30th Northern Plains Conference
on
Early British Literature

Bemidji State University

14-15 April 2023

npcebl.org

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From the Organizers

Dr. Larry Swain and Dr. Stephen Hamrick

Bemidji State University

We have enjoyed hosting the 30th annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature. Dr. Richard McCoy's keynote address and the well-attended conference sessions, including undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty from across the region, helped to celebrate and extend the convivial tradition established more than thirty years ago. We would like to thank Brooke Froehle and Shawn Cruze for their invaluable help in running the conference and solving numerous challenges. The hearty conversations, renewed friendships, and future plans all indicate a bright and healthy future for the NPCEBL. We hope you enjoy the papers collected here.

Welcome From the NPCEBL Founder

Dr. Jay Ruud, University of Central Arkansas

Hello. For those of you who don't have a clue who I am, my name is Jay Rood. For those of you who don't have a clue why I should be talking to you right now, it's because I was responsible for spawning this conference back when dinosaurs still roamed the plains and of which we are now attending the 30th iteration.

I want to welcome you to Bemidji for the 30th annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British literature. I was hoping to be here in person to welcome you all or, uh, "all y'all," as we say here in Arkansas, but alas I couldn't make that happen. Nowadays I'm retired and the writing I do has less to do with scholarships than with fiction. I'm currently writing a series of Robin Hood novels. So, I'm here in my own living room with the help of my tech team, which consists of my wife and four dogs, recording a message that we hope gets the job done.

I always find it sounds kind of insincere when people say things like "well I never thought the little thing I started in my garage way back when would be still going 30 years later," but you can believe me when I say I never thought the little conference I started in my school way back then would still be going 30 years later, but here you are.

When I came to Northern State University in 1985, I remember having two conferences to attend that spring. One in Wisconsin, one in Kansas a week apart and I had a $300.00 travel budget that could have covered about half the airfare for one of those trips or the registration fees for both of them. Then I just had to figure out how to get there, how to pay for the hotel and meals, and how to get back without selling a kidney. And after a few years of this I thought, you

know, being 250 miles from the nearest city likely to host a large conference is just maybe an opportunity.

I was the only medievalist at Northern, of course, and we had one early modernist, and nobody specialized in the 18th century, and there were dozens of small colleges in the area and state universities on the Northern Plains that were in the same situation. One thing we all had in common was teaching Brit Lit 1. Why not a conference that was inexpensive that people in the region could drive to? Uh, where people in similar situations could research in their area and trade ideas about teaching that important privilege[d], one course.

I know a few people at some of the closer schools: John Laughlin at Dakota State who hosted the second conference; Bruce Brandt and Mary Ryder at SDSU who hosted the third conference. They seemed to be positive about the idea and what I call the first Dakotas conference on early British literature was born. Some of my own colleagues, like Elizabeth Bankert and an interloping historian named Art Marmorstein, got involved.

As the conference continued, we sent out invitations all over The Dakotas, but, somehow, word leaked out to Nebraska where Bill Clemente and Mary Mockris hosted the fourth conference, forcing us to change the name to "The Dakotas Nebraska Conference on Early British Literature." Linda Krikenberg and Andrew Alexander, who'd been the conference regulars from the beginning, hosted the sixth conference, when it finally became the "Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature". And Minnesota, where David Springer and Barbara Olive Hill hosted the 10th Northern Plains Conference in Moorhead in 2002. In North Dakota, Phil Hansey hosted the fifth [sic] conference and regular attendee Michelle Sauer hosted the 11th conference in Minot and produced what was probably the classiest-looking proceeds volume.

One of the most popular things that kept the conference going was the decision to publish the proceedings annually and to send that proceedings volume to the MLA for their bibliography. This gave some folks, especially graduate students—who got a friendly taste of scholarly conferencing at this small venue—a chance of publication and when we had well-known keynote speakers who gave us permission to publish their address in the proceedings it made the volume particularly impressive. This was the key: the conference needed to be small and friendly. Nobody, even the most important speakers, got to make it an ego trip.

It helped that most often we didn't run concurrent sessions but everybody at the conference got to hear everybody else's paper and everybody had a last business lunch together and had a voice in planning the following Year's conference. It was successful in building a network of teachers and scholars from the area interested in each other's work and willing to uplift one another and not tear each other down. And I think that's why it's still going today, 30 conferences later, and that's why when I look at this year's program, I see names that go all the way back to those first conferences: Bruce Brandt. Hi, Bruce. Bob Smith. Hello, Bob. Michelle Sauer. Hey, Michelle. David Sprunger. Hi, David. And Art Marmorstein. We're still allowing historians in? Hey Art, you can't get in without the password.

I'm delighted to welcome you all to Bemidji. Thanks to Professor Hamrick for letting me harangue you. I'm delighted you're holding this conference 30 years later and I'm delighted so many of you are still attending this conference 30 years down the road. We must have been doing something right all this time. I hope to be addressing you at the 60th annual conference. I'll be 102, but I expect to be asked.

