinforced the autonomous female body as a source of female identity separate from traditional alternatives.

Paradoxically, Brundage notes that celibacy was promoted by the Church as "the highest Christian ideal" (577) while Donovan explains that "a daily heroic battle was necessary to maintain [celibacy] in a world that devalued women's bodies [. . .]" (122). Women who exercised control over their bodies in this way were ideologically supported by the Church's official position on celibacy, but potentially undermined by a society that offered almost no legal or social protection for them. To validate this choice, then, medieval Christian women had to express it in a religious context that would have the greatest chance of universal social acceptance. This context was their spiritual union with Jesus that transcended any physical relationship they could have in the material world. Again, the use of Jesus as the rallying figure for medieval female celibacy parallels twentieth century groupies' obsessions with rock stars as the emblems of the groupies' sexual salvation. Groupies were set apart from ordinary women by their affiliations with rock stars in much the same way medieval Christian women were set apart from their contemporaries through their choice of celibacy and spiritual union with Jesus.

Two Examples of Sexual Choice in Female Identity Formation:

Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe

There are two medieval Christian women who illustrate the process of female identity formation through the choice of how they use their bodies sexually. Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe were both medieval Christian women who, through conversion experiences, changed their lives to become "groupies" of Jesus. They both rejected sexual relationships with men in favor of spiritual union with Jesus.

Not much is known about the life of Julian of Norwich before her conversion experience which she writes of in the "shewings" collected in her book, *Revelations of Divine Love*. While Julian omits details of her personal, material life, she describes in great detail her "shewings" or "revelations" of God's teachings and Jesus' love for humankind. She describes how each encounter with Jesus inspires her continuing love and devotion and brings her spiritual comfort. She writes:

> At the same time, our Lord showed me a spiritual vision of his familiar love. I saw that for us he is everything that we find good and comforting. He is our clothing , wrapping us for love, embracing and enclosing us for tender love, so that he can never leave us, being himself everything that is good for us, as I understand it. (47)

For Julian, following Jesus brings not only spiritual comfort, but also allows her to control the sexual use of her body. Rather than experience the tyranny of sex with a human man, she instead owes this conjugal debt to Jesus and refers to "the blessed Manhood of Christ" (46), forcing us to focus on the physicality of Christ. Fulfillment of this figurative debt not only emphasizes the autonomy Julian exercises over her body, but also allows her to avoid the negative consequences of submerging her female identity in a conventional sexual relationship. Describing her spiritual sexual union with Jesus she writes "And here I saw truly that the inward part is master and ruler of the outward one, and does not consider the or heed the desire of the flesh, but all the intention and desire of the spirit is set for ever upon being unified with our Lord Jesus" (70). This spirituality that Julian describes was a concept that didn't exist for her mother's generation. In this way, Julian's choice of sexual freedom is mirrored by twentieth century groupies who were also making choices to be sexually free in ways that were unavailable to their mothers. This

decision to preserve her body for union with Jesus allows Julian's female identity to emerge as something separate from the more traditional roles as wife, mother, or widow. Her choice of what to do with her own body permits this kind of development that was simply not possible for her mother's generation of women or to women of Julian's time who stayed within those traditional female roles.

A late contemporary of Julian's, Margery Kempe, was a woman who also rejected traditional female roles. Like Julian, she had a religious conversion, and she also produced a book that relates her religious experiences and her attempts to put the wisdom she learns from them into practice. At the beginning of her story, she describes herself at the time of her conversion as a wife and mother. She wrestles with her connection to her physical pleasures and material comfort, but her desire to follow Jesus finally triumphs. Eventually, she convinces her husband that they should adopt a celibate lifestyle (17-20). She describes their chaste marriage "They dwelled not together, for as is written before, they both with one assent and with free will of the other had made a vow to live chaste" (131). Although still married,, the decision to remain celibate within that marriage allows Kempe to "dall[y] in the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ" (30) by redirecting her sexual relationship to a union with Jesus.

Instead of sequestering herself in an anchoress's cell like Julian, Kempe embarks on a "groupie-like" journey, a sort of endless tour, during which she makes pilgrimages to holy places, such as Jerusalem, and continues to irritat[illegible] [illegible]d upset the social order (50). Like groupies in the twentieth century, her behavior is threatening in its unconventionality, and she does not escape the notice of the authorities. She describes an arrest:

> On the next day at morn her host led her out at the town's end, for he dared no longer keep her. And so she went to Hessle and would have gone over the water at Humber. Then she happened to find there two Friar Preachers and two yeoman of the Duke of Bedford. The friars told the yeomen what woman she was , and the yeoman arrested her as she would have taken her boat [...]. (95)

Pushing against the expectations of acceptable medieval Christian female behavior, Kempe embodies a rebellion that was no less subversive in its time than that of the groupies' sexual

exploits in their time. Translator Lynn Staley describes this process of female identity formation that Kempe experiences through her refusal to allow anyone but herself to direct how she will use her body: "The very sense of identity that Margery achieves in her sixty-odd years is the product of a continuous conflict with figures of religious and communal authority" (xv). This conflict centers around Kempe's celibacy and her determination to resist submission of her body to any worldly purposes. Because she is able to assert her sexual freedom in opposition to traditional medieval female Christian roles, she gains a female identity that is not dependent on those roles.

Kempe also visits Julian of Norwich. This meeting is recounted in Kempe's book:

> And then she was bidden by our Lord to go to an anchoress in the same city, who was called Dame Julian. And so she did and showed her the grace that God put in her soul of compunction, contrition, sweetness and devotion, compassion with holy meditation and high contemplation, and full many holy speeches and dalliances that our Lord spoke to her soul [...]. (32)

The voice of experience guides Kempe, and according to Lynn Staley, Julian was comfortable in this role. Staley comments "She thus suggests, not that we should read her book because she is a holy woman, but that her book might be used as a guide to the holy" (833). In this case, the "holy" are Jesus' groupies, and Julian provides guidance not only to Kempe, but also to any potential groupies who read her book.

Conclusion

The desire to forge identity through asserting the autonomy of the female body is demonstrated in the lives medieval Christian groupies and also in the lives of twentieth century groupies who made this choice. Twentieth century groupies also had to reject what their society prescribed for them. Some of these women may have seen their quest for identity in less spiritual terms than medieval Christian women, but sexual freedom and autonomy of the female body were still at the core of their female identity formation. While medieval Christian women had to reject physical sexual activity, substituting spiritual sexual union with Jesus to experience this body autonomy, groupies substituted sexual relationships with rock stars for the traditional

expectations of marriage. This was closely linked to the sexual energy of rock music and the rebellion its lifestyle represented against the strict morals of the groupies' parents' generation. Victoria Balfour writes: "Ever since rock and roll shocked the world and revolutionized the music scene in the mid-fifties, female fans have related to its stars as sexual objects" (11). Some of these fans went on to become groupies and acted on these feelings, embodying rock's credo of sexual freedom, and earned a new sense of female identity through this choice of how to use their bodies.

Jesus was the "rock star" of medieval times, inspiring devotion and a depth of emotional response in his "groupies" that transcended the traditional roles for women of that time period. Through their "groupie-dom," these women were able to achieve not only sexual freedom, but also a new kind of female identity that the body autonomy of this sexual freedom was able to foster.

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"The reliques and ragges of popish superstition": The Effect of Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclestiacall Polity* on Book V of *The Faerie Queene*

Vince P. Redder

In the "Armada Portrait" of Elizabeth I, the queen sits placidly, observing her realm through her pasty makeup, secure in the knowledge that she is in control of England and the seas. Her eyes look off into the distance as if imagining great things for herself and her kingdom. The whole scene is one of studied serenity. In reality, however, she waged a constant battle against plotters and assassins, who wanted her off the throne and someone more suitable on it.

Even to a casual reader of English history, the late sixteenth century was full of events that threatened the survival of the Elizabethan monarchy: the Northern Uprising of 1569; the deposition and excommunication of the queen by Pope Pius V in 1570; the Ridolfi plot in 1571; the genesis of the Jesuit mission to re-convert England in 1580; the Babington Plot against the queen's life in 1586; and the supposed *coup de grace* of all—the invasion of England by the Spanish Armada in 1588. It was no mistake that all the plots mentioned involved Catholic dissidents, because to a sixteenth century Catholic Englishman, Elizabeth was the "mother of all heretics.

These various plots in themselves, however, do not explain the difference in tenor between the first three books of Spenser's *The Faerie Queen*, published in 1590, and the second three books, which appeared in 1596. In books I-III, the Catholic Church appears largely as a repository of heretical error, whereas in books IV-VI, the poet goes to great pains to demonstrate that the church is a hotbed of sedition, a refuge for traitors, and that its continuation in England will cause the ruin of the realm. The cause of this shift in policy on Spenser's part, I believe, was none of the pre-1590 historical events mentioned above, or it would likely have surfaced before the 1590 edition of the first three books. Spenser's change in representation of the Catholic Church was caused, I believe, by a response to the work of a Protestant theologian, the representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore of the queen herself. That work

was Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, which appeared in 1594, two years before the second installment of *The Faerie Queene*, but well after the publication of the first. This essay will seek to explain why Hooker's work had such a profound impact upon our author. First, we will explore Spenser's type of Protestantism. Next, we will see how Spenser treats the Catholic Church in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, and then how he treats it again in book V after the publication of Hooker's *Lawes*. Finally, we will examine Hooker and his famous work itself.

In order to understand why the theology of a Protestant pastor could inspire Spenser to realize danger to the realm that all of the plots of the twenty years previous could not, it is first important to understand what kind of a Protestant Edmund Spenser was, and what the state of religion was like during Elizabeth's reign.

Anthea Hume's work *Edmund Spenser: Protestant Poet* supposes that Spenser's religion "was a fervent Protestantism which requires the label 'Puritan' during a specific period" (9). Similarly, John N. King numbers Spenser with the progressive Protestants who were dismayed by the zealous Archbishop Edmund Grindal's removal from office as the primate of England: he points out lines 215-28 of the famous July Eclogue from the *Shepherdes Calender* as evidence (*Puritan*, 3).[1] While King stops short of calling Spenser a Puritan, he does say that Spenser was one of those authors who strove to finish the Reformation in England by attempting to abolish all vestiges of Romanism from the land. "All available circumstances," says King, "identify Spenser, during the period of the late 1570s through the 1590s, as a zealous Protestant. . . The work of *The Faerie Queene* is at one with the satirical eclogues of *The Shepheardes Calender* in articulating the progressive Protestantism of his age" (23).

In the May Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender*, Spenser tells his readers in the Argument that "*it is daungerous to mainteine any felowship, or giue too much credit*" to Catholic ministers' "*colourable and feyned goodwill*." In Spenser's day, the Bible and sober preaching about salvation had often lost ground to the "superstitions and pagan idolatry" of the Catholic religion. In an effort to explain how God's grace was so often thwarted by the devil, Spenser demonstrates in the *Calender* how Catholic priests fool the people into accepting Catholicism by

appearing to be like them. Spenser calls these priests "foxes," alluding to their slyness and ability to hide when hunted. In the May Eclogue Piers (who represents the Protestants) tells Palinode (the Catholic representative) a story in which a "kid" is left alone by his mother, but warned about the foxes and their tricks. The fox appears at the door disguised as a "poore Sheepe," dark from being in the sun. (266) The kid immediately forgets his mother's warnings and opens the door. The kid is snatched up and taken to the woods. The lesson for Protestants is that the fox never appears as a fox, and warning sheep against foxes avails little unless the sheep can recognize all the shapes that the fox can take. As we are constantly reminded by the Protestant rhetoric of the time, Catholic priests are the foxes we are to guard against, and Jesuits are the worst foxes of them all.

These foxes are able to steal sheep away from the best shepherd, not by force, but by guile: they imitate the sound of the shepherd's voice, or the bark of the sheepdog, fooling the sheep into believing they are safe with them. The truth of the matter was that the Catholic mission (begun by exiled priests in 1580) was hurting the established church: the priests were stealing souls from the Protestant pastors.

The most sinister priest of them all is, of course, the leader of the Catholic Church, who appears in Book I of *The Faerie Queene* as a demonic magician. In Book I Spenser generally confines his considerations of Catholicism to the harm it does to the *minds* of those corrupted, making the surreptitious nature of the Roman doctrinal argument is one of the significant subjects of Book I. The narrative makes it clear that the pope and the Catholic Church seduce the people of England by fair speech into religious damnation. Spenser's description of Archimago, who I believe stands for the Catholic Church, the devil, or the pope, shows him as "an aged Sire," with his "beard all hoarie gray." He seems "sober" and "very sagely sad," lowering his eyes to the ground (*FQ*, I.29.2.3.5). Spenser's portrait could describe the pope, perhaps even Pius V, the pope who excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570 and promulgated most of the reforms of the hated Council of Trent. While the pope openly appears harmless, Spenser, as a progressive Protestant, considers him to be the archenemy of true religion.

Archimago kindly invites the tired Redcrosse Knight and his lady into his humble home, away from the "resort of people" (I.34.3). There, he entertains them in the time-honored tradition of telling stories to pass the time. This seems harmless enough, were it not for the type of stories the old man tells: "He told of Saintes and Popes, and euermore / he strowd an *Aue-Mary* after and before" (I.35.8-9). Of course, any devotee of the true religion (both Redcrosse and the reader) would be expected to realize the danger of listening to these fables, but the old man couches his fables in "faire discourse" and "plesing wordes" (I.1.35.5-6). The true danger of Archimago is missed because of his looks ("Simple in shew, and voyde of malice bad" (I.29.7)) and his ability to beguile audiences with his speech (He "well could file his tongue as smooth as glas" (I.35.7)).

The devilish Archimago creates the false Una and he sends her to trick Redcrosse. Spenser declares the false Una "Full of the makers guile" (I.1.46.7). Like the pope himself, the apparition is intended not to directly confront, but to deceive her victims. And like the foxes in *The Sheapheardes Calender*, she overcomes her opponents by trickery and illusion, not by force. She is, as the poet relates, "fram'd of liquid ayre"; she is without substance herself, but her effect on the mind can prove deadly. The rest of Canto I concerns the apparition's attempts both to draw Redcrosse away from his original and pure quest to help Una's parents and to fall by his base instincts to lust. Although she is unsuccessful in her attempts to bring the knight down by lust, she does lead him to commit two of the other deadly sins, jealousy and anger. Archimago succeeds by his illusion of reality in diverting the knight from his task.

Archimago then usurps the appearance of the knight, but Spenser makes it clear to the reader that the appearance is far from the reality: his juxtaposition of terms such as "coward brest" and "crauen crest" (I.2.11.4.5) leave no doubt that the magician is merely borrowing the respectable trappings of the pure knight. But, as before, the poet expects that many will be fooled: "And when he sate vpon his courser free, / *Saint George* himself ye would haue deemed him to be" (I.2.11.8-9). In Canto iii, Archimago loses his only knightly battle to Sansloy. Spenser wants to portray the pope as powerless; his danger lies in his ability to beguile.

If the first book cautions Protestants to beware of the sophistry of the mission priests and their leader the fifth book takes the Catholic threat much more seriously. In that book, the black magic and tricks of the pope have become something much more sinister: rebellion and regicide. Although Archimago disappears before Book V, his minions are present to foment rebellion and plot against their anointed sovereign.

Most critics have recognized the difficulty of attempting to sustain the historical allegory of the *Faerie Queene* to the point of finding exact matches for every episode and every person in the poem. However, almost every critic who has treated Book V of *The Faerie Queene* has agreed that Britomart represents the queen, and Radigund, Mary Queen of Scots. In Canto vi, Britomart (the female knight) rescues Artegall, (the knight of justice) who is in the Amazon's thrall. Then she fights with Radigund in single combat, and finally beheads her. These facets of the poem certainly reflect historical events, culminating with the beheading of the Scottish queen at Fotheringhay Castle in 1587 (Fraser 539). Although many have examined Britomart's battle with Radigund in considerable detail,[2] the episode of Britomart's narrow escape from the disappearing bed in the house of Dolon is largely glossed over as a mere impediment to the heroine's relentless quest to find and rescue her lover, Artegall. A.C. Hamilton, for instance, in his 1970 edition of the poem, notes that the "bed trick refers primarily to the allegory of marriage" (570). Although there may be elements of fidelity and the promises of marriage in the Dolon episode, I submit that there is a strong political undercurrent as well, one which relates directly to the impact of the English mission on the English Protestant world.

I believe that we see in this episode an exposition of the Babington plot and its failure. Despite great peril, Britomart escapes "by Gods grace, and her good heedinesse," being "preserued from their traytrous traine" (V.vi.34.6-7). It is significant how many times the words "traitor" or "traitorous" are used in this passage. It is evident that Spenser means to reflect a breach of loyalty, not merely treachery, in this canto.

The episode with Dolon begins, as did the one with Archimago, with a "seeming harmless old man" inviting a weary traveler to rest at the end of the day. Spenser gives the reader

hints throughout that the old knight is, like Archimago, not what he appears on the surface. He tells us, for instance, that the knight "seem'd" to be old and that he was wearing a "vestiment" (V.vi.19.6.8). Any reader who remembers Book I will recall that Archimago similarly appears as "An aged Sire, in long blacke weedes yclad" (I.i.29.2), and that he "seemed" sober and "Simple in shew" (I.i.29.5.7). The "vestiment" of Dolon expresses more than merely what the knight is wearing: it shows that he, like Archimago, is a priest.

Dolon also has the capacity for artful conversation, just as Archimago. Spenser says that the knight, approaching Britomart,

> [...] coming neare, gan gently her salute,
> With curteous words, in the most comely wize;
> . . . .
> Then gan [...] further to deuize
> Of things abrode, as next to hand did light,
> And many things demaund, to which she answer'd light. (V.vi.20)

The fact that Dolon speaks to Britomart "of things abrode," coupled with his "vestiments," suggests that he is a priest trained in a foreign seminary. Although the Statute of 1585 previously forbade such priests from remaining in England under pain of death, many did remain to evangelize.

In Dolon's house, Britomart and her companion the iron man Talus are brought to a chamber where they are to spend the night, waiting for the chance to travel again the next day. The attempt on Britomart's life fails because she is watchful. The only place Britomart is not to be found is in her bed; had she been there when the bed "By a false trap was let adowne to fall," (V.Vi. 27.7) she would surely have perished in the trap set for her by Dolon. Once this is discovered, Britomart understands the "treason" meant by this attempt. In the next seven stanzas, Spenser uses the word "treason" or "traytrous" five times, underscoring the political implications of Dolon's act. When the disappearing bed trick fails, two knights appear in the bedchamber, followed by "a raskall rout," prepared to kill Britomart and her companion. It is at this point that Talus attacks the rabble with his iron flail, causing them and the knights to flee for their lives, but

not before Talus is able to dispatch many of them, who "here and there like scattred sheep . . . lay" (V.vi.30.6). It is significant that it is Talus who tells Britomart the "treason" that was intended by the falling bed. But it is not surprising, given the fact that the primary purpose of Talus's flail is not to kill, but to seek out the truth. We may also point out here that, preparing for the upcoming battle with the knights, Talus holds what Spenser now calls a "thresher," more appropriate for divining truth from treasonous miscreants.

The poet has proven by Dolon's actions that he is not honorable. It is only now, though, after the attempt on Britomart's life fails and Talus is able to thresh out the "treason" meant by it, that we learn the old knight's true identity. Spenser identifies him this way:

> The Goodman of this house was *Dolon* hight,
> A man of subtill wit and wicked minde,
> That whilome in his youth had been a Knight,
> And armes had borne, but little good could finde,
> And much lesse honour by that warlike kinde
> Of life: for he was nothing valorous,
> But with slie shiftes and wiles did vnderminde
> Alle noble Knights, which were aduenterous,
> And many brought to shame by treason treacherous. (V.vi.32)

Although Dolon had been a knight in the past, he was no longer one: he is "nothing valorous," and he uses "slie shiftes and wiles" to undermine true knights by treason. This description points, I believe, to Robert Persons, the Jesuit who remained in charge of the English mission from its inception in 1580, when Persons accompanied Edmund Campion and Ralph Sherwin into England, to his death in 1610. Persons, like Campion and many other converts, had been a convinced Protestant (a "knight," as Spenser labels him) and in fact was a fellow at Balliol College. Due to a growing misgiving about the authenticity of Protestantism, he either left or was expelled from his post and went to Rome, where he was reconciled to the Catholic Church and became a Jesuit in 1575. He was one of a group of exiled Catholic clergy who believed, until the death of Mary Stuart, that it was permissible to remove the queen and place the Catholic queen of Scots on the throne. Shortly before the publication of the second part of *The Faerie Queene* in

1596, in fact, Persons had published under the pseudonym N. Dolman *A Conference Abovt the Next Svccession to the Crowne of Ingland*, in which he advocated the right of a people to supplant their sovereign for reasons of religion (*The Catholic Encyclopedia*). Progressive Protestants would have triply hated him: as a Catholic, as a clergy member, and as a Jesuit.

The Babington plot, represented in this episode, was named after the young English gentleman whose idea it was to assassinate the queen, but according to Wallace MacCaffrey, the "prime instigator was a priest, John Ballard." John Savage, an ex-seminarian, and Babington joined him in attempting to kill the queen. In this plot, all the worst fears of the Elizabethan government came true: the Catholics planned to invade England, kill the queen, and replace her with a Catholic sovereign. No longer is the main danger merely an erroneous religious belief. These men, Ballard, Savage, and Babington, can be represented by Spenser as the sons of Dolon (the Jesuit Persons), who attempt to do their father's bidding by killing the queen, just as Dolon's sons try to kill Britomart. As the details of the plot came to light, Elizabeth finally was shaken from her slumber and consented to the trial and subsequent execution of the Scottish queen.

While Elizabeth considered herself a Protestant, her desire to unite the kingdom politically and theologically under her control prompted her to pursue a path that negotiated a mean between Catholicism and Protestantism. As Harry Emerson Fosdick has written, "to be sure, she shut out faithful Romanists on one side and stalwart Puritans on the other, but she reached out so far in both directions that many who else would have remained Romanists and Puritans came into her communion" (334).

Until the publication of Hooker's *Lawes* in 1594, theological integrity of the English church was not settled: it was Protestant and not yet so; at the same time, it retained elements of the Roman hierarchy and celebrations. For those more progressive Protestants like Spenser, the Sidneys, and the Earl of Leicester, the farther removed the Church of England was from the Calvinist theology the Marian exiles had learned while in Geneva, the closer the church was to the hated antichristian papacy and its idolatrous mass. Richard Hooker's work defined for the

sixteenth century Englishman what it meant to be a Protestant Christian. One critic has asserted that Hooker sought "to be both irenic and polemical as he defended his Archbishop and sought to perfect the church's position" on ecclesiastical authority (Almasy 252) when writing *Of the Lawes of Ecclestiacall Politie*. While Hooker was Master of the Temple from 1585-91 (Hill, *Evolution* 121) he took up the archbishop's of Canterbury's argument with Thomas Cartwright, a leading "Puritan" who advocated purging the English Church of all Catholic tendencies.