Conference Schedule

Friday, 14 April

Bangsberg Fine Arts Complex

8:15

Registration & Refreshments

Bangsberg Main Entrance, 2nd Floor

8:45

Welcoming Remarks

Bangsberg 218

Dr. Alan Bedford, Bemidji State University, Provost & VP for Academic Affairs
Dr. MaryTheresa Seig, Bemidji State University, Dean College of Arts, Education, and Humanities
Dr. Jay Ruud, University of Central Arkansas, NPCEBL Founder

9:00-10:15

Session 1: Beowulf & Beyond

Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Michelle M. Sauer

Larry Swain, Bemidji State University
Beowulf *and the Choices of Aethelred II*

Peter Ramey, Northern State University
Evidence from Andreas for the Early Medieval Reception of Beowulf

Kyle Robert Moore, University of North Dakota

"Stick It to the Man:" Constructions of Female Authority in the Old English Legend of St. Margaret

10:30-11:45

Session 2: Medieval Desires

Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Susan Wood

Michelle M. Sauer, University of North Dakota

Birds, Bees, Chastity, and Enclosure in Middle English Devotional Literature for Women

Charles Henry, University of North Dakota

"The Land of Cockaigne": A Tale of Clerical Authority Questioning Clerical Identity

Violet A. Ingeborg, University of North Dakota

"Thou arte of grete myght with God": Female Continence and the Lollard Heresy in John Mirk's Festial

12:00-1:00

Lunch Break

1:00-2:15

Session 3: Histories, Traditions & Memories

Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Bob DeSmith

Shaun Stiemsma, Dordt University

History in the Margins: History as Discourse in Holinshed and Drama

Amanda Watts, Minot State University

The Age of Enlightenment in Egypt: Archaeology, Exploration, and the British Invasion of Reason from John Greaves to Flinders Petrie

Martha Sherman, Bemidji State University
Wordsworth's: A Few Good Memories

2:30-3:20
Session 4A: Teaching & Learning
Bangsberg 212
Session Chair: Peter Ramey

Christina Di Gagni, Dawson Community College
High and Low: Minnelli's Mythologies and the Generalist Literature Classroom

Christopher Lozensky, Minot State University
Teaching Medieval Texts in an Undergraduate Children's Literature Course: A Fool's Errand?

Session 4B: Obscenity & Monstrosity
Bangsberg 218
Session Chair: Amanda Watts

Coral Lumbley, Macalester College
Feminist Obscenity in the Poetry of Gwerful Mechain

Mark Patterson, University of North Dakota
Mother of Monsters: Melusine, Queerness, and the Question of Patrimony

3:30-4:45
Session 5: The 17th Century
Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Stephen Hamrick

Bob De Smith, Dordt University

Reading the Signs of the World in Donne's Prose and Poetry

Art Marmorstein, Northern State University

Tragedy of the Common Adaptor: Otway's History and Fall of Caius Marius *and Its Source*

Liz Fisher, Bemidji State University

Eden and Spring: Paradise Lost *and Milton's Early Poetry*

5:15-8:00

<u>*Banquet & Keynote Address*</u>

Ruttger's Birchmont Lodge on Lake Bemidji

5:15 – Cash Bar

5:45 – Buffet Banquet

7:00 – Dr. Richard McCoy, "Shakespeare's Boy Heroines"

Saturday, 15 April

Bangsberg Fine Arts Complex

9:00-10:00

<u>*Session 6: Chaucer*</u>

Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Art Marmorstein

Will McPhee, Eastern Washington University

No Way Out: Contest and Conformity in "The Miller's Tale"

David Sprunger, Bethel College

Counting Chaucer's Pilgrims: A Practical Problem in Digital Humanities

10:10-11:25

Session 7A: Smollet, Swift & Burney

Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Jessica Durgan, Bemidji State University

Elizaveta Komkova, Bemidji State University

The References to Spartan and Athenian Education in Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels

Eric Furuseth, Minot State University

On The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker*: Another Example of the 18th-Century Epistolary Novel Using Middle/Professional Class Satire as a Teaching Tool to a Changing British Society*

Brooke Froehle, Bemidji State University

The Novelty of a/the Novel: Frances Burney's Evelina

Session 7B: Shakespeare & More

Bangsberg 212

Session Chair: Shaun Stiemsma

Susan Wood, Midland University

The Sincere Braggart: Don Armado in Love's Labour's Lost

Robert Kibler, Minot State University

Generational Abuse and Vengeful Response in King Lear

Bruce Brandt. South Dakota State University

"Was Ever Woman in this Humor Wooed?": Royal Courting and Seduction in Selected History Plays by Shakespeare and Marlowe

11:35

NPCEBL Business Meeting (lunch provided)

Bangsberg 212

Convener: Stephen Hamrick

12:00-1:15

Session 8: The 18th Century

Bangsberg 218

Session Chair: Will McPhee

Judith Dorn, St. Cloud State University

Literal Boundarywork: Satire and History, Secrets and Significance in William Byrd II's Dividing Line

Caroline Bender, Bemidji State University

Analyzing Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto *through a Feminist Lens*

Larry Swain
Bemidji State University

Beowulf and the Choices of Aethelred II

One of the curious questions is why two scribes copied *Beowulf* and preserved this text for posterity. Some have suggested this Scandinavian tale is preserved because of its Scandinavian connections, whether in the seventh century or twelfth. Others have suggested that it is rather a tale to show and encourage the English to fight the Norse armies in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Or was it perhaps simply an accident of copyists doing their copying and setting it on a shelf for centuries to be discovered by Laurence Nowell in 1563. I would like to here suggest that *Beowulf* and *Judith* are preserved, and preserved together, against a larger backdrop that includes both political theology, and different schools of thought on the role of kings during the reign of Aethelred II, and some of the Benedictine Reformers. If we take as given that the two poems were copied in a monastic context, a monastic context that in that period was up to its proverbial eyeballs in debates about what role the king should play in shifting political theology, and what policy should be taken with regard to the Norse incursions, responses to political shifts in the king's counselors, and so on, then we must ask why these texts, Beowulf and Judith, were copied and preserved at this crucial moment in time.