By the time Hooker took up the standard, the argument was already twenty years old: the debate actually began in the 1560s between conformists and Puritans over whether the church could legislate ceremonies, vestments, and hierarchies that were left from pre-Reformation Roman practice. The Puritans believed that all aspects of a Christian's life were to be regulated by scripture, and since these orders and ceremonies were a later development, they believed them sinful. The conformists, on the other hand, considered such ceremonies to be things "indifferent" to the salvation of the individual, and, "since the established orders were not intrinsically unlawful and were not established for a superstitious purpose, they were to obeyed by private individuals without question" (Perrot 32). The problem came to a head in 1564, when Archbishop Mathew Parker enforced the wearing of the surplice, which many Puritan ministers could not in conscience comply with, since they believed that the surplice was a sinful Roman remnant from the unreformed past. The archbishop pressed the issue of ceremonial conformity, with the result that the reformist ministers published *An Admonition to the Parliament* in 1572. This anonymous document calls for the complete overhaul of English church ceremonies and practice. Several responses were written on both sides, the reformist mantle taken up by Thomas Cartwright, and that of the conformists by John Whitgift (32-4).

Hooker was already known as a conformist: his fellow-preacher at the Temple, Walter Travers, who was not a conformist, complained that Hooker's theology was so Roman that "the like to this. . . hath not been heard in public places within this land since Queen Mary's days" (qtd. in Hill, *Evolution* 126).

Speed Hill goes on to say that

> The most damaging contention of the Puritans was that their proposed system of church government, modeled (according to Hooker) on Calvin's church at Geneva, was uniquely in accord with the Word of God as recorded in Scripture. If it could be refuted on the authority of "Scripture, or antiquity, or reason," the English church would stand acquitted of the charge that it possessed an ungodly discipline, contrary to divine law, nowhere authorized by Scripture, from which the godly were obliged to separate themselves should it refuse to reform itself or else be reformed by others. (135)

By siding with the authority of reason and tradition against pure scripture, Hooker placed himself and the established church squarely in the lap of the Roman Church, according to the puritans. In fact, many early Catholic polemicists pointed to Hooker's work as an example of how "there were those among the English Protestants who tended toward papist positions on vital issues" (Booty 212). And this was certainly the way that progressive Protestants would have seen it.

What about Hooker's work would incite men like Spenser to redouble their efforts to warn others away from his type of compromise? The answer is quite simple. The type of church rule imposed by the monarchy, and espoused by Hooker, was abhorrent to the more progressive Protestants, who believed that "no authority was to be obeyed but that of God's Word speaking in the hearts and minds of the presbytery or the congregation" (Pocock 291). Hooker, on the other hand, speaking for the established church, "replied with the image of a church charged with acting in tradition and history, obliged to perform many acts that were adiaphora but entitled in doing so to claim the authority of a natural law in which men were naturally political but at the same time naturally obedient" (291).

J.S. Marshall says that Hooker was especially Roman in his view of the ministry: "Hooker's position is the ancient Catholic doctrine of orders. [...] It is not a matter of a call, but of a commission at the hands of the Church" (146). Instead of agreeing with his fellow Protestants, Hooker agrees with the Roman Catholic Council of Trent. There was an essential difference in ecclesiology between the Admonitionists and Hooker, which could not be resolved

any more than that between Calvin and the Fathers of the Council of Trent. The Puritans placed great emphasis on preaching, but, as Marshall says, in Hooker's view, the priest's "vocation was primarily pastoral and sacramental," making "preaching [...] a very secondary matter" (146). Since preaching had become the hallmark of the reformed churches, giving it a second place to sacramental ministry made Hooker seem suspicious to the more zealous Protestants like Spenser.

Using reason and the authority of the ancient church fathers, Hooker's work systematically takes his opponents' argument apart. In his preface, he complains that each succeeding generation of Protestants has made it a point to be farther removed from the Church of Rome, "whereupon grewe maruelous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, iealousies, hartburning, iarres and discords amongst them" (7). Hooker rejects a unity of Protestantism based solely on hatred of Rome as no unity at all. He then attacks the concept that every situation can be addressed by study of scripture. He condemns those who "by fashioning the very notions & conceipts of mens minds in such sort, that when they read the Scripture, they may thinke that euerything soundeth towards the aduancement of that discipline, and to the vtter disgrace of the contrary" (15). This, of course, agrees with Trent in opposing Calvin and Zwingli, as well as the growing number of English puritans who believed that scripture gave specific answers to every aspect of human life. Here he begins to build his argument that things indifferent and not superstitious, even from pre-Reformation Roman usage, can be advantageous and even salvific to English Protestants. Hooker scorns those brethren who consider all ceremonies handed down from the Roman Church unusable, and he continues to argue that: first, scripture does not regulate all the minutiae of men's lives, and second, that at least some of the tradition the church received from Rome is not vile, and can fill in the gaps that scripture does not.

The author accuses the extremists of being more Genevan than the Genevans: in Geneva, he says, "[H]aue not they the old Popish custome of vsing Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptisme; the old Popish custome of administering the blessed sacrament of the holy Eucharist with Wafer-cakes? These things the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learne to doe the like both in them in the rest of the like nature?" (187). Thus, Hooker takes away from the Puritans the excuse that they are following the precepts of Calvin and his Genevan authority; Hooker shows in his work that even the Swiss reformed churches do not reject as much of Roman ritual as the progressive English Protestants.

Hooker finally ingeniously demonstrates the illogical conclusion that the brethren are forced to, simply for the sake of being unlike the Church of Rome. "Theyr axiome is," he says, "that the sound beleeuing Church of Iesus Christ may not be like Hereticall Churches in any of those indifferent thinges, which men make choice of, and doo not take by prescript appointment of the word of God." He presents the case of a reformed church that must make the choice to use leavened or unleavened bread for its Eucharistic celebration: according to Hooker, since the Roman Churche uses unleavened bread, the reformed church may not use it. But, he continues, if the reformed church is near a Greek church that uses leavened bread, it also cannot use that type of bread, since the Greek Church is heretical like the Roman one in many respects. "Without eyther leauened or vnleauened bread," he concludes, "it can haue no sacrament: the word of God doth tye it to neither, and their axiome doth exclude it from both. (189)

Thus, Hooker continues to hammer away at the arguments of the extremists until he has put the last nail in the Puritan coffin. While this may have satisfied the queen and the archbishop, Spenser and others like him would have seen in the *Lawes* a dangerous collusion at the highest levels of the church with the missionary priests whose job it was to re-convert the English to the darkness of pre-Reformation papistry and replace their Protestant queen. In Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser warned his fellow Protestants against the religion of "the learned and crafty Papist," as John Knox described them (272). With the publication of Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclestiacall Politie*, however, Spenser's fellow progressive Protestants must have felt that they were losing the war with Rome. Hooker's work gave Spenser an uneasy feeling, I think. Therefore, the fifth book, far from merely justifying Elizabethan foreign policy, as it is more broadly taken, attempts to clarify for English Protestants the ultimate result of Hooker's policy—a militant Catholicism that not only will try to convert Protestants, but also attempt to unseat their monarchs and murder their subjects. These were the Catholics Spenser finally

wanted to government to see, as he himself had finally come to see them. For this reason, I believe, Spenser makes a supreme effort in Book V of The Faerie Queene to prove that Dolons do exist in England, and that they can do far more harm than just make papists of good Protestants.

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Notes

[1] According to King, Grindal was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in early 1576 with the backing of most of the powerful progressive Protestants in the government. When he refused, however, to repress groups of "prophesying" clergy, he was removed by the queen in 1577. Algrin, according to Thomalin in the July Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender*, was brained by a shellfish dropped by a soaring eagle. "So now astonied with the stroke, / he lyes in lingring payne" (227-8).

[2] See, for example, Donald V. Stump's explanation of this episode, in which he reconciles Britomart's beheading of Mary Stuart, and then her subsequent trial and execution as Duessa in canto ix.. Donald V. Stump, "The Two Deaths of Mary Stuart: Historical Allegory in Spenser's Book of Justice." *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 9 (1992): 81-105.

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Montaigne's Influence on Bacon: No More Than a Speck of Evidence

Gaby Divay

Michel de Montaigne is generally credited with the introduction of the essay genre in modern times. His influence in England was particularly strong, and affected a host of writers of which Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare are the most famous.

Born in 1533, he was educated in the humanistic tradition. He is believed to have studied Law at Toulouse, and, for thirteen years, he held the unloved office of Councillor at the Parliament of Bordeaux. In 1570, two years after the death of his father, he sold his charge. Upon his return from an extended visit to Paris, he recorded, on the beams of his study at the top level of a round tower, his intention to retire from public life and to devote the rest of his days to reading and writing. He was at that time, in March 1571, only thirty-eight years old (Villey, "La vie", xxi).

In 1580, he published ninety-four relatively short essays in two volumes: there were fifty-seven in the first, and thirty-seven in the second volume. These early essays are fairly impersonal reflections on the theme indicated in the title, and they display Montaigne's marked preference for Stoic moral principles. Reading Plutarch's *Moralia* (1572) and *Vitae* (1564) in Amyot's French translation and discovering skepticism in Sextus Empiricus around 1576 had an immense impact on Montaigne's intellectual development. His moral judgement became increasingly less dependent on classical models, and he adopted a more personal, digressive style. The titles of his essays became more and more a pretext for long and loose associative trains of thought. it was in 1576 that he experienced a skeptical crisis of sorts, which is reflected in the nearly 170 pages of "L'Apologie de Raimond Sebond" (MII/12, 436-605).[1] This phase, however, was overcome in due time, and as Montaigne developed towards his personal blend of wisdom, he espoused a more moderate kind of skepticism. But while he found himself in the thralls of pyrrhonianism, the most radical of all skeptical traditions, he left two lasting monuments: he inscribed some fifty-seven sentences taken from his favourite authors all around the beams of his tower study. Most of these were skeptical. And he struck a coin showing a scale with its two plates in perfect balance, symbolizing the skeptic's impartiality and "suspension of judgement." Montaigne furthermore added his famous dictum "Que sais-je?", expressing the ultimate in skepticism, since even a negation of knowledge as in "I don't know" would be too dogmatic a statement for him.

His studious retirement was interrupted more than once for political and other reasons. For two terms, he was elected mayor of Bordeaux, and he negotiated more than once between the protestant Henri of Navarre, who later became the French King Henri IV, and the catholic Kings Charles IX and Henri III, the last representatives of Valois lineage. Montaigne

also traveled for the better part of two years in 1580 and 1581, and he was forced to leave his estate in 1585 due to the plague.

Nevertheless, he published a much-enlarged edition in three volumes in 1588. The third "book" contained only thirteen, but very substantial, new essays. They demonstrate impressively the serene heights Montaigne had reached after some twenty years of self-reflection and self-expression, as do the copious annotations he kept penning in the margins of his personal 1588 copy during the last four years of his life. After Montaigne's death in 1592, a posthumous edition was prepared in 1595, but it was not until the early twentieth century that a monumental, historical-critical edition was established. It was based on the so-called "exemplaire de Bordeaux", and incorporated the lengthy manuscript additions in Montaigne's hand. These were designated in the text by the letter "c", whereas the two previous layers of Montaigne's 1580 and 1588 editions were indicated by the letters "a" and "b" respectively. All later editions have adhered to this invaluable practice.

The best edition of the *Essais* is, without any doubt, Pierre Villey's endeavour of 1930, which we use here in the 1969 reprint edition.[2] Villey was easily the foremost Montaigne scholar: he is a representative of the positivistic schools of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His exacting, thorough training is evident in the patient accumulation of facts related to Montaigne, such as his books, his readings, his usage of classical texts, the sources of even the loftiest of Montaigne's often elliptical allusions, the elusive chronology of his *Essais, their* genesis, etc.—all of this resulting in Villey's criticism memorable for its masterly prose, and supported with the most solid, even exhaustive, documentation possible, be it in form of notes in Montaigne's own hand, biographical and historical facts reflected in the *Essais* and therefore datable, the testimony of Montaigne's contemporaries and that of later readers. His massive doctoral thesis, completed in 1908, published as *Les Sources et L'Évolution des Essais de Montaigne*, and existing in several reprint editions, are a delectable intellectual gold mine. And, as we will see shortly, he had formed a definite opinion in the Montaigne/Bacon debate. Following the essays proper in Villey's edition (1117-1200), there are some eighty pages of "Notes" about Montaigne's influence. They form the basis for two sprawling articles about the *Essais'* impact in England generally (1913), and on Bacon in particular (1911/12).

Becoming more and more personal, Montaigne's *Essays* reflect his classical heritage and, in particular, his affinity with the skeptical tradition. A strong sense of relativity concerning human behaviour at all times and in all places, as well as a strictly conservative attitude towards the political and religious practices of his times are characteristic for this affiliation, and transcend all of Montaigne's mature, post-1576 writings. His style illustrates his voluntarily unsystematic, associative way of thinking. The truly baroque compilation of

contradictory examples is one of his favourite means for displaying a worldview hostile to any kind of dogmatism. The prominent preoccupation with himself provides him with yet another opportunity to describe the instability of opinions and behaviours, so that he considers it quite natural to change his mind on various topics. Montaigne therefore never bothers correcting earlier views in light of later insights, since all of them are an equally valid part of himself. Far from indicating an inflated kind of self-image, the detailed descriptions concerning his habits, moods and inclinations are indicative of his modesty, which allows him to accept and represent himself as he is, without retrospective, cosmetic adjustments for the mere sake of public opinion. Or, as he states himself in the famous note "Au Lecteur / To the Reader",[3] his book and he are one and the same, by which he means that worry about the success or failure of his essays did not enter into consideration during their composition, and that hopes for monetary gain were even less on his mind:

> THE AUTHOR TO THE READER
> Reader, loe here a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance forewarne thee, that in contriving the same I have proposed unto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end: I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolk and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to do ere long), they may therein find some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beene to forestal and purchase the world's opinion and favour, I would surely have adorned myselfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire thereun to be delineated in mine own genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, art or study; for it is myselfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall thus be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations which yet are said to live under the sweet liberty of Nature's first and uncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed myselfe fully and naked. Thus, gentle Reader, myselfe am the groundworke of my booke: it is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a subject. Therefore farewell.
> *From MONTAIGNE, The First of March, 1580*
> http://www.uoregon.edu/~rbear/montaigne/#ta

Francis Bacon, although not the first to adopt the genre, is the best-known representative of early English essay writing. He was born in 1561, and educated at Trinity College. After studying Law in London, he spent two and a half years with Ambassador Sir Amias Paulet in France to become acquainted with diplomacy and public affairs (1576-1578). The sudden death of his father left the young man penniless, and forced him to make a living by practicing law for many years, while serving as a member of parliament on several occasions. He found a generous friend and patron in Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of

Essex, in whose conviction and execution for treason he later, in 1601, was to play a sordid role.

During the reign of Elizabeth, Bacon never acceded to important office. He even had to spend several years in semi-voluntary retirement, until, with the reign of King James after 1603, he kept accumulating ever more prestigious titles and positions: starting with Learned Council in 1604, he became Solicitor General in 1607, Clerk of the Star Chamber a year later, Attorney General in 1613, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1617, and finally, in 1618, he had reached the highest office of Lord Chancellor. Along with three hundred others, he was knighted already in 1605. He became Baron Verulam in 1618, and Viscount St. Albans in 1621. Also in 1621, he was indicted for judicial bribery, and forced to retire. Reluctantly, Bacon devoted the remaining years of his life entirely to the literary and philosophical studies he had somehow managed to maintain during his years of elevated public service.

Bacon published his first ten *Essayes* in 1597, together with two previous works, *Religious Meditations*, and *Places of Perswasion & Disswasion*. The first of these titles was originally composed in Latin and published as *Meditationes Sacrae*; the second is better known as the fragment *Coulers of Good and Evill* (*Works*, v.6, 521). The unexpected success of his 1597 essays inspired Bacon to compose and publish two other, far more voluminous editions in 1612 (38 essays) and 1625 (58 essays) respectively. The former was entitled *The writings of Sir Francis Bacon... in Moralitie, Policie, and Historie* (*Works*, v.6, 535), the latter had as title *The Essayes, or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (*Works*, v.6, 152). All five titles are included in volume six of the most complete edition of Bacon's works in fourteen volumes, established by James Spedding between 1857 & 1874.[4]

Bacon's first essays are little more than a collection of commonplace and worldly advice, juxtaposed without any attempt of order. If they were typographically separated, they could well be considered aphorisms, such as are associated with parts of his *Novum Organum* (1620). The original 1597 edition had in fact paragraph marks throughout the text, which have been ignored in later printings. They may have, however, represented Bacon's own intention to adopt an arrangement appropriate for an open-ended collection of maxims, sentences, or aphorisms. Centered around a common theme announced in titles like "Of Discourse", "Of Honor and Reputation", "Of Negotiating", *et cetera*, such a structure would have placed him formally near the seventeenth century French moralists, La Rochefoucauld (*Maximes*, 1665ff), and La Bruyère (*Caractères*, 1688ff).

The impression that the early essays are youthful literary attempts is confirmed in the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to his brother Anthony (*Works*, v.VI, 523): there, Bacon compares them to unripe fruits, and calls them "fragments of conceites" which have "passed long agoe from [his] pen". Never too modest, he draws a parallel with halfpence pieces which,

though small, were made of solid silver. Most of these ten essays deal with observations of and recommendations for social, particularly courtly, etiquette. They are quite cold-hearted, cynical, and manipulative, and betray Machiavelli rather than Montaigne as their model. "Of Negotiating", for instance, enumerates all possible ways of controlling one's fellow men, including blackmail. "Of Expence" and "Of Regiment and Health" contain more practical advice, while "Of Studies" reviews various motivations for engaging in intellectual endeavors, as always, with an eye on useful applications.

The enlarged 1612 edition displays a more flowing style, and also spouts much elevated moral advice in the majority of the twenty-nine new essays. Most are in striking contrast with the Machiavellian, practical recipes for success at court in the previous essays, and also several of the new ones. There was a good reason for this pious change of heart: Bacon had planned to dedicate his new crop to Prince Henry who died suddenly in November 1612 (*Works*, v.XI, 340: Spedding's commentary). This patron seems to have motivated the always-opportunistic Bacon to adopt a more sternly moral stance at this particular time, catering to the temperament and taste of an influential courtly personality. Taking sudden reversals of fortune in stride, he quickly changed his dedication to Henry's half-brother, Sir John Constable.

The projected address to Prince Henry (*Works*, v.XI, 340-341) is of special interest here, since it not only explains the strange juxtaposition of a moralistic and an utilitarian Bacon in this edition of his *Essais*, but also contains a definition of the essay genre as Bacon understands it:

> Having divided my life into the contemplation and active part, I am desirous to give his Majesty and your Highness of the fruits of both, simple though they may be. To write just treatise, requireth leisure in the writer and leisure in the reader ... which is the cause that hath made me choose to write certain brief notes ... which I have called *Essays* (*Works*, v.XI, 340).

He then, with a veiled, yet obvious, reference to Montaigne, Bacon continues: "The word is late, but the thing is ancient, for Seneca's epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well are but *Essays*, that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of epistles." (my emphasis; also quoted in non-adjusted 16th century form, in Schirmer, 121).

The last edition of 1625 not only returns to more practical instruction in worldly matters in nineteen new essays, it also deliberately obscures the moralistic parts of the previous edition. Once more, morality becomes distinctly contaminated with political considerations. If any moral themes are broached at all, Bacon couches them in useful advice. The essay "Of Truth", for example, simply advises how and when to lie. Emotions like envy or anger are analyzed with cool detachment, calculating both advantageous and disadvantageous applications. "Of Cunning" has tripled in size while shedding its moral

stance. "Of Friendship" now dwells on three uses rather than on nobler aspirations. But most essays simply give "how to" advice for diverse worldly subjects like gardening on a grand scale, building big palaces, traveling in style, political or mundane innovations, applying usury, and quelling uprisings. The utilitarian element is stronger than ever in this final edition, by means of which Bacon had hoped to regain favour at court. He dedicated it to the infamous Duke of Buckingham, on whose whims he shamelessly compromised the highest legislative office (Dieckow 266).

In order to evaluate whether or not Montaigne's essays had any influence on Bacon's, one must examine the reception of Montaigne's books, in either French or English, in contemporary England. Long before his essays appeared in Giovanni Florio's brilliant translation in 1603,[5] manuscript copies of some seven attempts at rendering Montaigne into English were in circulation. Thus, already in October 1595, shortly after Montaigne's posthumous edition had appeared in Paris, one Edward Aggas registered his translation plans with the Stationery's Company. The title was *The Essais of Michaell of Mountene* (Upham 266). No printed copies of this project seem to have materialized ever. Florio registered his more fruitful plans five years later, in June 1600 (Lee 170, n.1), and kept the title, *Essayes, or morall, Politike and Militarie Discourses*, for his 1603 publication (Friedrich 357).

Some of the earliest reflections of Montaigne's writings are found in the essays Sir William Paulet published as *Lord Marquess Idleness* only one year after Montaigne's 1588 edition, eight years before Bacon's 1597 essays, and fourteen years before Florio's translation in 1603 (Kiernan xlviii). Nearly ten years earlier, in 1579, and one year before the first publication of Montaigne's essays, Haly Heron addressed, in nine essays written in stilted style, "young courtiers" in his *Newe Discourse of Morall Philosophy*, which deals in typical moralistic fashion with topics like humility, modest behaviour, travel, dice play, women and wine. It is unknown, if and how this work might be related to Montaigne or Bacon, but Paulet may well have known either an early version of the French original, or one of the circulating English translations. His musings in thirty-eight chapters betray, however, a method limited to the compilation of commonplaces he could have found anywhere at the time of writing.

These examples demonstrate a fundamental dilemma which affects not only our, but any influence investigation: Heron, Paulet, Bacon, Shakespeare and countless others, whether or not they knew Montaigne's work in any stage and in any shape, could well have been inspired independently by the same classical and contemporary sources. The same blatant compilation technique evident in Heron's (1579) and Paulet's books (1589) also mars much of both Montaigne's (1580) and Bacon's (1597) earliest essays.

Just how popular reflections of this kind generally were in England in the late 1500s is further attested in the following list of titles, which is by no means exhaustive: an anonymous author calls his *1596 Remedies Against Discontentment, Drawen from Ancient Philosophers* "small discourses." They are directly related to the classical tradition of *consolatio*, best exemplified by Cicero, Seneca and Boethius. With Sir William Cornwallis' twenty-five *Essays* of 1600, Robert Johnson's sixteen *Essaies, or Rather Imperfect Offers* of 1601, and David Tuvil's nine *Essaies, Politicke and Morall* of 1608, they offer ample evidence that short, more or less personal, moral or worldly reflections enjoyed ever increasing popularity, but were not called "essays" before Bacon's small 1597 collection.

Cornwallis, strangely enough, registered his own essays in the Stationery's register the very same day as Florio entered his Montaigne translation, but he beat the latter by three years in publishing them. He is the only one acknowledging his debt to Montaigne openly. However, as a "confirmed Platonist", he ignores Montaigne's more skeptical outlook (Upham 267). He admitted that a good translation had inspired his own work, which, given its success, was promptly followed by a second collection of essays in 1601. The author noted that Montaigne "now speaks good English", that he has "little method but much judgement", and that in putting "pedantical scholarism out of countenance ... he hath made moral philosophy speak courageously" (No. 12, "Of Censuring", cited by Lee, 175). Unlike the other authors mentioned above, including Bacon, but very much like Montaigne, Cornwallis chose a strictly personal perspective, and indulged in candid self-revealing observations. His audience was not made of the "courtiers" Heron and Johnson address, but rather "gentlemen", as were Montaigne's. Of his own digressive thoughts he remarked: "[...] if [my thoughts] stray, I [do not] seeke to amende them; for I professe not method, & neither will I chaine myself to the head of my chapter" (Kiernan li). Since his essays appeared before Florio's Montaigne, and he admits not knowing the French original, Cornwallis confirms the theory of circulating English manuscripts of the moralists essays.

While the influential Montaigne critic Grace Norton postulated in 1904, that young Bacon met Montaigne in 1577 while apprenticed to the diplomat Amias Paulet, the renowned Shakespeare scholar Sir Sidney Lee gave Bacon only well-deserved credit for importing the title: "The word 'Essays' in the sense of informal comments on things at large, was first introduced by Bacon into the English language, and came direct from Montaigne" (Lee 171). He also found a very important biographical piece of evidence for Bacon's likely literary, and not personal, familiarity with Montaigne: Bacon's beloved brother Anthony spent over twelve years in France. In 1583 and in 1590, Anthony even was in Bordeaux, where he befriended Montaigne who was Mayor of this city at the time of the earlier date.[6] The very last letter Montaigne received before his death in September 1592 was sent by

Anthony Bacon from England. Sir Sidney Lee sees further proof of Francis Bacon's very likely knowledge of Montaigne's essays in the fact that Francis dedicated his first own essays of 1597 to his brother Anthony (Lee 172, 174).

However thorough or superficial Bacon's acquaintance with Montaigne's work may have been, apart from the open form and a common affection for certain classical authors—particularly, Seneca—he owes little to the French moralist. Bacon himself mentioned that he wrote his first essays in his youth, but that he was thirty-six years old when he had them printed. Their composition can therefore be dated to ca. 1580, when Bacon was nineteen, and Montaigne's *Essais* were published for the first time, thus leaving little time to absorb as complex an oeuvre as Montaigne's. It is also certainly not without significance that Bacon only makes two explicit references to Montaigne in his entire work, which spanned a period of some thirty years, and filled fourteen volumes in Spedding's 1874 edition. One is in the latest, 1625 version of the first essay, "Of Truth" (*Works*, v.VI, 379) the other in the Latin version of the *Advancement of learning*, De Augmentis Scientiarum, 1623 (*Works*, v.V, 64). Both are considered late additions (Zeitlin 499).

If anything, Bacon has a pronounced affinity with Machiavelli. It is noteworthy that an Italian edition of Montaigne's *essays* appeared already in 1590, some thirteen years earlier than Florio's English translation. The Italian title, *Discorsi Morali, Politici e Militari*, bears an uncanny resemblance with Florio's subtitle in *Essayes, or Morall, Politike and Militarie Discourses*. The association of "essays" and "discourses" points to the common characteristic of the two genres, which is the open form. It also marks a subtle distinction between the two, namely, that "essays" are by definition tentative and descriptive, while "discourses" tend to be prescriptive and didactic in character. Nevertheless, they do share a background in the long, venerable, and overlapping prose traditions of tractates, epistles, dialogues, maxims and aphorisms. The most famous example of "discourses" in modern times are Machiavelli *Discorsi* (1532), in which he offered his opinions and advice on political, military and administrative matters to the ruling Florentine Medici dynasty. It is well attested that Bacon not only had a thorough knowledge of and the greatest admiration for Machiavelli, but that his own reflections follow Machiavelli's model far more closely than Montaigne's. Part of this affinity may be related to the fact, that Machiavelli, like Bacon, came to have time for contemplative pursuits only while in disgrace or in exile. The same holds true for many other classical moralists, in particular, for Cicero and Seneca. Montaigne is an exception here, since he chose his retirement and had a more studious than active nature.

Indeed, Montaigne, in seeking a balance between his particular personality and the external conditions of his time and place, attempts to realize the classical ideal of happiness, or *eudaimonia*. Bacon's endeavours are not directed at the pursuit of happiness, but at the

discovery of means and ways to gain power and worldly success. Society rules, determined by a particular code adopted at a given time and place, are far more important to him than the quaint, but timeless and universal quest for inner harmony. Most of Bacon's recipes for success are therefore narrowly opportunistic. They are devoid of serious moral considerations which would be, like Montaigne's, are, still valid after several centuries. Furthermore, it is embarrassingly clear that Bacon is far from practicing what he preaches, whereas Montaigne always abstains from preaching, and simply describes his actions or emotions without any embellishment. But had he preached, there would hardly have been the schism between his words and his actions, which so badly tarnish Bacon's credibility.

In agreement with his shortsighted objectives, Bacon's style is sententious and impersonal. He wants to provide a method for controlling human nature in his *Essays*, much like he wants to find practical means for exploiting nature in his equally unsystematic scientific writings. In both aspects, he is the dogmatic antipode to Montaigne's relativism.

It is interesting to see that, despite these sharp contrasts, both essayists are steeped in classical thought, and that both adhere to the two philosophical trends, which have always been shunned and suppressed in Christianity. While aspects of Platonism, Stoicism and even (a misunderstood) Aristotelianism were seamlessly incorporated into Christian beliefs, skepticism and materialism could never be reconciled with this reigning Western religion, partly, because they display monistic rather than dualistic trends, and partly, because both abstain from otherworldly speculations of any kind. Montaigne, however, embraces a serene kind of skepticism, whereas Bacon adheres to the materialistic tradition. Both are preoccupied with observation, but Montaigne's position is conditioned by the skeptical belief that, in principle, nothing can be known. His reflections demonstrate his modest acceptance of things as they are, and no preoccupation with what they should or could be.

Bacon, on the other hand, had not only great worldly, but also grandiose scholarly ambitions. At the age of sixteen, he declared all of knowledge his province. A little later, he dreamt up the immodest resolution to renew all of science; including human conduct, in his budding *Advancement of Learning* (1606; Zeitlin 497). He never faltered in his conviction that his own capacities were perfectly apt for exploring these fields. He attributed to himself as an individual and to man in general an exalted position, whereas Montaigne considered both himself and man insignificant parts of an unknown and unknowable universal order.

Bacon's worldview harbours no doubt that observation and classification of empirical facts introduce order into the chaotic reality manifest in man's natural and social environment. While knowledge is for Montaigne part of the contemplative method employed to gain wisdom which ultimately only benefits himself, knowledge for Bacon means power, as he so memorably puts it his *Novum Organum*. He strongly believed that facts do lead to the

understanding of how things work. His observations have a purpose, a direction, and a goal. They are based on the optimistic, if somewhat naïve, assumption that accumulated knowledge leads to "progress", and the domination of nature, be it general or human.

Montaigne's worldview is resigned to the Heraclitean perception of constant change, where it would be futile to attempt finding permanent structures of any sort. All that matters is to be well-adjusted part of nature, and to make the best of what there is. How far his epistemological position differs from that of power-hungry Bacon can be measured in the following example: Montaigne is one of the first to acknowledge the Copernican revolution. But he views it as just one of many equally valid speculations. In typically relativistic fashion, he remarks that, perhaps, in a thousand years, some new discovery comes along to topple and replace it, just as Copernicus' own model had successfully toppled and replaced Ptolemaeus' theory, which had reigned supreme for many centuries, and kept on reigning, as it were, for quite some time (II.12, 570 a).

The basic assumptions of the two most famous French and English essay-writers have been shown to be diametrically opposed, despite superficial similarities in their respective emphasis on observation and experience, their common, classical heritage, and their predilection for unsystematic thought cloaked in equally unstructured form. Although Ben Jonson, in his play *Volpone*, affirms in 1605 that "all our English writers...will deign to steal out of [Guarini] almost as much as from Montaigne" (Upham 287), Bacon stole not much more than the title, and even that he could have found somewhere else (Zeitlin 500). Montaigne developed an endearing, unique philosophy of life through self-analysis, correlating his very own microcosm with the unknowable macrocosm. Bacon aimed at power in the Here & Now, and his inductive method bore fruit in guise of modern science. Jacob Zeitlin defines the fundamental differences between the two essayists like this: "Montaigne's purpose was the development of a theory of conduct or philosophy of life, his method was self-analysis, his presentation was elaborate, subtle, informal to the point of studious formlessness. Bacon's purpose was practical instruction, his method was that of the detached, impersonal observer, his presentation was concise, dogmatic, formal" (500). As far as influence goes, or rather the lack thereof, no one sums it up better than the great Montaigne scholar Pierre Villey, who he states polemically that the addition of no matter how many zeros still results in zero (1912, 82).

However, the French moralist did leave an immortal mark on nobody less than the dramatic genius Shakespeare. He apparently owned a copy of Florio's 1603 edition,[7] and he was personally acquainted with this most influential of Montaigne's translators. Both also enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Southampton in the 1590s (Lee 170). Textual and thematic correspondences have been identified notably in *Hamlet* (ca. 1602), and in the

Tempest (ca. 1611).[8] In a 1972 historical BBC video production about the Renaissance, Sir Kenneth Clarke takes Montaigne's influence on these two plays for granted, and even has one brief scene from either reenacted.[9]

The English essayists mentioned above share certain formal characteristics of their new prose medium. All, including Machiavelli, Bacon and Montaigne, adopt a host of classical and contemporary sources. Most, with the exception of Cornwallis, follow the more formal, didactic, and less personal style favoured by Machiavelli and Bacon. Later, in the 17th century, authors like the poet Arthur Cowley (1618-1667) and the diplomat William Temple (1628-1699) will adhere to Montaigne's way not only in form, but also in typical, moralistic content.

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Notes

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[1] The titles and the numbering systems of Montaigne's and Bacon's essays are often the same, which is very confusing. Since their respective editions used here are fully described at the top of my "Works Cited" list, all I add in the text will be an "M" and a "B" in front of any given essay number. I also abstain from adding the year of publication in front of any pagination, should it be required.

[2] For Montaigne's *Essays* in Florio's translation of 1603, see the great electronic edition in the open archives of the *Renascence* site at: <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/ren.htm#mont>. For electronic editions in the original French, see http://www.chez.com/trismegiste/es1ch00.htm> in note 3 below, or in the bibliography with other Montaigne editions.

[3] Here the original French text, "Au Lecteur":
C'est icy un livre de bonne foy, lecteur. Il t'advertit dés l'entree, que je ne m'y suis proposé aucune fin, que domestique et privee : je n'y ay eu nulle consideration de ton service, ny de ma gloire : mes forces ne sont pas capables d'un tel dessein. Je l'ay voüé à la commodité particuliere de mes parens et amis : à ce que m'ayans perdu (ce qu'ils ont à faire bien tost) ils y puissent retrouver aucuns traicts de mes conditions et humeurs, et que par ce moyen ils nourrissent plus entiere et plus vifve, la connoissance qu'ils ont eu de moy. Si c'eust esté pour rechercher la faveur du monde, je me fusse paré de beautez empruntees. Je veux qu'on m'y voye en ma façon simple, naturelle et ordinaire, sans estude et artifice : car c'est moy que je peins. Mes defauts s'y liront au vif, mes imperfections et ma forme naïfve, autant que la reverence publique me l'a permis. Que si j'eusse esté parmy ces nations qu'on dit vivre encore souz la douce liberté des premieres loix de nature, je t'asseure que je m'y fusse tres-volontiers peint tout entier, Et tout nud. Ainsi, Lecteur, je suis moy-mesme la matiere de mon livre : ce n'est pas raison que tu employes ton loisir en un subject si frivole et si vain. A Dieu donq. De Montaigne, ce 12 de juin 1580.

[4] There are at least two complete electronic editions of Bacon's *Essays*: one on the magnificent *Renascence Editions* site at <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/bacon.html> the other at <http://www.westegg.com/bacon/>.

[5] Some critics prefer Charles Cotton's 1685-1686 translation.

[6] Anthony Bacon's stay in Bordeaux is also mentioned in the 66 volume edition of the British *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885-1901. Sir Sidney Lee was one of its editors.

[7] The authenticity of Shakespeare's signature in the Florio copy extant at the British Museum was, and as far as we know still is, hotly debated. See Upham, 280.

[8] For parallel texts comparing Montaigne's with Shakespeare's words there and in numerous other plays, see meticulous compilations in Lee, Upham, and Villey. The most complete of these lists is Upham's (525-544), which is not limited to Shakespeare (23 examples), or Bacon (9), but also compares texts by Ben Jonson (6), Sir Walter Raleigh (11), and others.

[9] Towards the end of the approximately 60-minute show, Clarke very elegantly addresses Montaigne and his skeptical legacy for roughly five minutes, then bridges the transition from France to England with the reenactment of precisely these two Shakespeare scenes.

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"Desire is Death": Sin and Spiritual Loss in Shakespeare's Dark Lady Sonnets

Michael Petersen

"Thy body is all vice, and thy mind all virtue"
Samuel Johnson
Letter to Beau Clerk

It is safe to say that the speaker in Shakespeare's Dark Lady sonnets is often a liar. The lies he tells are always self-serving; to satisfy his desires, he exaggerates his mistress's beauty and cruelty, her fairness and ugliness. He "perjures" himself to satisfy his pride and lust, and to ease his feelings of insecurity, envy and jealousy. More broadly, the speaker is a sinner. Through his lies, and through the indulgence in those sins the lies facilitate, the speaker puts in danger his immortal soul.[1]

Sonnet 146 addresses the speaker's Christian concern for the immortal soul and his disgust for the body, moving "to a magnification of the spirit and a renunciation of the flesh (Hubler 108). However, we can also trace spiritual loss through the language and imagery of other Dark Lady sonnets, especially 127, 129, 137, 144, 151 and 152. In them, we see the accumulation of certain ideas, ones that describe or represent the ruination of the speaker's spirit through his body's indulgence in sins. These ideas are often communicated through the juxtaposition of words, such as "black"/ "fair," "black"/ "beauty," "fair"/ "foul," and "eye"/ "heart." Also, they are conveyed through sexual puns and innuendos, appeals to "heaven" and curses directed toward "hell" (in both sexual and spiritual senses), and claims for truth and honesty. Because the poems are often confessional in nature, we understand the reasons for the speaker's self-deceit, even, at times, see through his desire to sin against his "better nature." By the end of the sequence, in Sonnets 151 and 152, we witness the speaker's bitter self-realization and self-accusation, the recognition of his "perjury" and the fear that "desire is death" to his soul.

Beginning with Sonnet 127, the first of the Dark Lady poems, is instructive when discussing the sequence because it includes many of the words that inform the sonnets that

follow, including "black" (3 occurrences), "beauty" (6x), "fair" (3x), and "foul," as well as "slander" (2x), "shame," "false," (2x) "profane," and "disgrace." The words suggest much of the moral confusion and transgression that is to follow, much in the same way, we are reminded, as in the world of *Macbeth*: "Fair is foul, and foul is fair" (1.1.10). And like that play, the words establish thematic contrast for the remainder of the sonnet cycle's narrative.

"Black" in the sonnets refers to hair/skin color, but also to characteristics and behavior that are sinful or that inspire sin: "evil," "deceit," "slander," "treason," "pride," "lust," "hell (as both the "after-world" and a euphemism for female pudenda)," "madness," "cruelty," "plague," and the descriptions "dirty," "profane," "dark," and "foul," among others. (According to the OED, "black," as an adjective, noun, and verb, had (and has) dozens of different meanings, many of which could be applied to the Dark Lady or her behavior, including: "Having an extremely dark skin; strictly applied to negroes and negritos, and other dark-skinned races; often, loosely, to non-European races, little darker than many Europeans"; "Deeply stained with dirt; soiled, dirty, foul"; "Having dark or deadly purposes, malignant; pertaining to or involving death, deadly; baneful, disastrous, sinister"; "Foul, iniquitous, atrocious, horribly wicked"; and others too numerous to mention here.) "Black" is also used in these senses in 131, 132, and 147.

"Fair" in the sonnets, on the other hand, refers to both physical beauty and moral rectitude, variously meaning "honest," "pure," "righteous," and "kind." In its antonymous sense, we might connect it with those things that are "not black," such as heaven, Godliness, and love. "Fair" occurs in nine of the Dark Lady sonnets; the word is notably absent from 129 and 146, the poems most obsessed with the sins of the body.

"Foul" occurs once in 127: "Fairing the foul with art's false borrowed face" (6), but it's place is an important one, as important as the contrast of "black" and "fair" in lines 1-2 ("In the old age black was not counted fair, / Or if it were it bore not beauty's name"). The alliteration of line 6 connects "fair," "foul," "false," and "face," introducing, with the contrast of "black" and "beauty," the basic conflicts of the sequence: the issues of physical attractiveness and moral correctness ("fair"); offensiveness, impurity, personal and physical ugliness, as opposed to moral

incorrectness or dishonorable behavior ("foul"); the essential "lie" of the dark lady's appearance and behavior, the speaker's own ambitions and motivations, and the sonnets' personal relationships in general, including every character's infidelity ("false"); and the source of both physical attraction ("love" and "lust") and the lies and other sinful behavior that preoccupy the speaker ("face"). "Foul" occurs five other times. Along with "fair," it appears in Sonnet 152, nicely ending the sequence that begins, in 127, with a similar conflict of ideas.

Finally, "beauty," the most common word in Sonnet 127, is also a matter of contention for the speaker: "Here [in 127] beauty is understood as slandered-as falsified by the hand that has faired the foul. This is the hand that paints—at once the makeup artist and the poet, whose comparisons falsify beauty in the very process of preserving it (Freinkel 256-57). Generally speaking, this is the basis for many of the poet's attitudes toward the Dark Lady; he finds her compelling, yet he is disgusted by her behavior, and by extension, her physical self. He tells her flatly, "Thy face hath not the power to make love groan" (131). He must "falsify" beauty as he struggles to explain to himself his attraction to her. "Beauty," found in many of the Dark Lady sonnets, is, again, notably missing from 129 and 146.

To a lesser degree, the other words mentioned above function in similar ways, establishing the conflict of the speaker's feelings toward the Dark Lady and himself. One last word grouping that has been given much critical attention is "eye"/ "heart," a device Shakespeare uses often throughout the 154 sonnets. "Eye" is introduced in Sonnet 127, and one or both of the words appear in 17 of the 28 Dark Lady sonnets. As Booth has noted: "Difficulty occurs only when one tries to pin down the nature and extent of their relationship" (490). However, by examining one of the "eye"/ "heart" poems, Sonnet 137, we can make some generalizations regarding its application to the conflict of body and spirit.

The "eye"/ "heart" relationship, also significantly discussed in 133 and 141, concerns the division, in a physical and metaphorical sense, of the speaker's response to the Dark Lady. In 137, his eyes are blinded by Love and "corrupt by over-partial looks" (5) so that they "see not what they see" (2). His eyes "put fair truth upon so foul a face" (12), while his heart, which is

"tied" to the eyes' falsehood, knows that she is "the wide world's common place" (10). Yet, the heart errs, too (13). Vendler says that "erred" doesn't mean "deceived" here, but to have wandered morally, "err" taken in that sense of "errant" (581). From this we can say that Love is blind and foolish, making the speaker blind, too; his eyes, then, betray his ability to care for his spirit, and the desires of his body control his actions.

This is similar to 133, another "eye"/ "heart" poem, which discusses the triangle love affair involving the speaker, the young man and the Dark Lady. Line 5 reads, "Me from my self thy cruel eye hath taken," indicating the speaker's jealousy as the Young Man receives her attention. The line suggests that the speaker's body is divorced from his spiritual self. Two lines later, "Of him, my self, and thee I am forsaken" (7) indicates the mixture of the flesh and the spirit: the young man represents the presence of ideal, spiritual love, and the dark lady, that of physical love, and the poet is in the middle—he has lost both of them, and he is left with nothing. "And yet thou wilt, for I, being pent in thee, / Perforce am thine, and all that is in me" (13-14) ends the sonnet, demonstrating her power over him. He resides completely within her; she controls (or, rather, he allows her to control) all that is in him, body and soul.

The confusion regarding the functions of "eye"/ "heart" is somewhat clarified in 141. At least in this context, we can fix the function of the heart. The five wits (common wit, imagination, fantasy, estimation, and memory) and the five senses oppose the heart, which acts on behalf of the body's lust. The speaker recognizes that this makes him less than human: "the likeness of a man, / Thy proud heart's slave and vassal wretch to be" (11-12). Vendler notes that this describes "one who no longer retains his own self-governance by reason," something which clearly separates us from the bestial (596). This following of the "heart," (the body's desire) at the expense of the spirit is, perhaps, the most important conflict in the Dark Lady sequence.

The division of the body and the soul, dramatically rendered in the poem of "two loves" and "two spirits," Sonnet 144, is one of the oldest subjects in philosophy and literature. R. B. Rutherford, in speaking of *The Republic*, notes that the soul's "function is to rule, and that it is the principle of life [...]; although it is superior to the body, it is affected by the bodily activities and

can be influenced by its environment and 'made worse'" (215-16). Famously, it is also discussed in Plato's *Symposium*, and much of that work speaks to Shakespeare's entire sonnet cycle.

Although other speeches in the *Symposium* demonstrate far more complexity concerning the subject of love, it is the speech of Pausanias that explains the division most simply. Pausanias describes the difference between the "Love of Heavenly Aphrodite" and "Common Aphrodite's Love." The first concerns the older Urania, the motherless daughter of Uranus. The second, the younger Pandemos, was born of man and woman, Zeus and Dione. Urania

> whose descent is purely male (hence this love is for boys), is considerably older and therefore free from the lewdness of youth. That's why those who are inspired by her Love are attracted to the male: they find pleasure in what is by nature stronger and more intelligent. (Plato 14)

However, Pandemos's Love is

> common. As such, he strikes wherever he gets a chance. This, of course, is the love felt by the vulgar, who are attracted to women no less than to boys, to the body more than to the soul, and to the least intelligent partners, since all they care about is completing the sexual act. Whether they do it honorably or not is of no concern. That is why they do whatever comes their way, sometimes good, sometimes bad; and which one it is is incidental to their purpose. (Plato 14)

He continues: "Now you may want to know who counts as vile in this context. I'll tell you: it is the common, vulgar lover, who loves the body rather than the soul, the man whose love is bound to be inconstant, since what he loves is itself mutable and unstable" (Plato 14). Fineman states it more pointedly when he says "homosexuality is something higher than heterosexuality in the same way that man is something higher than woman" (273).