Both texts are "heroic" and were copied into the current manuscript, British Library Cotton Vitellius A.XV, between 975 and 1025. There are similarities in these two texts: a heroic chieftain, leading forces of good against foes and succeeding, loyal followers, and some good divine intervention, displaying traditional heroic values found in many cultures. Further, the leaders in the texts are traditional leaders: Scyld Scefing conquers many halls and peoples; his descendant Hrothgar likewise is a successful leader in battle enabling to distribute the necessary gifts to buy the loyalty of his troops, and build a grand hall, the best of halls. Later Beowulf himself is a leader who holds enemies at bay for a fifty-year reign. Judith is called the leader of the people Bethulah, kills her enemy, and her troops go out and rout their enemies bringing war booty back to lay at her feet. This is, from an Early Medieval Point of view, what successful

kingship looks like. Defeat the enemies and hopefully take them over, take some as slaves, take the booty, pass it out, including land and people.

Why would a Christian kingdom in the early Middle Ages be interested in preserving texts that are inimical to the Christian message? Especially considering that during the period in question, the Benedictine Reformers are leading not only major reforms in the church, but in politics as well. So, what gives?

Before answering that query, a review of the conditions in late tenth century England is in order. Edgar the Peaceable who had the good fortune to not have any attacks on his kingdom, not even the Vikings, during his reign ending in 975. His son Edmund replaces him but is murdered a mere three years later, a murder that was blamed by some on his stepmother and earns him the name “the martyr.” Aethelred II comes to the throne in 978 and rules an astonishing 38 years till 1016, one of the longest reigns of the entire Early Medieval period. And that with challenges from within and without.

Aethelred begins his reign under the cloud of his half-brother’s murder. Edgar the Peaceable, Aethelred’s father, had made it a policy to support the Benedictine Reform movement of monastic foundations in his kingdom with money, lands, legal support, and in a few instances armed force. Aethelred began his reign going in the opposite direction: he took lands that his father had given to the church and handed them back to the lords from which they had been taken. This made him popular among some, but certainly not with church leaders such as Dunstan. While in the 980s there had been 3 Viking raids in England, starting in 991 through to 1016, there was a permanent Norse army ravaging England. One of the key issues then is what to do about this. Among the problems is that when hearing of an attack, mustering the troops, and arriving at the site, too often the Norse army has done its damage and left. The other scenario is that battle was engaged, but the English lost, sometimes very badly. But this is only one proposed response to the Vikings: armed resistance. One piece of literature describes for us how armed conflict with the Norse fared for the English: the Battle of Maldon. Individual nobles in Devon, Ely, and other places tried to stem the invasion, but failed. From a political point of view, the lord, or king, should be out with the army to address the Norse threat. But Aethelred at this period of his reign declined, much to the consternation of some of the Witan.

The other approach was a Roman one. Buy them off. Give the Norse an incentive to stop attacking. And so, for the better part of the 990s and after, Aethelred paid Danegeld, collected from taxes on his nobles, to pay the Norse off. The problem with this, as the Romans found out, is that the blackmailer keeps coming back for more! And so, payments were made buying a year here, two years there, but always they came back. One Ulfrikir apparently twice received money in England, at least so his grandsons claimed raising a runestone in Ulfrikir's honor in Uppland, Sweden. Also in Uppland is a stone commemorating Ulf of Bornesta which claims that Ulf received danegeld three times in England, under the Swedish chieftain Toste, from Thorkell the Tall who led the Norse army in England from 992 until 1012, and under Knutr the Great. Other runestones exist commemorating men who fought in England and received a payment or two. One would think that these payments were substantial enough to individuals in the Norse army that their descendants are still talking about it in stone half a century later.

Sadly, this policy only had limited success. As stated, the Norse kept coming back for more! Aethelred is frustrated, the kingdom is frustrated, the church is frustrated. Aelfric of Eynsham remarks circa 1005 that the seat of the state is broken and indicates that it is the king and the nobles that are not fulfilling their duties. Aethelred changes tactics somewhat especially after 1002. Of course, in 1002 as everyone knows there was the St. Brice's Day massacre. While there are many questions about this event, the why, the wherefore, how wide-spread and so on, one thing is certain: Swayne the Forkbeard's sister was among the killed and as king of Denmark and parts of Norway and Sweden, he was not having that. So, invade he did. This called for another response. While Aethelred continued to raise money to pay off the Norse and made payments in 1002 and 1007, a different approach was being called for by the church leaders in particular. The second generation of Benedictine Reformers pointed out that Aethelred's father, Edgar the Peaceful, had not one single Viking raid during his reign. The Benedictine Reformers in Aethelstan's reign were pointing this out: what did Edgar do that Aethelstan didn't. For one thing, Aethelstan needed to support the church, support the Reform movement. Second, there was that cloud regarding his half-brother's murder, even if he wasn't at fault. That means a thorough ongoing program of repentance. And this is what Aethelstan did, not only for himself but for the whole kingdom. Obviously, the good Lord was in his heaven, and all was not right with the world! And so, the nation repented and pleaded with God to remove the scourge of the