In Shakespeare's Sonnets, Plato's concepts are easily applied to the speaker's relationships with the Young Man and the Dark Lady. The homosexual nature of the poet's relationship with the Young Man is a matter of debate, but in Sahakian's definition of Platonic love it would, in this context, preclude the idea of homosexual love: "Platonic love is a philosophical or intellectual impulse to unite with absolute beauty; it is a person's ascension from sensual passion to being transported to the ecstatic state of contemplating the ideal" (40).

Whether the speaker ever succeeds in "ascension" is also a matter of debate. However, the speaker's relationship with the Dark Lady is clearly defined by Pausanias's explanation of the "common, vulgar lover." The two sections of Shakespeare's Sonnets can be seen to "fit" into

> the Neo-Platonic tradition of the [...] young man taken to be the image of spiritual and intellectual desire as opposed to the dark lady's embodiment of the material corporeality of lust. This would give a proper philosophic context to the different genders, since for Renaissance Neo-Platonism the love of man for woman is more vulgarly appetitive than that of man for man. (Fineman 57)

Leishman notes that Platonic love poetry, such as some of Shakespeare's Young Man sonnets, was, in fact, not strictly Platonic, but rather an expression of a Christianized Platonism. He states that for "Plato, the sole justification of visible and terrestrial beauty is that it can sometimes lead the soul to 'remember' those eternal 'forms' or 'ideas' of truth, beauty and goodness which it knew in its pre-natal state." However, there is "an absolute gulf between the pure 'forms,' the pure 'ideas,' [...] and the defiling and imprisoning body" (149). St. Paul, in Galatians 5:17, has a similar idea: "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other..." (qtd. in Hecht). Christian doctrine bridged this gap by presenting Christ as the Word made flesh. Therefore, says Leishman, poets were influenced by the belief "that the highest of all revelations of the divine had been in and through a *person*" (149-50).

The "two loves" and "two spirits" of Sonnet 144 show both the bridge and division of Christianized Platonism. Just like 142, with its bridge and division of "Love"/ "sin," "Hate"/ "sin," and "sinful loving" (1-2), 144 connects and divides "the better angel" and the "worser spirit" (3-4). Evans traces the origins of this sonnet to the stories of Vice and Virtue in the medieval Morality plays, evident in Shakespeare's time in Marlowe's "Good angel" and "Bad angel" who compete for Faustus's soul (262). Just as in a Morality play, "Angel" and "saint," "devil" and "fiend" populate this sonnet, fusing the Platonic division of soul and body, of love and lust, with grace and sin, the ideal and the vulgar.

Because it so nicely sums up the speaker's relationships, Sonnet 144 might be considered the center of the cycle:

> If all the sonnets except 144 were to disappear tomorrow, we would be left in possession not only of the story Shakespeare tries to tell—the account of a poet who, seeking to divide his love in two, directing all that is ennobling in it toward one object, all that is vile toward another, ends by suspecting his two loved one in each other's arms—but also the moral significance that story is intended to convey: a comment on the ambiguity of passion, the eternal danger that they best which man makes of the force drawing flesh to flesh can be corrupted by the worst to the worst. (Fielder 60-61)

The corruption of the flesh is best illustrated in the powerful Sonnet 129. George Bernard Shaw called it "the most merciless passage in English literature (qtd. in Giroux 175). No other sonnet better conveys the lingering feeling of sinfulness and the sense of spiritual (and sexual) waste and death, "the waste of one's spiritual qualities in an unspiritual activity" (Muir 82). The behavior pursued and then bitterly regretted is purely bestial, precipitating spiritual loss; the poem is filled with imagery concerning the body's desires overpowering and then demoralizing the spirit. The first two lines, given here in reverse order, sum up the struggle: "lust in action, in a waste of shame, is th'expense of spirit" (1-2). (The context of the word "spirit" is clarified by Evans: "'Spirit' most probably refers to one or more of the 'spirits' (animal (associated with the brain), vital (with the heart), and natural (with the liver)), highly subtle fluids or vapours, which were thought of as acting as intermediaries between the body and soul" (246).) Nearly every verb or adjective in this sonnet describes the way to the soul's damnation: "waste," "shame," "lust," "action," "perjured," "murd'rous," "bloody," "blame," "savage," "extreme," "rude," "cruel," "despised," "mad," and "hell." Words describing sexual action (or reaction) as lustful, and, therefore, sinful, are also abundant: "expense," "waste," (as well as the pun "waist"), "lust," "action," "enjoyed," "swallowed," "had, having, and in quest to have," "heaven," and "hell." There may be a sexual connection with "perjured" as well. Evans cites Booth regarding Sonnet 151: the Latin phrase *penis erectus non habet conscientiam* might be suggested in Shakespeare's use of the word "conscience" in 151.1. Evans believes it may also apply in 129, as

the act of self-perjury, a sin against the ennobling "conscience," allows for the sin of lust (246). Finally, if this poem concerns spiritual loss and death, we might make a connection with the Elizabethan slang meaning of "to die," that is, according to the OED, "To experience a sexual orgasm," clearly applicable in this context.

With these images, Shakespeare demonstrates spiritual loss through carnal indulgence: "The fact that in the act of orgasm a male was thought to expend his vital spirit and so to shorten his life becomes for Shakespeare representative of the larger loss of self that unregulated desire involves" (Schoenfeldt 311). Richard Levin, in an interesting essay regarding "The Evolution of Emotion in Sonnet 129," traces the speaker's physical and emotional response in the sonnet. He states, "The emotion does not discharge in an orderly sequence of descending steps, but through abrupt fits and starts gradually decreasing in impact, as would be expected of a person undergoing this particular kind of experience" (65). As part of this process, Levin points out that the speaker "never explicitly directs his anger at himself for succumbing, but throughout displaces it on the abstraction "lust," and so manages to avoid acknowledging his own responsibility" (67). However, through the progress of the Sonnets' narrative, the speaker will begin to acknowledge his responsibility, and this becomes a matter of serious concern in Sonnet 146.

Like 129, 146 is not addressed to the dark lady, nor anyone else. It seems to be a continuation of 144's dual forces, the "better angel" and the "worser spirit." Like 147, it concerns "desire is death," spiritual sickness, and "sickly appetite." It does not rely on the use of imagery, such as "black" or "foul," or through sexual puns or innuendo which suggest playfulness or contempt. Instead, it is unique in the Sonnets for its explicit discussion of conventional Christian doctrine, directly stating the consequences of indulgence in the body and neglect of the soul. Like 144, 146 reflects "the poet's condemnation of the physical love—mere fleshly appetite—for the woman and his adulation of his spiritualized Platonic love for the man" (Krieger 128). But more to the point, like 144, it concerns "angels" and "devils," but here they are internalized as conflicting forces serving the body and the soul. "Poor soul, the center of my sinful earth" begins the sonnet, and we are immediately struck by the directness of the discussion.

The soul here holds the central position, but it is surrounded by "earth," that is, the needs and desires of the flesh, which are now and always "rebel pow'rs" against the (supposed) controlling force, the soul. The poem presents two alternatives: "either the soul feeds on the body or the body feeds on the soul. In the latter case, all is reduced to the flesh and dies with it" (Krieger 126). The self-interested body, instead of making itself lean for the soul, makes itself fat for worms. However, if the body fed the soul, then death would be starved with the worms: "So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men, / And death once dead, there's no more dying then" (13-14) (This reference to "death's death = eternal life" is reminiscent of other similar discussions, those in the Bible, of course, but also in other literature, including Chaucer's "The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale," and Donne's Holy Sonnet 10: "And death shall be no more; death, thou shalt die" (14)). By confronting his body's mortality and his soul's immortality, Sonnet 146 prepares the speaker for the bitterness of Sonnets 151 and 152.

Sonnet 151 begins, "Love is too young to know what conscience is." Like the rest of this poem, it is not merely vulgar; it suggests the speaker is deliberately, willfully sinful. As in 129, the speaker here gives in completely to his bodily urges, admitting that his love for her is nothing but lust. However, there is progress: line 4 shows that the fault lies not within the mistress, whom he has commonly blamed, nor within a spiritual force, such as "fiend" or "devil," not within an abstraction, as in 129's obsession with "lust," but within himself. Lines 5-6 ("For thou betraying me, I do betray / My nobler part to my gross body's treason") place blame on the mistress for her betrayal of the flesh, but the remainder of the line shows that the *speaker* "betrays," too, and not merely a physical relationship devoid of spiritual value, but the speaker's "nobler part," his soul. The third quatrain involves a subtext of erection and ejaculation where "Shakespeare subordinates his soul to his body, and his body, synecdochically represented by his penis, is made subservient to the mistress to whom the poem is addressed" (Hecht). Muir calls this poem merely bawdy (87); however, it also shows the speaker resolving his inner conflict, even as he serves his body and ignores his soul.

Sonnet 152 finishes the cycle (except for 153 and 154, which are not relevant to this discussion). This sonnet includes many of the words that thematically link the sequence: "truth" and "honest," "fair" and "foul," "perjured," "love," and "eye." The second quatrain begins the shift from "the poet's bitter indictment from the Dark Lady's inconstancy to the poet's complete moral bankruptcy in having for so long allowed himself to reiterate 'so foul a lie' against the 'truth'"(Evans 271). The speaker realizes the futility of his previous attempts to address the dark lady and that he has lost all moral integrity: "I am perjured most, / For all my vows are oaths but to misuse thee, / And all my honest faith in thee is lost" (6-8). The speaker recognizes his lie, and, significantly, he is willing to admit his sin of lying (his perjury) and of being controlled by his lust, his vanity, and his pride. "At the end there is no self-deception left, no excuses about the agency of others or mistake or blindness. There is something heroic about sonnet 152, as the speaker abandons all defenses and accepts the degrading equation of 'love' and clear-eyed perjury" (Vendler 625).

The ideas in these poems are firmly set in the darker aspects of human nature. As both Hubler (109) and Frye (52) point out, there is nothing in the Dark Lady sonnets of "store," "increase," of rebirth or regeneration. The concern in Young Man sonnets for the immortality of the subject through procreation and the verse itself is missing from Sonnets 127-152, where the imagery is "black," "foul," and, perhaps most frighteningly, sterile. As the speaker commits sins against himself, there is no discussion of "ideal" love, of marriage, or of reproduction, but of only the speaker's preoccupation with transgressions which are the sins of the body and the death of the soul.

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Notes

[1] or "spirit"—I will use the words interchangeably

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Tales from Shakespeare: Quality Children's Literature or Typical Gender Stereotyping

Lyndee Hoiland[1]

Tales from Shakespeare is a creative adaptation of seven of Shakespeare's most well known plays. These seven plays, *Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Macbeth, Julius Caesar, The Winter's Tale,* and *The Tempest* are presented by Marcia Williams in a comic strip style. There are three parts to each play: actual sections of text from the plays, which are spoken by the actors, the plot of the play, which is told underneath the pictures, and the marginalia, which is used to represent the spectators' and groundlings' comments and reactions to the plays.

Although this children's version employs a variety of creative elements in order to make it exciting and appealing to children, the important element of gender stereotyping was overlooked. The margins of each page are meant to represent the spectators' and groundlings' reactions to the play and surroundings, but the tone and language used by these characters reinforces the gender stereotypes that are still present in modern society. Although gender stereotyping is less prevalent in children's literature and society, than in the past, some little girls still think they have to play with dolls and some little boys feel that it is only acceptable for them to play with trucks. These children believe in these gender stereotypes because that is what they are exposed to through children's literature, other forms of media, and adult interaction and observation. This negative reinforcement is occurring in children's books that should be expanding children's knowledge and insight of the world, rather than limiting it through exposure of subliminal and sarcastic references to stereotypical gender roles. I plan to explore the stereotypical references of gender roles in *Tales from Shakespeare* while proving that these stereotypes have the ability to affect the decisions that young children make in regards to their likes, dislikes, and futures as adults.

As one reads the marginalia in the *Tales from Shakespeare*, it is evident that the typical gender roles are being reinforced without the children's knowledge. These captions are written in

a witty and sarcastic manner that many middle-school-aged students would not even recognize. Students of any age would most likely just giggle, laugh, or poke their friends in regards to the witty comments and thoughts, which continues to reinforce the stereotypical gender roles that are present in this variation. The stereotyping of gender roles occurs in two main themes throughout this variation. The most common reinforcement of gender roles is the characterization of women as passive and submissive human beings. The other gender stereotype that occurs is the classification of women as evil and wicked human beings. These themes are present in every play, which destroys the enjoyment and educational value of the actual plays presented in the variation.

After reading the book, I was amazed that it was edited by a woman and published in 1998. Although it has been proven that women authors tend to write more sexist material than males because male authors are more cautious of what they write (Collins, Dellman, and Ingoldsby 285). One would think that gender stereotyping was a concept of the past, and that women have made strides in regards to gender equality and the elimination of simple stereotypes, but this advancement is not seen in this children's variation. This variation of Shakespeare's plays undermines all the work and studies that have been done to eliminate gender stereotyping in children's literature. The marginalia in *Tales from Shakespeare* teaches little girls that they are to be passive, submissive, and evil, while it teaches little boys that little girls should act in this manner and that they may instruct them to act like this.

The first example of gender stereotyping occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*. When Juliet chooses not to tell her father about her marriage to Romeo, a spectator comments, "Discipline is what she needs" (Williams 3). This comment is teaching children that girls must be punished or "disciplined" for making their own plans for their lives. The theme of women as passive and submissive human beings continues through the marginalia when two husbands are spotted telling their wives to, "Put a sock in it" and "Stop crying," as they weep about the tragic play (Williams 4). This same situation is also present in *Hamlet* when one husband tells another spectator that his wife is not "with him" because she is crying over the tragedy and he is embarrassed by her

behavior. The fact that three different husbands were seen telling their wives to stop crying tells children that it is acceptable for men to tell women what to do and that it is unacceptable for women to show any emotion.

The theme of passivity and submission continues throughout the seven plays, though this type of gender stereotyping was most evident in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. These stereotypes glared the reader in the face as one read the marginalia. When Helena told Demetrius that she was his spaniel one man thought, "I wish my wife was as obedient as a spaniel" (Williams 10). This thought teaches children how to think in a narrow minded fashion and that women must be obedient to their masters, which is their husbands, just like a trained dog. The theme of passivity was also evident when another spectator reflects on the scene when Oberon found Tatiana asleep and sprinkled the juice on her eyelids, and thought, "Just like you, she's quite sweet asleep" (Williams 10). This thought reinforces the idea that women are to be seen and not heard, which in turn teaches children that girls should keep quiet and not have opinions.

The last time I checked we were still living in the twenty-first century, but after reading this children's book, I was unsure. The common theme of women as passive and submissive human beings expands into *Macbeth*. The marginalia once again reinforces the concept that women are to keep quiet and show no emotion. During the scene when Banquo's ghost appears a spectator tells a man sitting in a gallery next to him to tell his "missus" that it is just a play, as the wife clutches her husband in a fearful manner. Missus? This term is so outdated and demeaning, the author must come to the realization that women are no their own person with their own identities, not just the wife of Mr. X and that this wording affects the gender roles that children are in the process of developing. Children must be taught and exposed to material that introduces women as their own person rather than a man's possession. Children's literature must grow and mature with the times because women are now even choosing to keep their own last name after marriage. Married women, choosing to keep their own sir name, what is this world coming to?

The advancement and elimination of gender stereotypes in society must also be reflected in the children's literature that is introduced in and out of the classroom. Children are not only

taught to view women as passive and submissive in this variation, but also as the wicked and evil sex. This theme was especially evident in *Macbeth*.

Although Lady Macbeth was not the perfect wife, she was not an evil monster, either, especially since her husband must also be held accountable for his actions. In several places in the margins of this book the spectators comment that Lady Macbeth is even more wicked than the witches, and that she is a "typical woman" because she says one thing and means another, when she encouraged her husband to kill Duncan, while playing the part of the perfect hostess. When Lady Macbeth kills herself, a male spectator comments, "That'll teach her to be naughty" (Williams 19). These comments in the margins are a part of the text and are read and heard by children, which gives them the impression that women are indeed the evil and wicked sex and should be feared and punished by men. Although Lady Macbeth's ambition played a part in her and her husband's downfall, it isn't necessary to insinuate that she "had it coming" in a piece of literature designed to be read by children.

The gender stereotyping that occurs in *Tales from Shakespeare* is one way to ensure that history will indeed repeat itself. This children's variation reinforces the age-old thinking that women are the weaker sex. By the age of three years, children are able to distinguish between themselves and the opposite sex (Turner-Bowker 462). Children develop definite gender role concepts by the age of five and it is important for adults and teachers to become aware of the conscious and unconscious messages that are present in children's literature (Turner-Bowker 462). The literature presented to children must challenge these gender stereotypes rather than reinforce them in order for children to grow into open minded adults (Skelton 39). It is important to refrain from introducing picture books like *Tales from Shakespeare* to children because they are still in the process of developing their own sex-role identities and are easily influenced by outside forces (Allen, Allen, and Sigler 67). This development of sex-role identity influences how they are treated by others, how they treat others, and how they view themselves (Collins, Dellman, and Ingoldsby 278). The sex-role patterns that are developed during these young years usually remain stable throughout their adult lives (Collins, Dellman, and Ingoldsby 278). As a

result, one must exercise caution when selecting books for children to be sure there are no references to gender stereotyping.

Storytelling and the reading of children's literature has been a way to teach children what is acceptable and what is to be accepted in a particular culture for decades. The gender identity roles of children often take form from oversimplified gender role stereotypes, like the ones present in *Tales from Shakespeare* (Demarest and Kortenhaus 220). Children in turn use these behaviors that are emulated in the literature they read. Many studies have been conducted to analyze the amount of gender stereotyping that is occurring in children's literature. Although girls are being used in titles and pictures and are shown in more instrumental activities more frequently that the past, they still appear as passive dependent as fifty years ago, which was evident in *Tales from Shakespeare*. Women in children's literature are generally shown with a lower status, less power, less privilege, and less control, and are only able to gain these attributes through the men in their lives (Turner-Bowker 462). Weitzmann, Eifler, Hokada, and Ross (1972) conducted a hallmark study on gender stereotyping in children's literature using Caldecott award winning picture books, Newbury award winning books, and Little Golden books was conducted by, which concluded that women were usually seen as passive, immobile and were usually domestic workers, fairies, or witches (Turner-Bowker 463). This lack of power and privilege was evident in the marginalia in *Tales from Shakespeare*, as the women spectators were even unable to cry without the permission of their husbands. Males, on the other hand, are also depicted in a stereotypical manner, but it is usually positive and sought-after as they are often in power and leadership roles, or are seeking adventure (Turner-Bowker 463).

A variety of studies have concluded that children at a young age are still maturing and forming their opinions about genders, and it is unwise to introduce material that contains gender stereotypes to children. It is clear that gender stereotypes found in children literature do indeed reinforce the children's perception about their attitudes toward gender and "gender specific behavior." In and out of the classrooms it is necessary for literature to be multicultural, inclusive, and gender bias free in order to ensure the success and equality of each student. Although

children's literature still contains gender stereotypes, it is our job as educators to select books that are free from any gender stereotypes because they are typically inaccurate and over simplified.

As a pre-service teacher, gender stereotypes are not the concepts I want my students to take away from literature. Despite the creative layout and form of the children's variation of Shakespeare's plays, *Tales from Shakespeare*, I would not use it in my classroom. The language and connotations made in the margins of this book were enough to set the women's movement back 50 years, which is unfortunate. Children's literature should introduce new and exciting ideas, like Shakespeare's plays, while at the same time expose the children to a bounty of new and exciting ideas and concepts rather than limiting the content to gender stereotypes like those introduced in *Tales from Shakespeare*.

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Notes

[1] Editor's Note: At her presentation, the author distributed copies of the illustrations discussed.

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"We're All Undone Now"[1]: Fallen Womanhood and the Politics of Feminization in Aphra Behn's *The City-Heiress*

Christopher D. Lozensky

"I am undone!" These are, as Cathy N. Davidson has noted, "the precise words that in seduction novels typically signal a woman's fall" (xviii). However, long before women were being seduced to death in the female-authored works of sentimental fiction that became best-sellers in the post-colonial United States, female playwrights in Britain were dramatizing similar scenarios during the Restoration. Written and performed in 1682 London, Aphra Behn's play *The City-Heiress; or Sir Timothy Treat-all* includes numerous characters who varyingly voice what Davidson further describes as "the plaintive cry of the seduced woman" (xviii). This list of fallen characters includes not only the three heroines of the play, Charlot, Diana, and Lady Galliard, but also one of the main male figures—Sir Timothy Treat-all.

In a play that openly lampoons the Whig party, it is important to note that Sir Timothy is the only Whig in the entire cast. He is portrayed as a seditious old knight, who keeps open House for Commonwealths (Behn, Dramatis Personae 203), essentially whoring himself by using his money and his assets to procure allies against the monarchy and its supporters. Recently, Annette Kreis-Schinck and Derek Hughes have addressed the fallen status held by the female characters in *The City-Heiress*. However, Hughes extends this discussion of fallen womanhood to Sir Timothy Treat-all by pointing out the Whig's related fallen position. "Behn," Hughes states, "concentrates as much on the Tories' treatment of women as on their treatment of the great Whig villain, indicating that the two are deeply linked, and that the mentality that humiliates the villain is identical with that which conquers the heroines" (149). Though it is Sir Timothy's association with masculine, public, Whig party politics that establishes him in his villainous position, his final fall is accomplished through a series of feminizations. These feminizations take place as the governmental politics of the masculine public domain blur with the sexual politics of the feminine private domain. Elaine Tuttle Hansen has defined feminization as a reference "to a dramatized

state of social, psychological, and discursive crisis wherein men occupy positions and/or perform functions already occupied and performed, within a given text and its contexts, by women or normatively assigned by orthodox discourses to Woman" (16).[2] Despite the masculine façade his political affiliation provides, Sir Timothy ends the play in the ultimate feminized position—married and undone. However, Sir Timothy meets a better ending than his fallen female counterparts do. Thus, in the case of a political comedy like *The City-Heiress*, women fall farther than the villainous male Whig.

The opening scene of *The City-Heiress* is set in a London street, and it is within this public, masculine domain that the central conflict of the play is established. Tom Wilding—the young, rakish, protagonist—is trying to obtain money from his uncle, Sir Timothy Treat-all. Ignoring Tom's pleas, Sir Timothy accuses his nephew of being corrupted by the Tory party, and refuses to give Tom any money. Though Tom has written proof that Sir Timothy's estate should one day be his, Sir Timothy has concealed the documents and will not turn them over to his greedy nephew (1.1.1. 204-7). Asserting his masculine, political superiority, Sir Timothy announces a plan to permanently displace his nephew, saying:

> My Integrity has been known ever since Forty
> one; I bought three Thousand a year in Bishops Lands,
> as 'tis well known, and lost it at the King's return; for
> which I'm honour'd by the City. But for his farther
> Satisfaction, Consolation, and Destruction, know, That I
> Sir *Timothy Treat-all*, Knight and Alderman, do think my
> self young enough to marry, d'ye see, and will wipe your
> Nose with a Son and Heir of my own begetting, and so
> forth. (1.1.1. 207; original emphasis)

Sir Timothy's speech is significant for several reasons. He affirms his own integrity, and is confident in the political honor that is afforded to him through his political position. Moreover, Sir Timothy decides that the best way to rid himself of his parasitic Tory nephew is to marry a woman who will, in theory, provide him with a new heir. This clash between two male characters over party politics in the masculine public domain is drawn into the sexual politics of the

feminine private domain when Treat-all plans to use marriage and sexuality—specifically procreation—as a means of disenfranchising his nephew. If this scenario suggests that women will become pawns in the schemes of the male characters, this unsavory outcome is assured when Tom counters his uncle's threat with one of his own, saying: "I'll cuckold you my self in pure Revenge" (1.1.1. 208). Like Sir Timothy's plan to beget a new heir, Tom's outburst is spoken without any regard for the potentially detrimental consequences such behavior will have on the women involved.

Here, it is important to recall Hughes' point that there is a connection between how Sir Timothy and the female characters are treated by Tom (149). Sir Timothy's self-assessment of his own integrity is evidence of his internalization of what Robert Markley describes as "masculinist conceptions of virtue and honor" (131). As a male character of political standing, it is unsurprising that Sir Timothy asserts his own respectability. But he is not the only character in the play who is concerned with achieving and maintaining an honorable reputation. Rather, concerns of virtue, honor, and reputation weigh heavily on the female characters, who divide their time on stage between asserting their own respectability and lamenting the loss of it.

Like Sir Timothy, all three of the main female characters are closely associated with Tom Wilding. Upon the recent death of her father, Charlot, the city-heiress cited in the play's title, has inherited immense wealth. Though she truly loves Tom, he only wants to marry her for her money. Like Charlot, Diana, Tom's lower-class kept woman, is genuinely in love with Tom, but marriage is not on her agenda. Rather, Diana wants Tom to marry a rich wife, whose wealth Diana can share by being Tom's mistress. Also in love with Tom is Lady Galliard, a young, wealthy widow, who, despite her better judgment, cannot help but succumb to Tom's vengeful seduction. Thus, much of the play's comic appeal is derived from Tom's attempts to juggle the three women.

Still, one has to wonder what it is about Tom that the women find so irresistible, especially since, as Derek Hughes points out, "Behn's Tory blades are a motley crew, bullying, coarse, and manipulative, and the play constitutes Behn's greatest exploration of the ugly side of

Cavalier glamour" (147). However ugly, Tom's rakish Tory virtues are no less glamorized. Robert Markley offers further insight, saying that, for the Tory males, "wenching, drinking, and spending money are 'natural' manifestations of their inherent virtue" (117-8). Markely's point is well-taken, but it should be added that there is a connection between how Tom's Whig uncle, Sir Timothy, and how the three women, Charlot, Diana, and Lady Galliard, react to Tom's Tory virtues. Though Tom finds temporary satisfaction in wenching, drinking, and spending money, his unruliness is precisely what causes him to fall out of favor with his uncle. Sir Timothy finds nothing attractive in Tom's actions, and it is when Sir Timothy decides not to fund his nephew's expensive lifestyle any longer that he incurs Tom's vengeance. The opposite is true of the women. To be sure, all three women chide Tom for the careless, abusive ways in which he treats them, but they all admit to being attracted to his rakish personality. Late in the play, for instance, Lady Galliard confesses to Tom: "Your very Faults, how gross soe'er to me, / Have something pleasing in 'em" (4.4.1. 265). Intriguingly, because she allows herself to be dominated by Tom's Tory boldness, Lady Galliard, like the other women, is set-up to have her reputation ruined. Sir Timothy, by contrast, is made to fall, not because he gives in to Tom's rakish charms, but because he resists them. It is one of the play's ultimate comic ironies that, though the Whig villain and the women react differently to Tom's Tory virtues, all four characters are undone by them. Though Sir Timothy comes to a more promising end than any of the women do, he is no less feminized by the fact that his nephew treats him just as harshly as he treats Lady Galliard, Charlot, and Diana. But before the significance of Sir Timothy's feminization and fall can be fully appreciated, the positions and functions occupied by the women in the play must be considered.

Behn's portrayal of women in *The City-Heiress* is closely tied to conceptions of "Woman" that were prevalent in the socio-cultural context of Restoration England. As Annette Kreis-Schinck points out, perceptions of women were informed by the theater, itself. She writes:

> Given her innate depravity, woman is always already akin to the theater. She is seen as a dissembler, never revealing her true personality, always wearing a veil or mask. Thus she is a born actress, a natural whore—someone who constantly

> plays a role, who play acts. This ideological construct ascribes to women in general a histrionic personality. Only by virtue of patriarchal authority and control are the three stages of womanhood ensured: whether as maid, wife, or widow, a woman, whoever she is, must always be under the regime of a man. When that authority slackens, the fourth stage invariably sets in: that of the whore. (Prologue 28)

Adapting Hansen's terminology, it may be said that in *The City-Heiress*, the main "positions" and/or "functions" held by "Woman" are those of the fallen woman (the whore) and her presumed opposite: the wife (16). According to the paradigm Kreis-Schinck describes, the ultimate stage of a woman's life cycle is whoredom. However, the women in *The City-Heiress* defy this cultural model. Each experiences a state of fallen womanhood, but no one ends the play as a whore. Instead, all three women are rehabilitated when they appear in the final act as either already married or engaged to be wed. Kreis-Schinck suggests that it is when women are without the control of a male authority that they become fallen women—whores. In the play, Tom Wilding makes a similar claim, suggesting that Lady Galliard can use her money "to buy a Governour, commonly / call'd a Husband" (4.4.1. 263). By equating the terms "governor" and "husband," Tom shows that, though the boundaries between the masculine public domain and the feminine private domain blur, men still dominate both arenas. Public governmental and private sexual politics merge, but not to the advantage of the female characters. Rather, it is because all three women are governed by same man, Tom, that they reach their fallen states, damage their reputations, and must reclaim their reputability through marriage. Like Sir Timothy, the women describe themselves—their honor and their loss of it—in accordance with "masculinist conceptions of virtue and honor" (Markley 131). Thus, female characters internalize, sexualize, and ultimately feminize the masculine language of party politics by using it describe their experiences in the feminine domain.

When Charlot is introduced at the opening of the second act, the first words she says are: "Enough, I've heard enough of *Wilding's* Vices, / to know I am undone" (2.2.1. 219; original emphasis). Though, near the end of the play, Charlot claims herself to be "a Maid of Honour"

(5.5.4. 290), she makes her first appearance on stage admitting that her reputation has been lost. "Reputation!" she cries, "that I forfeited when I ran away / with your Friend, Mr. *Wilding*" (2.2.1. 219; original emphasis). When she learns that Tom is broke, and rightly suspects that he is marrying her for her money, she insists they cannot wed unless he proves to her that he, indeed, is entitled to his uncle's estate and does not need her wealth. Tom grudgingly agrees to collect proof of his inheritance, but Charlot is determined to marry him, even though she knows that Tom is probably planning to line his pockets with her money, and that he has been sleeping around with Diana and Lady Galliard behind her back (2.1. 219-26). Of course, by the end of the play, Tom obtains the writings, and Charlot resolves to marry him. Ironically, marrying the man she loves only leaves Charlot with more to lose, since Tom's wild whims may one day cost her more than her net wealth and personal worth can afford.

Though Charlot is the first woman to cry undoing, her fateful oration is soon echoed by Lady Galliard. Tom does not believe Lady Galliard when she says she loves him, and he decides that the only way she can prove otherwise is by having sex with him. "My Word!" Galliard exclaims, "and have I promis'd then to be / A Whore? A Whore! Oh, let me think of that! / A Man's Convenience, his leisure Hours, his Bed of Ease, / To loll and tumble on at idle times; The Slave, the Hackney of his lawless Lust! / A loath'd Extinguisher of filthy Flames, Made use of, and thrown by — Oh, infamous!" (4.4.1. 266). Unmoved, Tom reasserts that she is nothing but a false woman (4.4.1. 266). Again, Galliard's response is emphatic: "Believe it if you will," she says, "Yes, let me be false, / unjust, ungrateful, any thing but a -- Whore --" (4.4.1. 266). Nevertheless, she eventually gives in to Tom's demands, and disappears offstage to have sex with him. In the next scene, Galliard reappears fully immersed in her role as the Fallen Woman, crying: "Undone, undone!" (4.4.2. 270). Though clearly angry with herself, she cannot find the strength to cast Tom out of her life. Instead, she sighs, "Ah, I confess I am but feeble Woman" (4.4.2. 272). This confession counteracts the innumerable times throughout the play in which she defends her own virtue and honor. Addressing this issue, Robert Markley explains: "Money, for the widow is not a problem; she is financially free to act upon her desires if she can

free herself from the masculinist conceptions of virtue and honor that she has internalized" (131-2). Even though she satisfies her sexual desires, Lady Galliard, as Markley further explains, "seems more a victim of circumstance and of the threat of a lost reputation than a woman who has attained what she wants" (135). The only way Lady Galliard can prevent her reputation from being permanently marred is by getting married. This is, of course, precisely what she does—but not to Tom. Instead, she ends up being sexually harassed by another rakish Tory male, Sir Charles Meriwill, who bullies her into agreeing to marry him (4.4.2. 273-7). Lady Galliard is completely dominated by Tom and Sir Charles, and for this reason, Annette Kreis-Schinck says that "Lady Galliard deserves to be called the most pitiful and wretched character within Behn's entire collection of female dramatis personae" (*Women* 119). Though Lady Galliard's public respectability remains intact, an unhappy marriage seems a high price to pay for the preservation of her honorable reputation.

A similar end is met by Diana, who ends up unhappily married to Sir Timothy Treat-all. As Sir Timothy's wife, it is fitting that her fate should be the one that is most closely related to her husband's feminization. In addition to obtaining proof of his inheritance, Tom finds evidence that his uncle has been involved in treasonous acts against the king, and places Sir Timothy in danger of being hanged for his crimes (5.5.1. 282). But capital punishment is not what is in store for Sir Timothy. Instead, Tom convinces Diana to disguise herself as Charlot (2.2.2. 229-31). Thinking to add insult to injury, Sir Timothy marries the phony Charlot, without realizing that she is actually Tom's lower-class lover (5.5.5. 294). Though Diana goes along with the marriage, she is displeased by the fact that she must give up Tom's kisses for "A hollow pair of thin blue wither'd lips" (5.5.3. 286). Though Derek Hughes aptly suggests that Behn sympathizes most with Diana's side of the issue (148), he also fails to point out the striking similarity between the fate Sir Timothy escapes and the one he and Diana collectively meet.

Despite Tom Wilding's ranting, Sir Timothy is spared from being hanged in the literal sense. Diana, on the other hand, describes the process best when she tells Sir Timothy that "Marriage is a sort of Hanging, Sir; and I was / only making a short Prayer before Execution"

(5.5.3. 287). Her analogy is fitting, since upon taking—or being forced to take—a husband, a woman in Behn's London essentially ties a conjugal knot in her own noose. Given that all three women end up in less-than ideal marriages, one might easily argue that they are as good as dead. Literally and figuratively, Tom ends the play on top, and Derek Hughes is correct in saying that "Diana's fate creates a new version of a familiar Behn formulation: the political triumph of the men is inseparable from the sacrifice of the woman" (148-9). When Sir Timothy realizes that he has married Diana, not Charlot, he, like the women, cries, "Undone, undone!" (5.5.5. 297). Treat-all sounds like a fallen woman, but his nephew treats him like a wife. At the conclusion of the play, Tom says to his uncle: "I'll propose fairly now; if you'll be generous / and pardon all, I'll render your Estate back during Life, [...] I have a Fortune here that will maintain me, / Without so much as wishing for your Death" (5.5.5. 298). Though Sir Timothy's days of whoring himself for the Whig party are over, his relationship with his nephew leaves him no less feminized. By dominating Sir Timothy's finances, Tom treats his uncle, not like a whore, but like a wife. Sir Timothy remains under Tom's masculine monitoring, but he is by no means alone. Charlot consigns herself to Tom's governance in marriage, Diana insists that she will cuckold Sir Timothy by keeping Tom as a lover, and Lady Galliard seems certain that she will love Tom forever. One character aptly describes the bleak situation, saying, "we're all / undone now" (5.5.4. 290). While marriage may restore and preserve everyone's reputation for a time, it also makes matters worse, especially for the female characters, who must manage their lives according to the discretion of their governing husbands.

Thus, the great Whig villain is spared from being hanged for treason, and is, instead, laughed-at for inadvertently marrying a common woman. However displeased Sir Timothy may be by the union, Diana, like Charlot and Lady Galliard, has far more to lose. Sir Timothy may end the play alive, but his wife, like the other women, might as well be dead. Of the three women, only Charlot is likely to be "happily married," but even her happiness is a slim probability since Behn does not leave her audience with any real reason to believe that Tom will not waste his wife's wealth on wenching and drinking. Though feminization blurs the boundaries

between the masculine public domain and the feminine private domain, and confuses the distinction between governmental and sexual politics, privilege is still assigned to the male side of the binary, and women are ultimately submerged by their masculine managers. *The City-Heiress* is a political comedy designed to ridicule the Whig party, but the joke really ends up being on the female characters. From the beginning of the play to its conclusion, Charlot, Diana, and Lady Galliard are haplessly caught up in and mastered by men's political agendas. Though Aphra Behn claims that *The City-Heiress* is "in every part true Tory! Loyal all-over!" (Dedication 200), this loyalty costs her female characters more than even her Whig villain has to pay. By glorifying Tory politics, Behn leaves sex and gender inequalities unchallenged—inequalities that continue to leave us all undone.

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Notes

[1] Adapted from a line spoken by Mrs. Clacket in *The City-Heiress*, 5.5.4. 290. All references to the play are from an edited, electronic version of the text that is available at the *Electronic Text Center, U of Virginia*. Parenthetical in-text citations are adapted from links on the Table of Contents page at <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/BehCity.html>, and indicate the act, scene, and page number of the original source on which the quoted material appears. Further information about specific electronic references is listed in the works cited.

[2] Though Hansen employs "feminization" in reference to medieval texts, specifically the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, her definition of the term can be extended to address later works as well.

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Making a Space for Quaker Women Writers - 1650-1700

Sarah Mandl

"They are treated as a kind of subordinate beings, and not as part of the human species."
Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*

The editors of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, second edition, suggest that their anthology is the only one that demonstrates Virginia Woolf's claim in *A Room of One's Own* that "books continue each other" (xxx). The assumption is that by demonstrating Woolf's claim, the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* gives the most complete account of the evolution of female literary history. However, I believe they left out an important link in the developing history of British female writers: Quaker women. Quaker women writers left an indelible mark on the political, social, and educational state of Britain in the seventeenth century and therefore deserve a place in feminist literary history and in anthologized British literature.

To arrive at this conclusion, one must question anthological standards, outline how Quaker women did affect the political, social, and educational state of Britain, and compare the writings of Margaret Fell, a Quaker woman writer with great political and social influence in the late seventeenth century, and Mary Wollstonecraft, claimed by the *Norton Anthology* and *Longman Anthology* as the "Mother of Feminism."

The standards for anthologizing literature are in flux. Traditionally, these standards were limited to those writers historically or traditionally anthologized, whose works are aesthetically and/or artistically pleasing, and who were being widely read at the time they were published. The flaw is that the writers found in the past that fit the standards were mostly white middle-class males. In seventeenth century Britain, males were receiving the high education that made mastery of writing skills possible. They were also the individuals most likely, because of education and social status, to be published and read widely, and they were the least likely to

write positively about women gaining an education and/or social status.

The cultural wars of the last twenty years have brought into consideration new areas of literature that were previously thought to be substandard. For instance, more minorities and women are being anthologized. The cultural wars have brought about numerous debates as to what the standard for anthologizing should be. The standards stated above do not necessarily have to be discarded. It is possible for criteria to be added without sacrificing historical/traditional authors and artistry and aesthetics, while making room for authors whose works effected the attitudes of social, economical, and political minds (Vavra para 2).

The Preface of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* states that the anthology itself "underlines the evolution of feminist criticism from its early preoccupation with women's shared experiences to its more recent absorption in the diversity of women's experiences, diversity of cultural heritage [...] religious practice, and class privilege" (*Norton* xxix); yet, it also states that the anthology has been loyal to the tradition of other Norton texts which have a reputation for being conservative.

The Longman anthology boasts that it takes into consideration the "cultural wars" surrounding anthologized literature of recent years. Cultural theorists believe that works that had an impact on the culture of the time should find a place among the classics. Those writers who may not have met previous standards can find a place in anthologies based on the issues addressed by the text, the text's effect on the political and social atmosphere of the time, and its effect on future texts. According to the editors of the 1999 *Longman Anthology of British Literature*, "great literature is double in nature: it is deeply rooted in its cultural moment, and it speaks to new readers in distant times and places, long after the immediate circumstances of its production have been forgotten" (Longman xx).

When considering the current standards—historical/traditional authors, aesthetics and artistry and popularity at the time of publication—Quaker women's writing falls short of the standard. However, considering the political and social change produced by Quaker women's writing, one can see how valuable these texts truly are.

Julie Sutherland, author of "Obedience to the Inward Oracle" states, "The works [of Quaker women] have been subject to such neglect in part because they have not been viewed as conscious literary efforts" (137). Early Quaker writing was not aesthetically or artistically pleasing, nor was it being read widely by the public at the time. Nonetheless, the writing had great impact on those with the authority to affect political, social, and educational attitudes toward women throughout the later half of seventeenth-century Great Britain.

Before such evidence can be offered, one must understand the beginnings of Quakerism and its basic belief system. In 1646, nineteen-year-old George Fox began to challenge the thinking of the spiritual leaders of England, whom he saw as hypocrites. According to Hans Weening, author of "Meeting the Spirit: An Introduction to Quaker Beliefs and Practices," Fox "heard a voice which said, 'there is one, even Christ Jesus, who can speak to thy condition.'" Fox began to preach the revelation that God wanted to reveal himself to and have a personal relationship with each individual person. At twenty years of age, George Fox became the founder of the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers.

Weening explains that the basic Quaker belief in the Inner Light influences all areas of life (para 5). The Inner Light can be described as the presence of God or voice of Christ living in each person. Since God's presence lives directly in those that accept it, each person has the ability to discern between right and wrong (para 7).

One significant outcome of the "Inner Light" present within is that all humanity is equal. Since all humanity regardless of race, gender, or class is able to receive God's love, then it is wrong, both politically and socially, to make distinctions based on race, gender, and/or class.

Since God's presence dwells potentially within everyone, making these beliefs a way of life was very important to Quakers. Weening explains the intimate connection between beliefs and behaviors as "a witness to the living truth within the human heart as it is acted out in everyday life. It is not a form of words, but a mode of life" (para 37).

Socially, the Quaker belief in equality meant that avenues of expression were now open to women that had traditionally been closed. Women were encouraged to take leadership

positions within the Quaker community. They were also endowed with the right to stand and give testimony or rebuke those in authority. Quakerism opened the doors for women to be educated. Quakers dismissed the belief that women should not own property, gain an education, or have a career. They did not subscribe to the belief that women were the domestic property of men and therefore should not own property, have an education, nor a means to support themselves.

Julie Sutherland, author of "Obedience to the Inward Oracle," states that the "notion of obeying internal authority was particularly 'radical' for Quaker women, whose gender offered them little opportunity to challenge the roles society imposed on them" (Sutherland 135). By obeying the Inner Light, women challenged the patriarchal system and societal norms. Sutherland points out that one outcome was the production of literature with historical importance in both the literary world and feminist history. Within the first 30 years of Quakerism, more than 200 documents in the form of journals, tracts, and personal testimonies had been written by women.

Their writing suffered great criticism. The literate male community of the seventeenth century looked upon both Quaker male and female writing with great scrutiny. Quakers wrote under the direction of God, they did not ascribe to commonly accepted writing styles or from of the seventeenth century, and they did not write for public praise or recognition. According to Julie Sutherland, Quakers did not write to please, but to rebuke. Their primary motivation for writing was to bring attention to political and societal wrongs, bring about repentance, and then give glory to God. Because they were writing what they considered God's words verbatim, they were not concerned about literary conventions or criteria. And since what was written was believed to come directly from God, there was no personal connection. This was particularly significant in the case of Quaker women (Sutherland 137). At no other point prior to seventeenth century British literary history were women so confident in their equality with men. The Quakers introduced this "radical" thought, and Quaker women fought for it.

Although one might argue that women's liberty was still dependant upon men's

endorsement, "it remains historically significant that women were experiencing any liberty at all. Quaker women felt liberated from conventional masculine authority by submitting to only one leading, that being of no man, but of God"(Sutherland 137).

The basic Quaker belief in equality between men and women not only opened avenues of expression, but the belief also broke ground for the education of women.

When George Fox established one of the first Quaker schools in 1668, he intended from the beginning to provide a basic education to both boys and "lasses and maidens" (Allen and Mackinnon para 3). Camilla Leach states that Quaker males were socialized to encourage females to take leadership positions within the Society of Friends. Likewise, Quaker girls were educated and encouraged to step into leadership positions within the Society, which left them "far removed from the domestic" life of their non-Quaker peers (para 36). Quaker girls as well as boys were expected to be "educated and intelligent" (Sutherland 135).

Furthermore, Christina Trevett states that Quaker women had to have a good education in the seventeenth century, for when Quaker men were imprisoned, the women had to keep Quakerism and the family businesses alive (Leach para 12). The issue of "education [helps] explain the disproportionate [number of] Quaker women in nineteenth-century social reform movements such as anti-slavery, prison reform, women's suffrage and various peace movements" (Allen and Mckinnon para 4). Quaker women of the late seventeenth century were educated "to be good citizens rather than great scholars," and, as a result of this education, Quaker women of the eighteenth century were seen as unusually dignified. A writer for the *Monthly Magazine* comments, "I think that the distinguishing attribute –Equanimity—has been so long the principle of education that it is now [...] original nature [...] which has impressed the more solid permanent organization" (Michaelson 285). Because Quakers of the seventeenth century were bold enough to live their belief in equality and educate their females, Quaker women of the eighteenth century benefited by being perceived as strong, well rounded individuals.

The Society strove to recreate "Eden" in the respect that women and men were partners or co-laborers rather than servants and masters. With this goal in mind, "Quaker women were

compelled to break the bonds of societal [and political] oppression" (Sutherland 138).

Quaker's belief in equality led to a redefinition of gender roles within and outside of the Religious Society of Friends, causing changes in seventeenth-century British politics. Those in political authority did not welcome the belief in equality for all humankind because it brought women's education to the forefront of political and social debate.