Norsemen and give them peace. But it wasn't enough. As Wulfstan will note later in his Sermon of the Wolf, the non-Christian Norsemen do better and act more like Christians than the Christian English, a sermon delivered before the victorious Knut. To compound divine anger, at least according to Aelfric and Wulfstan, was the fact that priests and monks were swelling the ranks of the English forces, when in fact what the clerics should be doing according to Aelfric is waging spiritual warfare through prayer. Aelfric begins writing about this topic as early as the mid-990s in his *Lives of Saints*. Among the lives he reports is a summation and commentary on Exodus 17—the tale where Moses, representing the spiritual side, raises his arms above the battle, and as long as he keeps his arms raised, the Israelites win. Joshua leads the men on the field. Aelfric draws from this lesson an obvious point: if the English church and its monks and priests were praying instead of fighting on the field, the Biblical model indicates that the English church would defeat the Vikings. QED.

On a slightly different note, we find that there is a shift in ideas of leadership. For much of the early Middle Ages, conceptions of God as omnipotent and conqueror were in the forefront whether speaking of Roman theology, Byzantine, or what was exported to Northern Europe. One can see this in artwork such as the dome of Ravenna cathedral, in Charlemagne being given the Christologically significant nickname "David" who also was a divinely appointed king successful in battle, or Dream of the Rood with its warrior Christ and the comitatis of thegns in The Heliand. The King was considered to be the vicar of God….and like pre-Christian and Old Testament conceptions of the king, the king's success was divine approval, his failure divine rejection. And so, Aethelred...from the point of view many of his contemporaries he was a failure. The Norse armies were ravaging everywhere, even London, and nothing Aethelred did was sufficient...not payments, not resistance, not diplomacy, not repentance. But what if there were a different understanding of the king's role rather than as war-leader? In the tenth century we begin to see a shift toward the suffering Christ, and the king as "vicar of Christ." This is a significant shift...it means that Christ is being understood more and more not as a warrior leading his troops but as an expiatory sacrifice. This means that the king too becomes less of a warrior and more of a servant for his people.

In earlier work I argued that at least some of the literature in this period is addressing this swirl of ideas regarding conceptions of the king, what should be done about the Norse armies,

what should be done about the spiritual state of the kingdom. On the one hand, we have *Passio Sancti Edmundi*, one time king of East Anglia. The tale was written by a French monk, Abbo of Fleury, during or shortly after a visit to England, returning to the royal monastic foundation of Fleury in 984. According to Abbo, he heard the story from St. Dunstan at a meeting of clerics, and Dunstan heard the story some 60 years previously from Edmund's shield-bearer who was hiding in the bushes some 60 years before that, allegedly witnessing Edmund's martyrdom (and before that, Edmund's remarks to his bishop wherein the king schools his leading cleric in the tenets of the Christian faith. In the HISTORICAL record we know little). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle only mentions that in 869 Edmund fought the Vikings in East Anglish and lost. We do know that there was a growth of a cult of Edmund in the tenth century, and scholars have debated whether that cult was fostered by Wessex to discredit the Norse rulers of the Danelaw, or whether indeed the newly converted Norse in the Danelaw fostered the cult in honor of the martyr. But Abbo is clear in his prologue to the tale that NO ONE has heard this story until Dunstan told it, not even at centers that fostered the cult of Edmund in the late tenth century. There is in fact no record of the shield-bearer ever having told anyone this miraculous tale, especially the wonderful part of the king's posthumously removed head laying serenely at the feet of a wolf yelling "Here! Here!" for the searchers to find. And there is no record of a busy scriptorium under King Edward the Elder in whose court a young Dunstan served and allegedly, hearing this tale, jotted the remarkable down. Nor is there evidence that the king's assistant, later abbot of the significant monastery at Glastonbury, later archbishop of Canterbury for a quarter century, ever told anyone else or had the story written down, until suddenly in 984 with Norse armies beginning once again to attack England after a quarter century of peace. Might there be a message here that Benedictine Reformers Dunstan and Abbo want to convince a new king and his witan of in the late tenth century? Methinks "o yeah."

If we may use Aelfric of Eynsham as a kind of bellwether, in the 990s he compiles his *Lives of Saints*. In that collection he includes 6 local saints, 4 of which are royal saints. All four royal saints are Christian kings who must face a non-Christian foe. Three of those saints die in battle, and are styled martyrs, dying for the faith. The fourth, Edmund of East Anglia, is indeed a martyr but he does not die in battle. In the tale as Abbo tells it and Aelfric translates, Edmund is informed of the Great Army under Ivar the Boneless and his brother ravaging the country by his

bishop. The bishop immediately advises Edmund to flee, better to preserve his life and lose the kingdom than die needlessly. The king schools the bishop on the responsibilities of being a good king. So, it is expected then that the king will ride out and face the enemy on the battlefield. But then in comes a messenger from Ivar giving an ultimatum: surrender and you will rule under us or be killed, and we take over anyway. Edmund's response rejects his weapons and says he will surrender if Ivar and the army become Christians. And so, the king stands alone unarmed when the Vikings find him, and Edmund again issues his demand, and the Great Army tortures him, kills him, beheads him, and we have the amusing but fascinating tale of the hunt for the head. And of course, the Vikings in the Danelaw do become Christians, so success. Yay Edmund!

The question is what does this say about kingship? Here we see a king whose first concern is the Christian faith and is willing to sacrifice his own rule and even his life for the conversion of his heathen enemy. We have a king who eschews armed conflict, but who nonetheless faces his enemy bravely, with the valor of a Germanic hero. Abbo is not subtle in telling us that his model king is a vicar of Christ. Edmund specifically says that he will be like Christ in his response to the Heathen army. And Abbo ends the tale by saying: alique exitu crucis mortificationem quam iugiter in suo corpore rex pertulit, Christi Domini sui secutus uestigia, consummauit. And so, at his death the king suffered the mortification of the cross which he continually endured in his own body following in the steps of his Lord Christ..."to give two brief examples of so much more in Abbo's tale connecting the king with Christ. Abbo gives to England what he has been working on with the Capetian kings in Frankia: the king as a Christ-centered ruler emphasizing service, the suffering Christ rather than the Victorious Christ.
Well, the Benedictine Reformers selling this message were not the only game in town, nor the only ones wanting to have the king's ear. There are competing voices even among the clergy. Alice Shepherd demonstrated some years ago that the authors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the period certainly have a message that the king does not have raed the basis of the later nickname Unraed Noble Council the Uncounciled. But it is also monks who are composing and copying texts with other messages. One such is the poem, *Judith*. Thought to have been composed in the Alfredian period or immediately after with a message to take up arms against the "heathen" foe. Even a century later in his letter to Sigeweard, Aelfric of Eynsham says exactly that about *Judith* in the Biblical account on which the poem is based. The poem departs

from the biblical account by depicting a major battle after Judith's actions of beheading in which Judith's people fight a heathen foe and of course are victorious. The parallels with England under Aethelred II cannot be missed or overlooked.

Immediately next to *Judith* in the manuscript is *Beowulf*. While there are no major battles in the sense of army vs army depicted in the poem, there are nonetheless several references to such, all in the context of demonstrating that three figures in the poem are great kings. Scyld Scefing is described as militarily successful, "taking the mead benches of many tribes" ...that was a good king. Hrothgar likewise is presented as a "good king" ...successful in battle, built the best of halls, gave rich gifts, provided for his people. Later, Beowulf is also called a good king as he ascends the throne, having already proven himself in some way or other. Those of us who teach the Beowulf poem regularly frequently teach the 3 monster battles, or perhaps less frequently the 3 funerals, or we might even be tempted to talk about Young Beowulf vs Old Beowulf ala Tolkien. But whichever way into the poem we take with our students, the background of those 3 good kings and the culture that is depicted emphasizes that traditional view of kingship: successful war leader means blessed by God, as the poet tells us many times stating how God aided Beowulf in his battles against the Grendelkin and dragon. *Beowulf* offers a template of what it means to be a good king, one that pairs with the *Judith* poem, and is in direct opposition to the Passion of St. Edmund and the Benedictine Reformers.

Aethelred over the course of his reign changes strategies multiple times. He lets his nobles handle it, and that fails. He becomes contrite, and repentant, and has a nationwide policy of repentance and prayer. That fails. In 1005 he cleans house and sends long-time counselors away from his presence, even having one killed. He then elevates a man who will eventually betray him, and one needn't read history to know how that went. Eventually he finally becomes a war leader after 1012 and eventually fights the Norse army under Swain Forkbeard to a draw...he finally chose to be a good king as presented in the two poems and finally was meeting with success when he died in 1016.

The literature of the late Old English period, both in composition as well as in preservation, is rife with political commentary, even political theology. The churchmen of the period from the archbishop of Canterbury down to copyists in their scriptoria. When we ponder why a poem such as Beowulf was preserved, one key reason is what the poem says about the

nature of kingship when such a message might just be needed with an angry Norseman on your doorstep.

Shaun Stiemsma
Dordt University

History in the Margins: History as Discourse in Holinshed and Drama

In his classic but now-largely-discarded *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*, Irving Ribner defined history plays in terms of the plays' intention to engage in "the purposes of history." He defined them in terms that treated playwrights as, essentially, historians engaging in historical work, and his emphasis has been rightly seen as limiting the dramatic, economic, and aesthetic purposes which may have been far more central in the minds of those writing the plays. But Ribner himself acknowledged that many other aspects informed and shaped the plays he discussed: he was merely trying to identify the ways in which history plays as history plays were distinct, and the interest in the relationship between these plays and history was certainly an aspect of their initial writing and performing and continues to be of primary critical interest for much of the discussion of these plays to this day. But all of Ribner's seven purposes of history are stated in terms of the historian as recording and implementing historical materials. He lists purposes like "a nationalistic glorification of England," the "use of past events as a guide to political behavior in the present," the use of historical exemplars, and evincing "providence" in God's "rational plan in human events."[1] All of these purposes deal with authoritative histories, both in terms of the official sources for the plays and in terms of the official status of the historical writers to accomplish those purposes.