In 1650, Elizabeth Hooton was "thrown into prison as a disturber of the peace [and...] became an aggressive agitator [to] clergy and magistrates" (Mack 223). She repeatedly wrote letters to the clergy with the accusation that they made themselves "ridiculous to all people who have sense and reason" and pointed out the magistrates' corruption and discrimination against the poor.

In 1660, when King Charles II took the throne, Margaret Fell was "mov'd of the Lord to go to London, to speak to the King concerning the Truth" (Gospel of Jesus Christ), and to obtain freedom for those Friends imprisoned (Fell *Relation* 246). In her autobiographical tract "A Relation of Margaret Fell's Birth, Life, Testimony and Sufferings...", Fell explains in her own words:

> And I spake often with the King, and writ many Letters and Papers unto him. I staid at *London* [...] one Year and three Months, doing Service for the Lord [..] and giving Papers and Letters to the King and Council whenever there was occasion. (*Relation* 246)

Margaret Fell was a woman who had full confidence in her God-given equality.

To curb religious dissenters, an Act of Parliament was recognized in 1663 making it a crime to refuse an Oath to the established church, King Charles and England. When the magistrate informed Fell that by refusing to take the oath she would be left without the king's protection, forfeit her estate and all her belongings, and be imprisoned for life, Fell replied "Although I am out of the king's Protection, yet I am not out of the Protection of the Almighty God" (*Relation* 249). She was imprisoned for almost four years.

Richard Allen in his article "Quaker Women Prophets in England and Wales" explains that Quaker women in general were thought "demented, distracted, bodily possessed of the devil,

smug, and small, bald, stinking fledglings" by authorities and members of respectable society (218). Christina Trevett notes that Quaker women "were either courageous or foolhardy in their 'willingness to suffer great personal hardship, impoverishment and a great deal of abuse'" (Allen 218). Regardless, Quaker women and their message were being noticed by the political and social elite. They had an effect on the political state of seventeenth century Britain.

When it comes to the fight for women's equality, Mary Wollstonecraft is heralded by *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* and *The Longman Anthology of British Literature* as the "Mother of Feminism." Quaker Margaret Fell is named in both anthologies as influential in the female writing world, but is otherwise left out of both anthologies. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, editors of the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, assert:

> Puritans like Lucy Hutchinson and Quakers like Margaret Fell recorded their efforts to help their families survive quickly shifting political circumstances. Still, their virtual exclusion from political institutions meant that their role was confined mainly to personal influence. (64)

Gilbert and Gubar underestimate the impact that the Quakers had on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain. *The Longman Anthology of British Literature: The Romantics and Their Contemporaries* finds that Quakers, both men and women, had an immeasurable impact on British society and politics. Quakers are credited with urging Lord Mansfield to declare, in 1772, "the absence of any legal basis for slavery in England" (Longman 149), and with welcoming author Thomas Clarkson into the Anti-Slavery Society (Longman 181). However, the *Longman* fails to include Quaker women in the anthology.

Gilber and Gubar maintain that in "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" Wollstonecraft presents the first sustained argument for female political, economical, and legal equality. Rosemary Ruether and Patricia H. Michaelson do not agree. Ruether points out that in seventeenth and eighteenth century England there were two feminist movements: one movement was made up of gentility arguing for the equality of women, but not challenging social or church order, and the other movement consisted of the middle and working class who challenge social norms and the political establishment with their writings, speeches, and life styles. Gender and

class equality was central to their argument, and they made appoint to live what they believed (xiii). Furthermore, Michaelson, in her article "Religious Bases of Eighteenth-Century Feminism: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Quakers," asserts that the conclusions drawn by Wollstonecraft in "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" concerning the education and behavior of women had been put into practice more than thirty years prior by the Quaker community:

> Surely [Wollstonecraft] knew that many women followed precepts like hers: did not engage in idle pursuits like novel-reading, insisted on simplicity in dress and demeanor, quietly performed family and communal duties, and in general, placed private conviction over pleasing others. One such group of women were members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). (281)

One major difference between Quaker women of late seventeenth century England and Wollstonecraft is that Quaker women did not consider themselves feminists, especially if "feminist" means, "actively seeking to examine and improve the status of women" (Michaelson 286). The Quaker belief in equality extended to all humans regardless of race, gender, or class distinction. Therefore, Quaker women's influence was extended to every area of society or politics violating human equality. They did not seek to improve only the status of women, but of all humankind. Sutherland explains that "while Quaker women did not [...] formally address 'the women question'... their very writings are evidence of their self-confidence concerning the same" (136). They spoke with the authority of God against societal and political rules that were contradictory to equality, and they did so with the confidence and authority that served to widen women's horizons and further the "woman-question."

Margaret Fell is revered as a key leader in the advancement of Quakerism. By many in the Religious Society of Friends she is referred to as the "Mother of Quakerism." Margaret Thickstun calls Margaret Fell "an empowering feminist force" (269), and Rosemary Reuther claims "the most developed expression of [a] feminist hermeneutic is found in the writings of Margaret Fell, especially her 1666 tract, "Women's Speaking Justified, according to the Scriptures" (xiv).

While Fell was in prison for refusing to take an oath of loyalty to king, church and

country, she was compelled to write "Women Speaking Justified" as a response to the assertion that women should be silent in church. Fell contends that women not only have the right but also the duty to speak when led by the Spirit, and those that "speak against [...] the Spirit of the Lord speaking in a woman, simply by reason of her Sex, or because she is a Woman, [...] such speak against Christ, and his Church, and are of the Seed of the Serpent" (Thickstun 271). Furthermore, Fell points out that Apostle Paul's exhortation to silence is directed toward doctrinally ignorant women of the New Testament time and is not to be generalized to apply to all women across all time (272).

According to Julie Sutherland, Quaker women's writings hold the "greatest insight into seventeenth-century feminine perspectives," yet there has been no literary analysis done outside of Quaker scholars themselves (137). One is left to wonder if the absence of Quaker women writers in the evolution of female literary history and the lack of scholarly analysis is because Quaker women did not see themselves as feminists. Regardless of the view Quaker women had of themselves, their beliefs and behaviors place them in prominent feminist roles. And that makes them predecessors to Mary Wollstonecraft in the evolution of female literary history.

Quaker women writings were an integral part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their writing, involvement, and often their spearheading, brought the "women question" to the forefront of society. Quaker women did not call themselves feminist nor did they consciously take on the feminist role, yet they stood for what later became know as feminism. They simply lived and fought for what they believed—equality. Both the *Longman* and the *Norton* acknowledge the impact and influence Quakers had on society and politics, yet the reader is exposed only to those writers who were affected by Quaker writings, but not to these writings themselves. It seems to be time to make space for the writers that impacted, influenced and affected society, politics, and the literary elite. It is time to make space for Quaker women writers.

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What? Jon's Faint![1]

Darcy Turner with John Laflin

Jonathan Swift is celebrated for his satirical wiles, his most famous being the penning of *Gulliver's Travels*. As with most satires, readers must look deep into the nether regions of the tale for double meaning, wordplay, puns, and even secret codes. It is a known fact that Jonathan Swift loved wordplay, and often used puns in his works. According to Ann Kelly, "Jonathan Swift, a natural-born linguist, displayed an interest in verbal manifestations of all kinds and developed a coherent theory of language that shaped his response to the events surrounding him. [...] Yet though in theory he supported the need for a standard, traditional language, he resented limits and boundaries; he always wanted to see how far he could go before actually 'going too far'. [...] Much of Swift's identity depended upon the idea that he was above or beyond rules of decorum" (*Swift and the English Language* 7, 16). Swift wanted to leave his unique mark upon the world, and to be known as a punster of the highest caliber.

According to Richard Stoney, "Jonathan Swift had a compelling interest in jargon, argot, cant, and dialect. He would correspond in secret codes and used words in rare, old-fashioned, new, or peculiar ways, and he conducted experiments in analyzing the speech of rural England." On puns, Swift himself said, "Punning is an art of harmonious jingling upon words, which, passing in at the ears, excites a titillary motion in those parts; and this, being conveyed by the animal spirits into the muscles of the face, raises the cockles of the heart." (Stoney)

Knowing how much Swift loved language, it is not surprising that he included a language-generating computer in Book III. In addition, this computer could be another indicator that *Gulliver's Travels* is something more than just a story. The following excerpt describes this wonderful invention from Book III:

> It was twenty foot square, placed in the middle of the room. The superficies was composed of several bits of wood, about the bigness of a die, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered on every square inch with papers pasted on them; and on these

> papers were written all the words of their language in their several moods, tenses, and declensions, but without any order. The professor then desired me to observe, for he was going to set his engine at work. The pupils at his command took each of them hold of an iron handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was entirely changed. He then commanded six and thirty of the lads to read the several lines softly as they appeared upon the frame; and where they found three or four words together that might make part of a sentence, they dictated to the four remaining boys who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times, and at every turn the engine was so contrived that the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down . (2421)

Just as the computer in Book III creates language, computer programs today have the same capabilities. We used these programs in our search for puns in *Gulliver's Travels.*

Critics say that all of Book I of the *Travels* is an allegorical account of British politics during the turbulent early eighteenth century, when the main political parties, the Tories and the Whigs, competed with each other bitterly. This battle is recounted in Book I as the war between Lilliput (England) and Blefuscu (France).

Having said this, let's take a look at Book I of *Gulliver's Travels,* where Swift introduces readers to the Lilliputians. At first glance, it seems logical for a foreign country to have its own language. On the other hand, this is a satire, and it is written by Jonathan Swift. What if Swift is using these Lilliputian words as another opportunity to poke fun at the government? What if these words can be decrypted or anagrammed into English words that further add to the satire of the text? What if? And so the game begins.

We began our journey into the unknown by first focusing on encryption. Cryptography is a very fascinating science (and art), having a history of at least 4000 years. Ancient Egyptians enciphered some of their hieroglyphic writing on monuments, while ancient Hebrews enciphered certain words in the scriptures. Two thousand years ago, Julius Caesar used a simple substitution cipher, now known, naturally, as the Caesar cipher. Philosopher Roger Bacon described several methods in the 1200s. Geoffrey Chaucer included several ciphers in his works; Leon Alberti devised a cipher wheel, and described the principles of frequency analysis in the 1460s. Blaise de

Vigenère published a book on cryptography in 1585, and described the polyalphabetic substitution cipher. While the monoalphabetic substitution cipher (Caesar) uses only one replacement scheme for all letters of the plain text, polyalphabetic ciphers use more than one replacement scheme.

We started out simple, attempting decryption with the Caesar Cipher, which was created by the Roman ruler Julius Caesar, who used this very simple cipher for secret communication. He substituted each letter of the alphabet with a letter three positions further along. Later, any cipher that used this "displacement" concept for the creation of a cipher alphabet was referred to as a Caesar cipher. Of all the substitution ciphers, the Caesar type is the simplest to solve, since there are only 25 possible combinations. Often this type of cipher is implemented with a wheel device. A disk or wheel has the alphabet printed on it and then a movable smaller disk or wheel with the same alphabet printed on it is mounted forming an inner wheel. The inner wheel then can be rotated so that any letter on one wheel can be aligned with any letter on the other wheel.

For example, if the inner wheel is rotated so that the letter U is placed under the letter A on the outer wheel, the Caesar cipher will have a displacement of six (V-W-X-Y-Z-A). To encipher the letter L, locate it on the outer wheel and then write down the corresponding letter from the inner wheel, which in this case is R (M-N-O-P-Q-R). The same can be accomplished by placing alphabets on two pieces of paper and sliding them back and forth to create a similar displacement.

After some random attempts using the Caesar cipher, I found a magazine article in *The Mathematics Teacher* that discussed using this cipher in a high school math class. The article said that the easiest way to begin to decrypt a word using the Caesar cipher is to look for double letters such as BB, DD, EE, FF, GG, LL, MM, NN, OO, PP, SS, TT, and ZZ. So I used this approach to decipher the Lilliputian words and I found—nothing. I couldn't make any actual words with the Caesar cipher, so, we ruled out this possibility.

Next, we found a decryption program written by Gary Darby, called *Wordstuff*, and we tried to decrypt some of the Lilliputian words using this program. For example, "Tramecksan"

and "Slamecksan," the words for the two struggling parties (High-Heels and Low-Heels) within the Lilliputian empire, decrypt into "editorship" and "tolerantly," respectively, perhaps describing the relationship between the Tories and the Whigs. In addition, "Flimnap" anagrams into "ethnic," and unfortunately, so does "flunec," "galbet," and "lustrog." After contacting Mr. Darby, we discovered that his program stops after it finds the first decrypted match, instead of displaying all possibilities. The program works using a letter frequency table: since "e" is the most common English letter, all decryption attempts begin with "e"; because "t" is also high on the letter frequency chart, words beginning with "et" would be searched for first. Thus, any six-letter word that does not use repeated letters would "decrypt" as "ethnic." Tramecksan and Slamecksan are spelled similarly as are "intolerant" and "tolerantly." Therefore, "editorship" is probably an incorrect decryption, but it is chosen because of the relative frequency of "e" and "d."

Encountering another bump in the road of decryption, we then continued onward, and turned our attention towards anagrams. The phenomenon of anagrams was first discovered by the Greek Poet Lycophron in 260 B.C. The study of anagrams has been called the "Great Art" because the word ANAGRAMS can be transposed to produce ARS MAGNA, the Latin name for "Great Art." (This idea eventually leads to another possibility in our search.)

The greatest users of anagrams were the Kaballahs, a group of mystics living in France and Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their greatest contributions to society included numerology, tarot, and their astrological interpretations. The divine nature of letters and numbers was the basis of their beliefs and practices. The Kaballahs' traditions were handed down through the centuries to be used in one form or another by a large number of groups. Crusading knights, gypsies, mystics and magicians all benefited from the ideas, symbolism, and methodologies developed by the Kaballahs. Anagrams were even popular in 17th Century France. King Louis XIII was fascinated by anagrams: he studied them and searched for them; he loved to present interesting anagrams to various members of his court as a form of entertainment; he even went so far as to appoint a Royal Anagrammatist, Thomas Billon, to carry out the full-time work

of composing strange and amusing anagrams.

Another French anagrammatist was the father of the French Revolution, the famed French author Voltaire. Voltaire was born François Marie Arouet on June 12, 1718. He was quite willful and at times acted contrary to his father's wishes. While in his early twenties, he began to believe that he was ~~truly~~ an illegitimate child and began to openly rebel against his father. He changed his name to Arouet de Voltaire and then petitioned the Regent duc D'Orleans to make a full public affirmation of this new name. Many have wondered how he arrived at the name Voltaire. It is generally believed that Voltaire was an anagram of the name Arouet Le Joune, or Arouet L. J. In France the letter "v" was used interchangeably with the letter "u" and the same held true for "i" with the letter "j." Therefore, his new name of Voltaire was an anagram of the name Arovet L. I.

Anagrams are still popular today, although most commonly used as party diversions. While researching anagrams, I found a computer program called *Anagram Genius*, a program which generates anagrams. Very simply, according to its creator, William Tunstall-Pedoe, "it takes any text that you give it (a name, phrase or anything) and applies artificial intelligence techniques to find perfect rearrangements of those letters revealing hidden 'truths' about the subject." For example, type in "The meaning of life" and out comes (along with many others) "The fine game of nil." "George Bush" anagrams to "He bugs Gore," and "President Saddam Hussein" anagrams to "Human disaster dispensed."

Given the popularity of anagrams in the 17th and 18th centuries, we began searching for anagrams in Swift's Lilliputian terms. We discovered some interesting possibilities by plugging the Lilliputian words into this program, but nothing concrete. Perhaps our biggest find is the word "Brobdingrag" versus the word "Brobdingnag." The first word anagrams into "Grand big orb" while the latter produces no intelligible anagrams. Interestingly, the former spelling is insisted upon by Gulliver in his "Letter to the publisher." He states, "[i]ndeed I must confess that as to the people of Lilliput, Brobdingrag (for so the word should have been spelled, and not erroneously Brobdingnag) and Laputa..." (2333). Why would Swift go to the trouble of

clarifying this mistake? What earthly difference would it make to anyone –unless anagrams were afoot?

Our most recent endeavor is Latin. As we noted above, the word "anagrams" is, itself, an anagram of a Latin phrase "ars magna." What if some of Swift's Lilliputian words are actually Latin anagrams? We decided to take a shot at Latin because we found two instances of Swift's playful use of "Latin." Swift wrote a poem called *Cadenus and Vanessa*, which discusses his love affair with Esther Vanhomrigh. *Cadenus* is an anagram of "Decanus," which is Latin for "Dean,"—i.e., "Dean Swift"—while *Vanessa* combines VANhomrigh and Esther, the woman "Dean Swift" was in love with. This means that Swift is making both Latin and English anagrams.

Jonathan Swift also wrote this pseudo-Latin in a letter to Sheridan: "Mi sana. Odioso ni mus rem. Moto ima os illud dama nam?" Although sounding like Latin but looking like nonsense, it is really reverse English which translates as: *I'm an ass. O so I do in summer. O Tom, am I so dull, I a mad man* (http://www.philobiblon.com/isitabook/games)? It is also said that "years ago, Jonathan Swift said, that in *Gulliver's Travels*, a malicious political enemy could, through anagramming, interpret the innocent sentence 'Our brother Tom hath just got the piles.' as 'Resist! A plot is brought home. The tour.'" (Ward)

Finally, with these two examples in mind, we looked at the oath that Gulliver was forced to swear to the Emperor of Lilliput: "Lumos kelmin pesos desmar lon emposo" (2343) Using *Anagram Genius* we found several amusing, but not very helpful, possible English anagrams. But much more interesting are the Latin possibilities – if we can accept that "k" is rarely used in Latin, and that the "k" is pronounced like a hard "c," we can turn Gulliver's oath into the following "Latin" phrase: "solum clinem posse mardes nol ope mos" (or "meo pos", or "emo pos" – etc.) Since Latin is sadly no longer part of the standard college curriculum, we had to turn to a Latin "translation assistant" computer program, which suggests that this phrase (or its variations) may mean something like "only I am able to resist the power of Mars," an appropriate anagram for this "Lilliputian" oath.

As one can readily see the problem with anagramming Latin (or even English) words is the geometrical explosion of possibilities: five-letter words have "5-factorial" permutations or will yield 120 (5*4*3*2*1 = 120) possible combinations; six-letter words will equal 720; seven-letter words will equal 5040, and so forth. A word such as "snilpall" would provide more than 40,000 permutations. To those of us who do not know Latin, almost any combination from that 40,000 would be "possible." However, feeding those results into a program like "Latin Words" would be tedious at best. The program "Quick Latin" will provide a rough translation, though not a sensible, idiomatic one. Hence, we would be very interested in collaborating with anyone who is fluent in Latin.

Although our research and sleepless nights never "broke the code" or found anything concrete, we do have a few good leads. The notion that Swift created the Lilliputian words to add further satire to his novel is definitely plausible. "Swift once wrote that he created the book [i.e., Gulliver's Travels] to vex, not amuse, us. This demonstrates a deliberate, hidden agenda on the part of Swift. *And that is where the game is*"[our emphasis] (Stoney). It is under our skin and buzzing in our ears like a mosquito, and we will not give up until we find something, or die; whichever comes first.

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Notes

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[1] Editor's Note: At their presentation, the authors utilized a powerpoint presentation.

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Thomas More's Utopia and the Realities of Socialism: New Harmony and East Germany

Gretchen Junglas

Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* describes a perfect culture. The name "Utopia" itself is Greek for "no place." In the text of *Utopia*, More looks at problems with the England he was living in, and explores a hypothetical society that does not have the troubles he sees.

One of the problems focused on in *Utopia* is serving under a king. When the characters Peter Giles and Thomas More first meet Raphael Hythloday, they urge him to take public office and aid the king. By telling hypothetical situations, Hythloday explains why he will not serve a king. "Suppose I said his honor and his safety alike rest on the people's resources, rather than his own? Suppose I said that men chose a king for their own sake, not for his, so that by his efforts and troubles, they might live in comfort and safety? This is why, I would say, it is the king's duty to take more care of his peoples welfare than his own" (More 26). Hythloday feels that the security of the many is more important than one man's life. It does not matter if that one man is the king. At a time where it was believed that everything a king said was inspired by God, this idea and many other ideas explored in *Utopia* were original and threatening.

More uses the character of Raphael Hythloday to voice some of his own thoughts on England in the sixteenth century. Both Hythloday's adversity to serving under a king and his belief in the duties of the king are More's own theories. More had been the same situation Hythloday describes. He became a Member of Parliament in 1501, and almost at once began to fight against King Henry VII and his unjust money. Henry jailed and penalized More.

More later served under King Henry VIII, but opposed many of his decisions as well. More was hostile to Henry VIII's break from the Roman Catholic Church and the formation of the Church of England. He voiced his opinion against the king and was indicted for High Treason. This led to his imprisonment, and ultimately his execution. More was not afraid to voice his opinions at any cost, but the book *Utopia* was a safe way to make his attitudes known.

More took strong stands on changes. The website *Thomas More, Christian humanism,*

Catholicism and Utopia, states that "In that period, 'humanists' were [...] advocating wide-ranging political, social and educational reforms. More was one of the most famous of the humanists" (1). This quote opens up some of the situations More wished to address with *Utopia*. It also states that More was a Humanist, suggesting that the solutions to these problems are Humanistic in nature.

More's *Utopia* is Humanistic, and more specifically Socialistic. A Socialitsic society is defined as a society in which "the means of production are owned by the workers rather than by a rich minority of capitalists or functionaries" (*The Socialism Web Site* 4) The citizens of Utopia control all of the markets and determine the decisions of the country. This is different than Capitalism, where the means of production are owned by a rich minority.

In order to create a Socialistic society in a Capitalistic world, the land of Utopia must be isolated. Utopia is an island that was once a part of the main land. The ruler "cut a channel fifteen miles wide where their land joined the continent, and caused the sea to flow around the country" (More 35). There is a certain amount of security in isolation. Isolation is part of the reason for Utopia's survival. With no contact with the outside world, they do not need to worry about the influence and corruption of different societies. The Utopians are united in their desire for the survival and success of their own culture.

Every Utopian citizen works toward the good of the community, and there is no selfishness or greed. Because of the Utopian's honesty and morality, there are few needs for regulations. The Utopians are "well governed with so few laws. Among them virtue has its reward, yet everything is shared equally, and all men live in plenty" (More 31). The citizens of Utopia are all trustworthy and honest. These ideas would make an outstanding society if they could work in reality. A Utopia requires too much trust and faith in the human race, and humans are bound to disappoint. I will prove this point by specifically looking at the problems with New Harmony and East Germany, two failed attempts at Utopian societies.

New Harmony, Indiana was the site of one of the United States' most successful Socialist community. There were two attempts at the New Harmony commune. The first was called

Harmonie on the Wabash (1814-1824), which was founded by Separatists from the German Lutheran Church led by George Rapp. Robert Owens led the second attempt (1825-1827). These attempts had different religious beliefs and reasoning, but they both wanted a society without the trappings of social classes. Because the two communities essentially practiced Socialism in the same ways, for this paper I will consider both New Harmony communities as one. Both communities were completely self sufficient and produced their own goods.