These are certainly present to varying degrees in the history plays I've read and studied in the last fifteen years or so that I've focused on early modern history plays, but I've recently had the opportunity to examine early modern printed historical texts through an NEH seminar last summer, from huge folios of Holinshed and Foxe to the quartos of various history plays down to the tiny chronicle of Stowe. In exploring these texts, I became fascinated by the marginal comments and markings that early modern readers had added to their texts, from simple underlining to technical corrections all the way to longer personal commentary on the text. In

[1] Ribner, 26.

reading and contemplating these kinds of responses, I've shifted from thinking about the playwrights (and even chroniclers) as simply engaging in authoritative purposes of history to seeing the discursive, relational nature of history as an encounter between reader and writer, performance and audience, playwright and playgoer, both engaging in connecting history with personal experience. So, from a more reader/audience rather than writer/playwright perspective, I'm interested in considering the ways we might explore some history plays as discourse, as a connection point between the knowledge and the experience of the audience and the materials of history assembled by the playwright.

In exploring these texts—and I've only begun to do so, so there's nothing scientific about what I've found because of its sample size—I note an increase of commentary and other insertions as the history recorded gets closer to the historical moment of the reader. In particular, several sources revealed an uptick in annotations in the reign of Henry VIII, by which time we are getting to readers whose immediate forebears, perhaps parents or grandparents even, might well have experienced the events recorded. Thus, the discursive nature of history becomes not merely from different authoritative accounts, but from personally remembered conversations, from tales recounted or ballads heard within the home or the pub, or, in some cases, even stories about one's own family. I'd like to share a couple of marginal notes I've found—primarily from copies of Holinshed and other books held at the Ohio State Library Rare Book Room—and consider how we can see this sort of "marginal" history in two plays about the reign of Henry VIII, Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me* and William Shakespeare and John Fletcher's *Henry VIII*, also called *All Is True*. These plays, likely written in 1603 and 1612, respectively, during the reign of King James I, stage events taking place just sixty to eighty years prior to their initial performances, and they were, from all records we can determine, likely performed at least in part for the king and his family, as well as many other nobles and common people, but any and all of those seeing the play might have known the people and events on stage, and some were even relatives of those presented. Thus, these plays seem to me a unique opportunity to explore the discursive nature of history in drama, from drawing on the established image of its central monarch, to the ways the plays are in discourse with each other, to the ubiquity of marginal commentary and interpretation in both plays, and finally to the ways in which the plays overtly invite the audience to engage in the discourse of the play's history.

Since these plays cover history that some of their audiences may have lived through, we might expect these plays to be particularly historically accurate. The title of Rowley's play, *When You See Me You Know Me*, implies that the audience will recognize the central character immediately as an accurate portrayal. However, the play is absurdly loose as a record of history: the play opens with Henry already married to a pregnant Jane Seymour, suggesting 1537 as its starting date, but it features Cardinal Wolsey prominently throughout the play, despite his death in 1530. Thus, the sub-title of Shakespeare and Fletcher's play—*All Is True*—may be an argument against the inaccuracies of the earlier play, and the prologue announces that the play will share its "chosen truth" (18) with its audience rather than presenting a "bawdy play" (14), clearly a shot at Rowley's play, evidence of the discourse between the two plays before *Henry VIII* even begins. The play goes on to use forms of "true" no less than fifty times, so it seems to have an interest in truth. Nonetheless, we find little more interest in chronological accuracy, as Henry is married to Anne Boleyn, which took place in 1533, before the fall of Wolsey, which was 1529, and the birth of Elizabeth I and the defense of Cranmer against his Catholic accusers are similarly inverted, despite the former taking place ten years prior to the latter.[2]

Rather than an interest in chronological accuracy, both of these plays seem to be about some other way of getting at the "truth." Both proceed almost as if they were a series of historical vignettes, or, in the case of *Henry VIII* especially, a series of historical processions and spectacles. In this way, I would argue that the playwrights themselves are engaging in writing in the margins of a known history already shared with their audience, and they are also inviting their audiences to be engaged in the historical discourse enacted on stage, connecting themselves with the history before them.

But what kind of marginalia do these plays evince, especially those that seem distinct from those seven uses of "authoritative" histories? There are three types of marginal notes that I've found that make for suggestive material in considering how these plays about Henry VIII may have functioned for their earliest audiences. First, there are notes that show a delight in the idiosyncrasies of historical figures, their human foibles, as opposed to merely their official acts

[2] Foakes, xxxvii

and important characteristics, a tendency towards even caricature. [see images below in figures 1.1-1.3]

Figure 1.1
"Human interest" in early modern history texts.
Hand-caricatured image of Mary Queen of Scots, Henry's Grandniece, from a first edition of Holinshed.

Figure 1.2
List of Henry's court, with a note indicating which knight was responsible for the king's "stool."

Figure 1.3
Title page of Rowley's play, with the image of Henry clearly based on Holbein.

This kind of note evinces a discourse on and a delight in character, on the humanness of these historical figures, which both plays certainly do. Second, there are many notes that are primarily interested in connecting the history presented with the reader's own experience and history, that one's own relation to history becomes part of the history. [See figures 2.1-2 below]

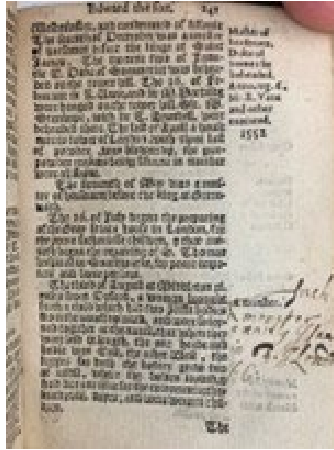

Figure 2.1
Personal connection in early modern history.
A reader has documented having seen a similar "monster" to one described in Stowe's history.