The New Harmonist jobs were mainly growing their own food and manufacturing products to sell. The *New Harmony* website explains that, "They grew grapes and made wine, and manufactured wares that were sold in Pittsburgh, New Orleans, and even Europe. They also made their own tools, cookware and everything they needed to be truly self sufficient" (*New Harmony* 7). 'Self-sufficient' means that New Harmony also had its own education system and its own form of medical attention. New Harmonists rarely needed to come in contact with the outside world. This self sufficiency created a great deal of work for the citizens of New Harmony.

Like the New Harmonists, the Utopians spent most of their time producing food. "Agriculture is the one occupation in which everyone works, men and women alike, with no exceptions. They are trained in it from childhood, partly in schools where they learn theory, and partly through field trips to nearby farms, which make something like a game of practical instruction" (More 40). The Utopians learn how to be productive very early in life, and they are expected to continue farming for the rest of their adult lives. Utopians also learn a certain trade depending on their certain preferences. Everybody working agriculture fulfills the need for food, and the different trades produce other needed materials.

Every person in a self sufficient, Socialistic society must work hard toward its survival. Each New Harmonist's life was very labor intense. The website *Historic New Harmony* says, "The Harmonists combined the Swabian work ethic ('Work, work, work! Save, save, save!') with the Benedictine rule ('Pray and work!'). This resulted in an unheard of economic achievement that was recognized as 'the wonder of the west.'" (*Historic New Harmony* 2) Every

New Harmony citizen worked very hard for the good of the community. Being completely self-sufficient, a community seems to have the power to determine its own fate. This was not true for New Harmony.

In the end New Harmony could not survive. They had to admit defeat and abandon their Utopian community. According to the website *New Harmony*, Harmonie on the Wabash, "lasted for only ten years, until the group left in 1824 to return to Pennsylvania. The distance from Eastern markets and the threat of Malaria were important reasons" (10). Harmonie on the Wabash was a strong community when its citizens were healthy. If it had been hit with malaria, every person would have been sick at the same time. The New Harmonists would have had no one to depend on for survival. Attempting a Socialistic society while living in a Capitalistic world proved to be the downfall of Harmony on the Wabash, but Robert Owen's New Harmony dissolved for different reasons. He began making decisions that did not adhere to the Socialistic ideals, and he lost the support of his followers. The citizens of Robert Owen's New Harmony were not obligated to stay in their Socialistic community, but other citizens are not so lucky.

The Socialistic government of East Germany made an effort at Socialism, and it endured for nearly thirty years. Unlike New Harmony, East Germany became Socialistic without the support of all its people. In order to isolate itself and stop the mass exodus of its citizens, East Germany began the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. The new East German, Utopian government called itself the Deutsche Demokratische Republik, or the DDR.

Spiegel magazine conducted an interview with young people who grew up in East Germany. A young woman named Susanne tells some of the positives of her youth. Susanne remembers that, "Everyone had work. No one had anxiety or felt the pressure of unity. People helped each other. Because there was no pressure, individuals did not need to envy one another" (Moeller 58). Susanne grew up with all of her necessities provided by the government. She had no worries and she felt no jealousy. Now she has freedom, but she also has the responsibility of providing for herself.

Susanne tells of a happy childhood without pressure or envy. The Utopians also did not worry about pressure or envy. An example is shown with the simple clothing choices of the Utopians, "people wear, and down through the centuries they have always worn, the same style of clothing, except for the distinction between the sexes, and between married and unmarried persons" (More 40). Expensive clothing is a way to flaunt money in Capitalistic societies. Socialistic societies do not have money or personal possessions. Socialist citizens are not concerned with flaunting property and wealth in front of one another. Not having to worry about the pressures of impressing others makes life much simpler.

Many people supported this simpler way of life in East Germany, but there were also those who opposed it. In the same interview with *Spiegel*, a young man named Volker tells of a negative experience with the DDR: "My father told me that he made comments against the DDR. Therefore, he was in jail for two years and was not allowed to go to school" (Moeller 60). There is no way for any one government to please all of the people it governs, and there are bound to be people who disagree with one another. The government cannot control an individual person's thoughts, but it can control a person's actions. Unfortunately, the only way for the DDR to remain in command of the country was to control the people who spoke out against it.

In Utopia, punishment was for different reasons than punishment in the DDR. Utopia was truly Socialistic, while the DDR was not. A quote from *Utopia* illustrates the trust Socialism issues to the general public. "Husbands chastise their wives, and parents their children, unless the offense is so serious that public punishment seems to be in the public interest. Generally, the gravest crimes are punished by slavery, for they think this deters offenders just as much as instant capital punishment, and is more beneficial to the state. [...] If the slaves rebel against their condition, then, like savage beasts which neither bars nor chains can tame, they are put instantly to death" (67). Honesty, morality, and trust are the big differences between Utopia and the DDR. All of the citizens of Utopia wanted the Socialistic way of life. Each person did his or her part to maintain Socialism, including punishments of fellow citizens.

With enough unpleasant actions regulating the population, the public eventually feels defeated. Many choose to obey the rules. In his article "Research on Marxist Societies: The Relationship Between Theory and Practice," Paul Hollander states "A high degree of predictability of punitive sanctions for certain transgressions over long periods maximizes conformity on the part of the majority of the population. In addition to the initial 'investment in revolutionary terror,' Marxist societies are fairly consistent in meting out punishments for certain forms of political deviance, dissent, or nonconformity" (Hollander 332). Marxist, Socialistic, and Communistic societies need support from the "base," or the working class population. If they do not have support, these governments must try to create it by using force and fear. Eventually, the government will loose strength, and that is exactly what happened to the DDR.

The East German factories were not cost-effective. To make up for the losses, the government provided funds to compensate. East Germany also had problems with their Central Planning System. The government set aside money for certain planned costs. They did not set aside enough money to factor in price fluctuation. These unnecessary drains on government money eventually caught up with the DDR, and it went bankrupt. With little support from its people the government lost power. The Berlin Wall fell and East Germany reunited with West Germany in 1989.

The idea of a "perfect" society was developed with Thomas More's *Utopia*. Many people have tried to realize their own Utopian societies since the publication of More's theory. The attempts I have discussed, New Harmony and East Germany, were two relatively fruitful attempts at a Utopia. In the end, they both failed. The citizens of New Harmony all wanted Socialism. Though New Harmony was successful for twelve years, their isolation was their downfall. Socialism was forced onto all the citizens of East Germany. The government was strong and held the country together for nearly thirty years. In the end, the DDR failed as well. These are two examples of why Socialism cannot work in reality.

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The Loved and The Honored: The Medieval Altars of Atonement[1]

Ron Fischer

The gospels tell the story of Jesus' teachings, death and resurrection. When we ask about the meaning of that story, many different explanations surface. A perfect law keeper had to die, goes one explanation. Of course, the perfect law keeper is none other than G-d, for only G-d can keep the Divine law." Now that G-d the Son has suffered and died, G-d the Father is no longer incensed at humans for doing what they could never do in the first place.

African-American theologian James H. Cone suggests in his book *G-d of the Oppressed* that it is European Christians who depict G-d in legal and penal terms. The mathematics of salvation, Cone points out, has allowed some Christians to dismiss their ethical responsibilities while considering themselves saved. Feminist theologian Rosemary Ruether in her book *Sexism and G-d-Talk* maintains that Christian males present suffering and death as redemptive in order to encourage women to accept victimization and male abuse.

Does being European or African, male or female, shape the way Jesus' life and death gets explained? In other words, do explanations of atonement reflect specific social contexts? To explore the connection between theology and cultural context, I want to consider three medieval explanations of Jesus' death and their specific links to the social situations confronting the Christian church in the medieval world. I will explore how each theory compares to its literary equivalent, the variations of the passion story represented by *The Passion of St. George*, *Beowulf*, *The Song of Roland*, and *El Cid*. My semiotic exploration will not explain the mystery of the passion story, but will elaborate on the cultural conditions that shaped medieval legends and theologies.

Christus Victor

Martyrdom: Evil wounds Good

For a Christian, the Roman world was a dangerous place, a cosmic battleground with good hounded by evil. Justin Martyr, writing in 156 C.E., spoke of Roman persecution as the

work of "evil demons, who hate us [. . .], rulers actuated by evil spirits, to put us to death" (Martyr, "The First Apology"). A Christian had to see with spiritual eyes that "[G-d] had raised Him [Jesus] from the dead," says Justin Martyr, "and would keep Him there until He has subdued His enemies the devils" ("The First Apology").

Christus Victor: The Triumph of Love over Evil

The earliest explanation for why Jesus died comes to us from the *Book of Revelation*, which places the passion story as an episode in a cosmic war. The slaughtered Lamb of *Revelation*, the crucified Jesus, receives the throne of heaven and defeats the great dragon Satan. This comic war (Rev. 12) involves a dragon's attack, a beast from the sea, a beast from the earth, an image of the beast that comes to life, and the harlot Babylon the Great (Rev. 13-14); all doomed to destruction (Rev. 17-19:10).

In its closing chapters, the *Book of Revelation* presents us with *Christus Victor*. Jesus, the triumphant Word of G-d (Rev. 19:10-21), casts the dragon, death and Hades into the lake of fire. We behold a new heaven, a new earth, and a wondrously new Jerusalem (Rev. 21-22). Who kills Jesus? The *Book of Revelation* presents a Jesus slaughtered by the forces of evil, like the Christians martyrs themselves, yet made alive, ruling heaven and about to defeat evil permanently.

Beowulf: The Battle of Order against Chaos

The dragon of *Beowulf*, if not drawn from the great dragon of the *Book of Revelation*, certainly sings harmony to that book's melody. Grendel, Grendel's dam, and the dragon of *Beowulf* parallel the beasts and the harlot in the *Book of Revelation*, perhaps not in the same allegorical fashion, but representing the same forces of abusive power and law defying evil.

Grendel is a *godes andsaca*, the enemy of the gods. He is also called *feond mancynnes* and *ealdegwinna*, Anglo-Saxon for devil. He is named a *helle gaest* and *wergan gaestes*, the words for spirit of hell and demon. We meet him as the invader and cannibal

> Night after night, however, the fiends of evil, those who live in the underworld, writhed and curled with hatred as the sweet sound of the harp rose from the hearthside. [. . .] Hrothgar and his eldermen lived happily in Heorot Hall until the day that Grendel, a living fiend out of hell, a Satan who ruled over the swamps and marshes, came stalking them. Grendel and his folk had been banished to the fens eras before because of their slaying of Cain. To Grendel's accursed folk belonged the ghouls, the dragons, the lemurs, the elves, and all evil curs. The giants also had been outlawed along with Satan because they had fought against G-d. Therefore G-d was giving them a fitting reward through everlasting ages. (Goodrich 21-22)

It takes more than a man-made sword to defeat evil. It takes a noble spirit, which is exactly what Beowulf has. "I am here to give him three things: a fighting heart, my dauntless will, and my great strength" (28). He defeats Grendel and goes after Grendel's dam with the same valiant determination, saying, "I shall live or I shall die" (36).

Like the slaughtered Lamb of the *Book of Revelation*, Beowulf must die at the hands of a evil. When he fights the dragon, Beowulf knows that "this was the day of death. [. . .] That day Beowulf would yield. He would step back, give ground to the snake. That very day would Beowulf step backward, out of his life" (44). Though Beowulf steps back, the battle against evil goes forward with young Wiglaff. *Beowulf* and the *Book of Revelation* portray an ongoing cosmic struggle of good and evil. The *Book of Revelation*, however, holds forth a final triumph.

Christus Victor Saint George: The Triumph of Resurrection

While *Beowulf* presents us with an Anglo-Saxon parallel for cosmic warfare, the "Acta Sancti Georgii" writes a variation of the passion story in order to celebrate the resurrection. In the "Acta Sancti Georgii," Saint George experiences resurrection, not once as Jesus was, but three times, each time converting thousands and nullifying the power of the Roman "dragon."

On April 23, 303, C.E., the Emperor Diocletian ordered the beheading of a Roman soldier who protested the persecution of Christians (Collins). E. A. W. Budge presents us with a recreated text of "Acta Sancti Georgii" in his *The Passion of St. George*.

The story begins when governor Dardanius threatens death to anyone who converts or practices Christianity. George converts, resigns his military position, and tells Dardanius, "Let every kingdom which proceedeth from Satan and his children—which ye are—perish!" Dardanius has him "broken into ten pieces [. . .] And the dragon of the abyss commanded them to throw his bones outside the city into a dry pit" (Budge). Christ resurrects George. Gen. Anatolius and 3,009 others, taken by the miracle, convert. Dardanius executes them.

George goes to a second death rejoicing over his suffering, "O my Lord Jesus Christ [. . .] I give thanks unto Thee that Thou hast esteemed me worthy of the wonderfulness of healthful sufferings" (Budge). Once again George is resurrected from death, converting more. Dardanius executes them, including George, for the third time. Resurrected yet again, a crowd of unbelievers cry out, "There is no G-d in heaven or earth except Jesus Christ the G-d of George of Melitene" (Budge). This time, eight thousand five hundred souls convert and are executed. George too has the power to resurrect. He opens a tomb and "the Spirit of G-d came over the earth and the bones and the dust. And there came forth from the dust five men and nine women and a little child" (Budge). At this, Dardinius' wife Alexandra converts. Dardanius orders her executed. Though she dies without baptism, George assures her that she will receive "'a crown from the hands of my Lord Jesus Christ'" (Budge). At George's last execution, vengeance from heaven falls: "straightway came forth fire from heaven, and it devoured the seventy governors and their hosts, in number about five thousand" (Budge).

The "Acta Sancti Georgii" reframes the horror of early Christian martyrdom as *Christus Victor*. Jesus, an George's, resurrection, not their deaths, is the real victory over evil.

After Constantine's conversion (312 CE), however, the Roman Empire no longer seeme like a beast controlled by Satan. In a letter Bishop Ambrose of Milan (374 CE) wrote to Emperor Theodosius, penned only 218 years after Justin Martyr's letter to a Roman Emperor and only 71 years after George's martyrdom, we find Ambrose regarding the Emperor, not as Satanic, but as the benefactor and protector of Christian thugs even. He asks the Emperor to give Christians wh burned a synagogue amnesty

> I had rather then, O Emperor, have fellowship with you in good than in evil [. . .] I do this first of all out of love for you, good-will toward you, and desire of preserving your well-doing. [. . .] There is, then, no adequate cause for such a commotion, that the people should be so severely punished for the burning of a building, and much less since it is the burning of a synagogue, a home of unbelief, a house of impiety, a receptacle of folly. ("Letter XL")

With a change in the Church's social circumstances, the *Christus Victor* explanation lost its social base. In 495 CE Pope Gelasisu issued a decree, "De Libris recipiendis,," which placed the "Acta Sancti Georgii" under ban and ordered the text to be destroyed (Collins). Though texts of "Acta Sancti Georgii" disappeared, George didn't go away. He returned during the crusades.

Atonement Theory: Satisfaction and the *Song of Roland*

Honor: homage oaths and fealty oaths

In Europe, the suddenly benevolent Roman Empire gave way to feudalism. A vassal swore to his lord that he was 'his man' and repeated an oath of homage. While saying the oath, the vassal placed his hands into the lord's hands, who pledged, in exchange, to protect and defend the vassal. Note the religious terms invoked in this early Anglo-Saxon oath:

> By the Lord before whom this sanctuary is holy, I will to N. be true [illegible] faithful, and love all which he loves and shun all which he shuns, according to [illegible]s of G-d and the order of the world. Nor will I ever with will or action, thro[illegible] word or deed, do anything which is unpleasing to him, on condition that he will hold to me as I shall deserve it, and that he will perform everything as it was in our agreement when I submitted myself to him and chose his will. (qtd. in de Trecesson)

The oath indicates that rulers were no longer considered the dupes of Satan. The honor a vassal gave to his lord was linked to the honor due G-d.

Theology of honor: Atonement as Satisfacion

Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury (1033-1109), explained Jesus' death in terms of feudal homage in his book *Cur Deus Homo*, or *Why G-d Became Man*. That explanation has become known as the satisfaction theory, taken from his opening remark, "What it is to sin, and to make satisfaction for sin." Says Anselm:

> This is the debt which man and angel owe to G-d, and no one who pays this debt commits sin; but every one who does not pay it sins. This is justice [. . .]; and this is the sole and complete debt of honor which we owe to G-d, and which G-d requires of us. [. . .] He who does not render this honor which is due to G-d, robs G-d of his own and dishonors him; and this is sin. (Book I, chapter I)

For Anselm, humans owe G-d honor, not love. Sin withholds that honor, but Anselm explains,

> But when [one] does not choose what he ought, he dishonors G-d, as far as the being himself is concerned, because he does not submit himself freely to G-d's disposal. And he disturbs the order and beauty of the universe, as relates to himself, although he cannot injure nor tarnish the power and majesty of G-d. (Book I, chapter XIV)

In the cosmic picture that Anselm draws, Satan disturbs cosmic harmony by dishonoring G-d. To restore Divine honor, G-d created humans to uphold that honor under the temptations of Satan. Though humans failed to resist temptation and honor G-d, Jesus didn't: "That honor certainly belongs to the whole Trinity; and, since he is very G-d, the Son of G-d, he offered himself for his own honor, as well as for that of the Father and the Holy Spirit; that is, he gave his humanity to his divinity" (Book II, chapter XVIIIb). G-d dying as a human to satisfy the demands of Divine honor ties this explanation to fiefdom and the codes of feudal honor.

Literature of Honor: The Song of Roland

La Chanson de Roland, writes a variation of the passion story in terms of homage. In this epic, Carlemagne crosses the Pyrenees in his journey from Spain back to France. He leaves his nephew Rollanz in Spain with twenty thousand knights.[iii] Carlemagne worries for the life of Rollanz prove well-founded for four hundred thousand Sarrazins attack the rear guard. To ward off this attack and save himself, all Rollanz has to do is sound a trumpet that will carry an alarm to Carlemagne, but he refuses to do so: "I shall not call for aid! I shall not sound the horn!" Rollanz explains that "In doing so I would lose my good name in my beloved France" (Goodrich 80).

Honor defines this situation. Rollanz does not want to "lose" his "good name." His honor is Carlemagne's honor. To act cowardly may impugn Charlemagne. Rollanz must uphold the honor of his king, as Christ did, while under temptation. In taunting Rollanz to battle, the Sarrazins call out, "Cowardly French, ride forth and tilt with us! Today your Carlemagne will lose his *right hand*. Foolish was your king to leave his nephew Rollanz at the pass! Do you know you were sold and betrayed into our ambush by your own Baron Guenes?" (82). To seal that treachery, Climborins, the count of Saragossa, "kissed Guenes on the mouth for his treason" (83). The Satanic Sarrazin leader Abisme rides to the attack with a "dragon pennant streaming in the hot summer sun" (83).

Rollanz and his men endure four attacks. At the At the fifth attack, with only Rollanz and sixty Franks alive, Rollanz is blamed for the disaster: "All this carnage is your fault! You outstretched yourself today. If you had listened when I spoke, King Carles would be here now. You have lost us by your pride, Rollanz" (84). Following this rebuke, Rollanz does sound the horn, but he knows that it "can no longer save us" (84). He dies for pure honor. When his death comes, Rollanz offers his hand to G-d, the ritual gesture of fealty, and says: "'*Mea culpa. Mea culpa*. Forgive me my sins, the great and the small, throughout my life from birth to death.' Again he offers his right gauntlet

your fault! You outstretched yourself today. If you had listened when I spoke, King Carles would be here now. You have lost us by your pride, Rollanz" (84). Following this rebuke, Rollanz does sound the horn, but he knows that it "can no longer save us" (84). He dies for pure honor. When his death comes, Rollanz offers his hand to G-d, the ritual gesture of fealty, and says: "'*Mea culpa. Mea culpa*. Forgive me my sins, the great and the small, throughout my life from birth to death.' Again he offers his right gauntlet to G-d" (89-90). At his death, the angels "bear the soul of Rollanz to Paradise" (90).

The story does not end with Rollanz's death. Carlemagne, who must return to the battlefield, has prayed for a miracle. "For Carles the king, G-d made a mighty show. He held back the sun" (91). That night Carles dreams "a monstrous wall of fire" that burns his army up, a

horde of "thirty thousand winged griffins" that feed on their bodies, a "huge lion" that attacks him, and a battle between a chained bear and a greyhound, a fight that is furious, but "Carles cannot tell which one is vanquished" (92-93). Like the *Book of Revelation* and the battles of *Beowulf*, these dreams serve as omens and describe the ongoing battle between good and evil.

When Carlemagne lifts the body of Rollanz, he moans, "*La meie honor est turnet en declin*–my honor is turned to its decline" (93). Carlemagne captures Saragossa, returns home to deal with Guenes who, as the text says, in "betraying Rollanz to his death, broke both his feudal oath and our laws" (98). Despite these victories, the story ends with the angel Gabriel who calls a sleeping Carlemagne to rise and do battle: "Carles, arise! Call up your army! Christianity needs you and cries aloud to you!" (101), but Carlemagne replies, "O G-d [. . .], you see how painful is my life!" (101). The call comes to a weary king, but the words really bid the reader to fight for the honor of this weary king in the same way that Rollanz stood for Carlemagne and that Christ stood for G-d's honor. The *Song of Roland* is the narrative equivalent of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*. Both present the passion story and the human-divine bond in terms of feudal homage.

Atonement Theory: Moral Influence and *El Cid*

Monastic and Courtly Love

Abelard and *El Cid*, however, frame the passion story in terms of courtly love. Courtly love grew out of seeds the Church itself planted, first in the monastic attempt to refine and perfect religious love; and secondly in the church's attempt to reform the behavior of knights through the ethical virtues of chivalry. Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) "In Praise of the New Knighthood (*Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militae*)" describes the difference between a warrior and the Christian knight by equating the crusading knights to monks: "I do not know if it would be more appropriate to refer to them as monks or as soldiers, unless perhaps it would be better to recognize them as being both. Indeed they lack neither monastic meekness nor military might" (Clairvaux, "In Praise of the New Knighthood").

While Bernard of Clairvaux thought of the knights in monastic terms, Andreas Capellanus in his *De Amore* (1184-86) attributes their virtue to the ennobling love the knight held for his lady:

> This is the effect of love: that the true lover can not be corrupted by avarice; love makes an ugly and rude person shine with all beauty, knows how to endow with nobility even one of humble birth, can even lend humility to the proud; he who loves is accustomed humbly to serve others. Oh, what a marvelous thing is love, which makes a man shine with so many virtues and which teaches everyone to abound in good customs. (Capellanus)

Theologians on Love and Moral Influence

The monastic and the chivalric traditions that elevate love frame the context for the moral influence explanation of Jesus' death. Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) in "Sermon 83" from his series on the *Song of Songs* strongly objects to placing honor as G-d's driving need:

> Now the Bridegroom is not only loving; he is love. Is he honor too? Some maintain that he is, but I have not read it. I have read that G-d is love, but not that he is honor. [. . .] Which of these is highest and most lofty? Surely it is love. [. . .] Honor which is not inspired by love is not honor but flattery. Honor and glory belong to G-d alone, but G-d will receive neither if they are not sweetened with the honey of love. ("Sermon 83")

In his book *On Loving*, Bernard says that G-d assumed flesh in order to lead human hearts, degree by degree, from the love of the flesh to the spiritual love of the invisible G-d (Clairvaux, "On Loving"). G-d acts for the salvation rather than the punishment of humans.