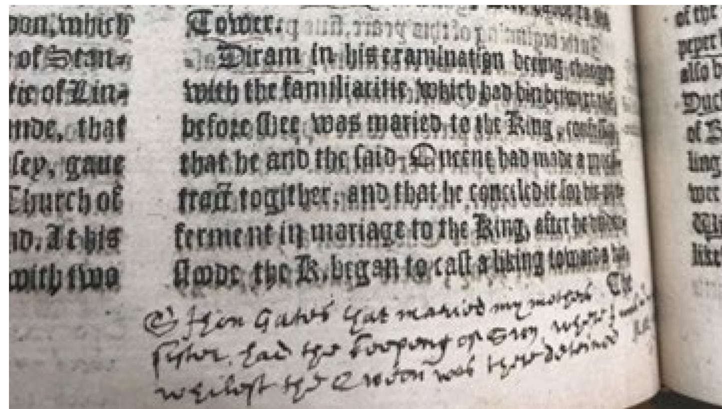

Figure 2.2
A reader notes in a Holinshed text that the indicated person "married my mothers systre."

This kind of direct engagement with history invites a discursive, polyvocal history, and this personalized interaction with history is seen in the plays, as well. A third type of note is that of direct commentary on history, the marginal insertion of one's own view and thought on the actions described, and these take on an almost "rumor" like effect in some instances. [See figure 3 below] This directly discursive history is evinced in both Henry the eighth plays, and

Shakespeare and Fletcher's play seems designed to create this kind of engagement for its audience.

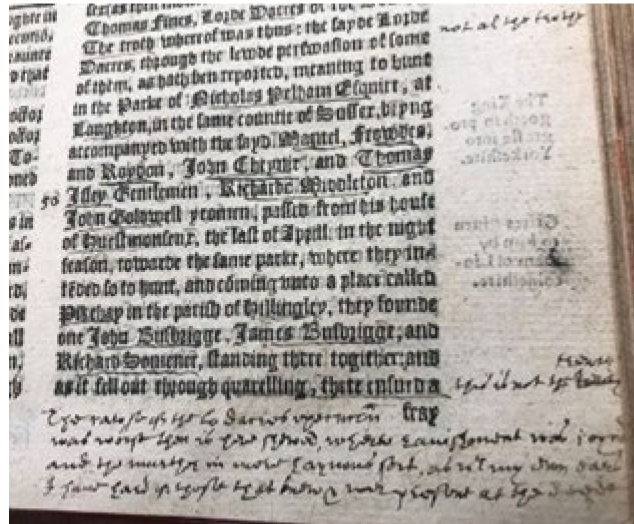
Thomas Fines, Lorde Darres of the ...
The troth wherof was thus: the sayde Lorde
Darres, through the lewde perswasion of some
of them, as hath ben reported, meaning to hunt
in the Parke of Nicholas Pelham Esquire, at
Laughton, in the same countie of Sussex, beyng
accompanyed with the sayd Mantel, Frowdes,
and Roydon, John Cheyney, and Thomas
Isley Gentlemen, Richarde Middleton, and
John Goldwell yeomen, passed from his house
of Hurstmonseux, the last of Aprill in the night
season, towarde the same parke, where they in-
tended so to hunt, and comming vnto a place called
Pikehay in the parish of Hillingley, they founde
one John Busbrigge, James Busbrigge, and
Richard Sommer, standing there togither, and
as it fell out through quarrelling, there ensued a
fray

Figure 3

Rumor and discourse in marginalia. A reader claims that Holinshed's account is "not al the truthe" in the margin and then gives a personal account of the recorded action, including claims "I have hearde" and "I saw."

The first form of discursive marginalia that I see these plays engaging in is the image of the monarch, perhaps England's most iconic king, noted for his large personality and personal life as much as for his accomplishments. Many critics have pointed out the ways in which the quirks of the iconic monarch are exploited in both plays: Henry uses the interjection "Ha!" repeatedly in both, and even indulges in repeated "Mary" curses in *When You See Me*. Both plays only indirectly address the break with Rome, as both have anti-clerical sentiment before Henry breaks free from Wolsey's machinations, but neither makes him an anachronistic Protestant or focuses on his establishment of the Church of England. Both plays feature more than one wife, with suggestions and echoes of others, though both are restrained enough to require the audience to have to complete the caricature of the king's lust and obsession with producing a male heir at the expense of as many wives as it took. Both plays may have drawn on the "Holbein" version of the king, an almost comic vision of the monarch. [see figure 4, below, as well as 1.3], but here we may detect the ways in which the two plays are discursive with one another, as R.A. Foakes has suggested that Shakespeare and Fletcher's play should not suggest the fat Holbein Henry, but a

younger, fitter king as part of their re-characterization in their version.[3] The fairly significant difference between the two portrayals is itself evidence of direct discourse with their initial audiences, according to Mark Rankin,[4] who suggests that Rowley intended his play for James I's son Henry, making the future Edward VI the focus of the play, while Shakespeare and Fletcher's Henry is intended to be a complimentary portrayal related to James himself.

Figure 4
Thomas Betterton as Henry VIII in a post-Restoration performance.
If Foakes is correct about the original costuming, it seems the Holbein version quickly took over again.
This itself, if true, would only further evince the discursive nature of history in presenting history.