Peter Abelard (1079-1142) in his "Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans" framed atonement in terms of the human heart itself. Abelard takes exception to the legal constructs used in atonement explanations. The cosmos isn't a courtroom. He does not see G-d as a legalist, obsessed with justice and penalties, a kind of Shakespearean Shylock who has a contract for a pound of flesh and now has to pay the pound of flesh out of his own hide. To such a framework, Abelard says, "But how cruel and wicked it seems for someone to require the blood of an innocent man as a price" (Abelard qtd. in Williams). Instead

of a legal payment, Abelard sees the crucifixion as a revelation of love which restores to humans the capacity to love again, a capacity removed by original sin:

> *But I am carnal*: that is, I am given to carnal pleasures and earthly longings. Indeed, I am so carnal that *I am sold into bondage to sins*: that is, I subject myself freely to sin and its slavery for a payoff in earthly goods [. . .] We had the power to sell ourselves into slavery, but we do not have the power to buy ourselves back. Innocent blood was given for us. (Abelard qtd. in Williams)

The perfect love of Jesus, "which does not seek its own," "was so pure that not only did he die for us, but in everything he did for us he sought no advantage for himself, whether temporal or eternal, but only our well-being" (Abelard qtd. in Williams). Jesus' love draws G-d to Jesus and to the world which he loves while at the same time drawing humans to Jesus and to G-d whom he loves. The picture is not of legal balancing, but of spiritual conjugation, a uniting of G-d and humans through Jesus, the wholeness of the universe reunited, with humans receiving the capacity to love in its fullest and highest form.

The Literature of Love: El Cid

El Cid (1140) recasts the passion story onto Spain of the 12th century, a land divided between Muslims and Christians. Its hero, Rodrigo Diaz, doesn't bring complete wholeness to Spain, but he lives, loves, and moves others to love as well. He rights wrongs, not so much with the sword, but with the wedding vow. His story is one that begins in division and ends in union, with a wedding, in fact.

"[W]e have been exiled from Castile!" says Mio Cid in the story's opening (Goodrich 239). Mio Cid suffers the scorn of his king, Alfonso. Of course, the displeasure of the king is baseless. Accusations have brought exile upon Mio Cid and undeserved suffering upon his family. Mio Cid must escape, but he does so with tender words for his wife and two daughters, "I love [you] as I love my soul." This hero has a family.

Mio Cid goes about capturing Muslim towns, but "[H]e restored [. . .] freedom to the Moors he had vanquished, and to their women also, so that people would never speak badly of

Mio Cid" (241). In all his victories, he "allowed the Moorish people to return to their city. He also ordered that they should each be given something" (243). His enemies walk away with their lives. He distributes booty generously to his soldiers and sends tribute to King Alfonso. When the Christian Count Raymond of Barcelona attacks him and suffers defeat, Mio Cid treats him so well that Raymond converts from being an enemy to being a friend, "You have nothing to fear from me," Raymond tells him (245).

Three years pass with Mio Cid's daughters and wife imprisoned in a monastery, but that doesn't daunt Mio Cid's "great love for his lord Alfonso of Castile" (248). After Mio Cid conquers Valencia and Seville, King Alfonso relents and releases the ladies. He is a friend to Moor and Christian alike, and even entrusts his daughters to the protection of his friend the Moor Abengalvon

Since this story presents us with Mio Cid as the knight of unconditional love and tender mercy, the story's great horror involves the abuse of love and marriage. King Alfonso marries Mio Cid's two daughters to the Infantes of Carrion, two young princes, whose real interests lie in the booty Mio Cid has garnered in conquering Valencia and in plundering an expedition sent by the king of Morocco. The Infantes, after taking the daughters' virginity, strip them, lash them with whips, then leave them bleeding and for dead on a mountain pass.

What follows is not the story of Mio Cid taking revenge on the Infantes, it is the story of how the friends of Mio Cid right this wrong for him. Mio Cid, like Christ, brings forth the love and action of others. Even King Alfonso stands up for Mio Cid. A contest is set to settle the differences. The champions of El Cid win the tourney and put the Infantes to death. Two princes marry El Cid's daughters and they become "the queens of Navarre and Aragon!" (277). *El Cid* is the literary equivalent of Abelard's ennoblement of love. The story culminates in the triumph of love, the marriages of his daughter to kings who love them.

Conclusion

Certainly, the *Christus Victor* explanation of atonement has deep ties to the persecution and martyrdom of early Christians. Anselm's *satisfaction* theory wears the weave of feudal

homage. Abelard's *moral influence* involves the virtues of love. All of these theological expressions call attention to spiritual truths: the triumph of good over evil, the payment of honor due the Divine, and the realization of wholeness and unity accomplished by love. *Beowulf, The Passion of Saint George, The Song of Roland* and *El Cid* light our imaginations in ways that the quibbling texts of theology cannot do. Correlations between these explanations of Jesus' death and the heroic legends as well as the links to specific social situations faced by the Christian church indicate how embedded the theologies of atonement are in specific periods of time and in specific cultural beliefs, behaviors and practices.

The story of Jesus passion is timeless. The explanations for it are not. Rather than serve the concepts of another time and context as food and nurture for the needy spirits of our times, shouldn't we consider more deeply our own age? How *do* the theologies of our time explain the passion of Jesus and atonement? Are they tied to the past? What limits them? What makes the fit and meet for our own age? Shouldn't we be listening to those in the wilderness like Cone and Ruether? Perhaps their call is the voice of the angel Gabriel who calls to all, not just Christians, "Arise! Call up your army! G-d and humanity needs you and cries aloud to you!"

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Notes

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[1] Editor's Note: At his presentation, the author utilized a powerpoint presentation. I have not included the pictures here because they are not directly referred to within the actual text of the paper.

[*] Editor's Note: The author follows the traditional Jewish practice of not writing out the word "God." I have preserved his format within the text of his paper.

[**] Editor's Note: Goodrich's translation, which has been utilized by the author, does not conform to standard Anglicization of names, e.g. Charlemagne, Roland, Saracens, etc. However, I have left them unaltered.

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Tumultuous Passion or Passion Guided by Reason?:

Wollstonecraft's Vindication of Virtuous Love

Elizabeth McLeod

Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Moral and Political Subjects* is concerned with vindicating the rights of woman as had already been articulated by John Locke in his theory of individual rights (102).[1]

However, Wollstonecraft perceives a potential conflict between individual rights in the political sphere of life and the smaller scale relationships that make life worth living, such as love and friendship. Rights are held mainly against government and individuals to protect the individual rights holder. If one were to define the whole of one's life politically, one could only regard public enterprises and other adults as entities one needed to protect oneself against. To think of the relation between two people who love one another in terms of rights and protection from others Wollstonecraft thought would be disastrous, for it would result in a regime of lonely, miserable rights holders. The social danger of "individual rights" is precisely that such rights alone can cause *literal* individuals, that is, individuals for whom love and friendship are no longer possible.

In order to counteract this potential danger she argues from the basis of reason, more specifically parity, which is the principle of non-contradiction,[2] for the equal education of women in order that they might reasonably understand their rights and duties and become affectionate, chaste wives and rational mothers (102, 109). With reason serving as the basis of the private sphere of life, she thought the establishment and maintenance of just and equitable laws in the public sphere of life would follow (104).

Interestingly, Mary Wollstonecraft made this argument for national education and the equal rights of woman in a time when women in France had almost the same access to knowledge as men. Wollstonecraft asks the question, why, if women at this time were recognised as having

an almost equal amount of knowledge as men had, they were regarded as inferior to men (109-11).

It is significant that she turns from the question of the equality of knowledge and begins to articulate the state of morality[3] in France at that time to answer this question. France, she argues, was in a state of moral decline. This decline was caused by the continual loss of what for Wollstonecraft is the key principle of morality: freedom. She understood freedom not as the freedom to do anything you want, but rather the freedom to knowingly consent to rules one understands. Previously in the text she had argued that there are two causes of acting on moral duty—imposition by authority or reasoned comprehension. She thought women could either continue to have their duties imposed by authority, an imposition that would only be justified if women do not have reason, or they can accept the same duties by reasoned comprehension (103-4). The cause of the loss of woman's freedom was based on "one hasty conclusion" (109), which is that women do not "partake with him [man] the gift of reason" (103). If women cannot reasonably *know* their duties, they can see no reason to *do* them. This in part causes the decline of morality, in that women will neither see reason to obey the set of rules that govern social practices, nor to educate their children to obey these rules (102).

She then describes the female character of her time: "The conduct and manners of women, in fact, evidently prove that their minds are not in a healthy state; for, like the flowers which are planted in too rich a soil, strength and usefulness are sacrificed to beauty; and the flaunting leaves, after having pleased a fastidious eye, fade, disregarded on the stalk, long before the season when they ought to have arrived at maturity" (109). She identifies two possible causes of this phenomenon. Either women can at most be pretty objects for men's enjoyment because, a) they by nature lack the reason to be able to understand and act on their rights and duties, or b) women have the ability to reason by nature, but their reason has not been educated to understand its rights and duties (109). If the cause is nature, men would be justified in judging women's happiness for them, and imposing their duties, as women could not do this for themselves (103).[4] If the cause is a lack of education, then women, according to the principle of parity, should be

able to judge their own happiness, have the right to education, and reasonably agree to duties that they understand (103). She examines the current educational books and treatises, finds that women's reason has not been educated, and in accordance with her previously established dichotomy concludes that the cause of women's "unhealthy state" is faulty education, not nature. She argues therefore, that if men and women are the same by nature in their ability to reason, it follows that both men and women should be able to understand, and then freely act on their rights and duties.

The failure to base morality in the principle of non-contradiction, a principle that is common to both men and women, was more fundamentally the failure to base knowledge on that same principle. The knowledge of the times was based rather on the assumption that women could not reason as well as men. This knowledge could have no practical and constant effect on morality, which is a set of rules that to be effective must apply equally to all individuals, because it itself was not based on a principle that applied to each and every individual. Wollstonecraft summarises this lack of relation between knowledge and morality in her time when she writes, "Contending for the rights of woman, my main argument is built on this simple principle [parity], that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue; *for truth must be common to all, or it will be inefficacious with respect to its influence on general practice.*" (102, emphasis added) Knowledge based on the principle of non-contradiction, a principle that all humans are subject to equally, could affect morality. Freedom to equally access knowledge of rights and duties is lost when those rights and duties lack a common base. Unequal access to reasoned comprehension of rights and duties causes a decline in morality by causing unequal opportunity to understand, and act on, these rights and duties.

Having outlined the nature of the separation between knowledge and morality, Wollstonecraft articulates the consequence of continuing to impose duties without reason, and consequently without understanding. Her answer has five parts (104-5). First, women will continue to have their will guided by the reason of another. This is degrading for women, because

they are dehumanised. Being human involves the ability to exercise reason, and not to exercise reason makes one less human. Men are degraded as well because they are habituated to view women as a means to an end.[5] Second, this will have the effect of a self-fulfilling prophecy. If women are assumed to not have the ability to reason, then they, accordingly, will not be educated. Uneducated women will then be observed in the regime, and the original assumption will appear to be reinforced. This will result in women continuing to not be educated. Third, women will neglect their private duties, because they will see no reason to do them. Fourth, men and women will become unfaithful in marriage. A man who sees women as objects will see no reason why he should not pursue other objects once he tires of his object of a wife. Women will attempt to restore a kind of equality by retaliating against their husbands—they themselves will be unfaithful.[6] Thus justice, now understood as retaliation, is the fifth part of the consequence. The final consequence is injustice, for a just society is not possible if the most necessary human relation for the continuation of society, the relation between a man and a woman, is based on using someone as a means. For Wollstonecraft, justice, rather, involves looking on other people as having claims equal to your own. Her argument here is that if marriage is undermined, so is justice. This being the state of France, Wollstonecraft perceived that the only way to vindicate the rights of woman was to educate for private virtue, which is excellence in the relation between husbands and wives.

Wollstonecraft begins her education of men and women's reason to fulfil their duties to each other by describing two kinds of love. This description is the one of the primary parts of her argument because for two people to come together in a just marriage, they must first come together.

Tumultuous passion and passion guided by reason

Once again, Wollstonecraft's argument centres on the question of cause. She distinguishes between the two conceptions of love by distinguishing two causes of this coming together in love. The first conception of love she identifies is caused by "tumultuous passion" (136). Passion, which is the desire for the beloved, in this case is the "thoughtless enjoyment" of

"sensation" (136). Wollstonecraft contrasts "sensation", which leads to action based on a combination of the acting agent's feeling and objectification of the person desired, with "reflection", which causes action based on reason and a recognition of the one desired as a moral equal. Physical beauty can evoke the desired feelings and the actions that these feelings ensue, and women who conceive of love in this way cultivate their physical beauty in order to render themselves pleasing. Wollstonecraft argues that the consequence of this kind of love is that women lose their independence, which she has defined as the freedom that results from not desiring beyond what you need, because they are always trying to provoke this tumultuous passion in men. She maintains, "Independence I have long considered as the grand blessing of life, the basis of every virtue—and independence I will ever secure by contracting my wants, though I were to live on a barren heath" (101). The woman who desires to please men in this way is subjugated to the cosmetics and clothing industries, and the opinions of those men and women who see women as objects. Therefore, this cultivation of physical beauty is not an endeavour a woman can participate in and retain her independence. She is subjugated to the cosmetics and clothing industries, and the opinions of those men and women who see women as objects. Moreover, actions based on feeling are inconstant, for actions change as the intensity and objects of desires change. As a consequence,

> The woman who has only been taught to please will soon find that her charms are oblique sunbeams, and that they cannot have much effect on her husband's heart when they are seen every day, when the summer is passed and gone. Will she then have sufficient native energy to look into herself for comfort, and cultivate her dormant faculties? or, is it not more rational to expect that she will try to please other men; and, in the emotions raised by the expectation of new conquests, endeavour to forget the mortification her love or pride has received? When the husband ceases to be a lover – and the time will inevitably come, her desire of pleasing will then grow languid, or become a spring of bitterness; and love, perhaps, the most evanescent of all passions, gives place to jealousy or vanity.[7]

Both the man and the woman in this kind of love treat each other as means to the satisfaction of their own self-interested desires: the man's desire for the satiation of his lust; the

woman's desire for physical beauty and the recognition of it. Neither can be happy in a marriage like this, because their conception of happiness is that the satisfaction of desire for material objects (sex for the man, physical beauty for the woman) will make them happy. This conception of happiness, like all materially based conceptions of happiness is, however, self-contradictory. Material things are not permanent, and neither is the satisfaction of desires. Once one desire is satisfied, it will return later. Also, materials things are subject to chance and change. The questions, "What if a male is boring?" and "How can a woman stop the signs of ageing that may render her less physically attractive?" are examples of the kinds of worry that accompany this conception of happiness. Contained within this conception of happiness as desire satisfaction, then, is the probability of unhappiness caused by the loss of those attributes that promise desire satisfaction, which is a self-contradiction. While this contradiction is not objectionable on logical grounds, for Wollstonecraft's argument concerns human practice, because contradiction is expressed in life as self-defeating, it can be objected to on the grounds that continuing to live a contradiction will result in never achieving happiness.

Wollstonecraft does not continue her argument by attempting to eradicate love, "the most evanescent of passions", from marriage. She maintains,

> To endeavour to reason love out of the world, would be to out Cervantes' Quixote, and equally offend against common sense; but an endeavour to restrain this tumultuous passion, and to prove that it should not be allowed to dethrone superior powers, or to usurp the sceptre which the understanding should ever coolly wield, appears less wild. (136)

The "superior powers" she speaks of are the powers of reason to discern what is actually good for the beloved, and what is actually good for the lover. The "sceptre" wielded by the "understanding" refers to reason's ability to understand the relations between particulars, in order that one might come to have knowledge of the good of the whole. The whole in the case of lovers consists of the lover, the beloved, and their relation, and, finally, the children they will produce in the natural course of events. It is this understanding that should guide action, rather than feeling or sentiment.

The cause of the conception of love Wollstonecraft is arguing for is then passion guided by reason. Its nature is the concern for the good of the beloved, and the basis of this concern is virtuous affection.[8]

The consequence of passion guided by reason has two parts. First, women will become "chaste wives" (137). "Chaste" does not mean prudish. Rather, it means that sex between the man and the woman is a mutual expression of virtue and esteem, as well as passion. The virtuous man has proven to the woman that he knows her good and is willing to act according to it, and the virtuous woman is worthy of his honour. As a "wife", the woman by a free engagement of her will, has made a vow for her own good, her husband's, and their future children. Second, women will become "rational mothers" (137). This kind of mother has the reason and independence to educate her children for reason and independence themselves. In such a marriage men and women would be friends, share comfort in each other, and secure each other's mutual happiness without subjection. This conception of happiness is based not in material, but rather the natural merit of reason and virtue. As such, this conception is not self-contradictory and therefore possibly attainable. Two lovers could conceivably come to know what they themselves need, what the other needs, and whether those needs are compatible.

Knowing that the majority of her audience understands love to be an experience of tumultuous passion, Wollstonecraft addresses those who would accuse her of recommending a boring conception of love (139). She does not respond to them by insisting that passion guided by reason can be exciting, though it very well may be. Instead, she goes to the cause of why they would find it boring. She concludes that only people "who have not sufficient intellect to substitute the calm tenderness of friendship, the confidence of respect, instead of blind admiration, and the sensual emotions of fondness" (140) would find the possibility of true mutual happiness dull.[9] Boredom, in other words, is not caused by this conception of love, but rather by the shallowness and selfishness of those who are bored by it.

The question at this point in the argument becomes, How can the woman born into a regime where the majority of women are intellectually and morally dependent on the authority of

men come to attain and exercise the independence required to understand their equal rights and duties, such that they can experience this virtuous kind of love and become the chaste wives and rational mothers who can contribute to the attainment of justice in their regime? Wollstonecraft argues that there are two ways to achieve this equality. The first alternative is to become like the men who hold authority over women. This man is the political man, who has the power to do what he desires. A woman who attempts to become equal to the political man would have to seize power, and thus power can be identified as this woman's unit to measure equality. She needs to acquire more power than the man in order to wrest authority from him and place herself in the newly opened position. Wollstonecraft argues that this first alternative is an error for two reasons. First, the women who did so would be accepting the unproven conclusion that power is good. Second, the cause of inequality is not power itself but the desire for power in the first place. The cause of this desire Wollstonecraft attributes to a faulty education. Their reason has not been educated to discover and prove their own good, so they cannot know what the good, their object, is. These men, and the women who try to be like them, can only act on what they have been politically habituated to think is good, namely, power and desire-satisfaction. These objects that they think are good are usually material, which require power and money for their securing. As a result the political man ends up pursuing the means to whatever he desires, which becomes his conception of happiness – pursuing resources and power to satisfy desires. This conception of happiness has already been shown to be self-contradictory, and consequently self-defeating for those persons who seek such happiness. Because these men have not reasoned out for themselves what their good really is, they can only conform to what is conventionally considered to be valuable. Consequently, equality attained by the political unit of measure will result in women who look, act, and think like men. Wollstonecraft writes, "Women, it is true, obtaining power by unjust means, by practising or fostering vice, evidently lose the rank which reason would assign them, and they become either abject slaves or capricious tyrants. They lose all simplicity, all dignity of mind, in acquiring power, and act as men are observed to act when they have been exalted by the same means." (158) The political man and a woman who come together in

marriage then is not the basis for a just regime, as they view each other as a means to an end and habituate their children accordingly. Also, their love cannot be educated for. Their uneducated reason is not discovering what is good for them, but rather conforming to the dominant political and moral opinions of what is good. In this way a woman does not *join* a man in attempting to discover what is truly good for her, but rather *imitates* a man in moulding her life according to what is assumed to be his, and thus her, good. This woman fails to achieve the independence Wollstonecraft has argued is necessary for understanding and acting upon her rights and duties, and attaining the knowledge and virtue that she claims is the basis of the just regime.

Wollstonecraft identifies the type of man a woman can join in discovering what is good as the less common philosophical man. This kind of man lives by reason and virtue. He desires to do the good, and has the knowledge and the courage to act on what reason discovers as the good. The woman that is equal to this man is not the same as him, because she is using her reason to discover what she needs by nature. Thus she can become *like* him without *conforming* to him. Furthermore, neither the man nor the woman is conforming to conventional standards of what is good. Therefore, the woman who attempts to become equal to the philosophical man uses the unit of measure of reason and virtue, rather than the conventional unit of power, to measure equality.

Wollstonecraft, thus, proposes a solution that is very different from the more political solutions that many today, feminists included, tend to advocate. Rather than provide us with a political solution, she argues that an attention to virtuous love, and the education required for it, is the place to begin when attempting to establish justice and the equality of women within a regime. The education she presents to attain this solution is also non-political. It's purpose, she writes, is to strengthen "mind" and "heart" (129), which is to say it is an exercise of reason to acquire two things: independence and virtue, two non-political attributes of human beings.[10] In this way, I believe that Wollstonecraft recognised what George Eliot expressed so beautifully in her novels: Life begins at home.

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Notes

[1] Wollstonecraft is arguing for the rights of ***woman***, and not ***women***, because she wants woman to be recognised as a natural category. Her argument is then from the basis of natural rights, which have already been articulated by John Locke and others. That the already articulated natural rights are the basis of her argument is also indicated by the title—she plans to *vindicate* the rights of woman, not to *originate* them.

[2] The principle of non-contradiction states that a statement is false if it claims both one thing and its opposite at the same time. The contradiction in this case is that while both women and men have reason, men are allowed to judge their own happiness while women are not (103). M. Devaney in *"Ever since Plato"... and Other Postmodern Myths* (New York: St. Martin's, 1997) gives a full treatment of this principle in its uses and misuses.

[3] "Morality" here means a set of rules, explicit or implicit, that govern social practices.

[4] This is the conceptual definition of slavery.

[5] Evil has classically been defined as the willingness to use others as a means to your own end.

[6] The unit used to measure equality in this case is the political category of power.

[7] "Jealousy" of the husband's lovers, "vanity" to attempt to entice him back to her, or attract some other man.

[8] "Virtuous" means the excellent human soul (no religious implication), where a person desires to do the good of the beloved, and has the courage to act on what reason discerns as the good. "Affection" is the outward expression of this desire to do the good.

[9] For a discussion of the limited availability of truth, a necessary condition of happiness, see Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Book VII.

[10] This is not to say that these attributes cannot find political expression. I mean only to point out that they are qualities that belong to the human being itself.

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