The portrayal in *When You See Me* is of the "Bluff King Hal" sort,[5] as its centerpiece is a curious (and probably false) story of Henry getting arrested when fighting in London in disguise. His constant exclamations, his jocular interactions with his fools, and more all further this image, little of which is present in Shakespeare and Fletcher's work. The play also puts his physical shortcomings—specifically his injured leg—on display, as he is shown leaning on others as he walks, and the audience recognizing his injured leg is central to a scene in which he threatens to "foot [Wolsey] to the earth" and to bring those who support Luther against him to "their knees," when he angrily interrupts himself to complain to the page who dresses him, saying, "Base slave, tie soft, thou hurt'st my leg."[6] But the play also draws on a "marginal" historical source to positively characterize Henry, as early in the play Jane Seymour struggles with a difficult labor

[3] Foakes, lxi-lxvii.
[4] 349-350.
[5] Foakes, lxi, in an argument against such a portrayal in *Henry VIII*.
[6] 19.

and the king is asked to choose whether Jane or the baby—the future King Edward the Sixth—should be saved, as the doctors cannot save both. This choice—fictitious but very humanizing for a monarch who executed two wives and divorced two others—creates a powerful human moment, as the king chooses Jane initially, but she then takes the choice from him and chooses the unborn child. According to Kim Noling, the episode is drawn from a ballad[7] and is demonstrably false—but its inclusion characterizes Henry for the audience in a way that creates a discourse to rehabilitate his character against their common knowledge. Thus, the audience is encouraged to engage in re-making the meaning of the historical persons before them.

In many ways, Shakespeare and Fletcher's portrayal is often considered a revision of the earlier play's caricature of the king, and we can see how the play invites the audience to participate in the ongoing discourse of Henry's person and reign, as well as the many possibilities of its meaning. The portrayal of Henry is less comic—the prologue, commonly seen as a response to Rowley's play, promises that it will be a serious play and that the audience should be prepared to be sad. This apparent differentiation is part of the reason to suspect a younger (the play is set— as far as one can get any chronology from these plays—about 15 years earlier than Rowley's) and healthier Henry, as opposed to the Holbein version so commonly conceived. Though Henry does lean on Wolsey in his first entry, he is shown to be quite sprightly in dancing at the masque at Wolsey's in Act II, and his sexuality is quite overt, as he comes on strong to Anne at Wolsey's party, and he expresses regret at the idea of losing "so sweet a bedfellow" as Katherine of Aragon when his conscience makes him question his first marriage. This version of Henry is thus more virile, but perhaps at the expense of his temperance, creating a space for the audience to fill in a more complete character of Henry from the suggestions put forth in the play.

A second way the plays engage in marginal history is the inclusion of discourse about history being presented directly on stage. In *When You See Me*, the primary means to present these kinds of comments is through the consistent inclusion of clowns in many scenes. Will Summer, Henry's famed fool who would be known to audiences from dramatic presentations as well as other writings and almost certainly an oral tradition, is the most trenchant commentator

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[7] Noling, 330.

throughout the play. Unlike Shakespeare and Fletcher, Rowley includes direct reference to Henry being granted the title "Defender of the Faith" from the Pope, but no sooner is this announced in the play than Will tears it down: "I am sure the true faith is able to defend itself without thee."[8] This not only mocks the pretensions of the king in defending faith in God, it also suggests that the faith he defends is not true, as he immediately distinguishes the "true faith" from "the pope's faith." Both Wolsey's and Henry's reputations for their sexual appetite are also fodder for commentary presented as rumor rather than fact, as Wolsey is accused of having "a fair leman [an unlawful lover] at Charlton,"[9] and Henry himself is chided with reference to having "a wench" in his bed.[10]

But not all the marginal comments and discursive history are mockery in the play: the play concludes with a "dispute" between the bishops and the king's "Lutheran" wife, Katherine Parr. These discussions are kept light by the king's presence in support of his queen, but they get as close to religious debate as was likely possible at the time, as Katherine claims that "if [Luther's writings] teach a truer way to heaven, / Agreeing with the Hebrew Testament, /Why should they not be followed?"[11] She goes on to more comfortable topics of the King's power over the pope and her own inferiority as a woman, but she clearly bests Bonner and Gardiner in the play. Thus, Rowley shows characters engaging in discursive commentary about history even as they live it out, but the play tends to use its commentary to offer clear correct answers, suggesting the way the audience ought to see what is presented rather than engaging the audience in their own direct response.

Conversely, from the very beginning of *Henry VIII*, or even before it begins, the audience is directly engaged in discursive commentary on the events dramatized. The prologue encourages the audience to "Think you see / The very persons of our noble story / As they were living" (25-27), and then goes on to present—almost more than it presents history—people viewing and commenting on history. The play opens with a well-known incident in Henry's reign, the Field of the Cloth of Gold summit meeting with the French, but rather than presenting it on stage, it

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[8] 25.
[9] 39.
[10] 77.
[11] 57.

provides reports of it, and develops commentary that quickly moves from its spectacle and glory to its "spider-like" (1.1.62) direction by Wolsey to its total failure as an agreement between the nations. This pattern continues throughout the play, as Buckingham's trial and Anne Bullen's coronation, two central moments in the play's action, are not actually shown on stage but only referenced and reported on by those who view the processionals that attended the events. And the commentators who report give shape and meaning to these events, but the play also casts doubt on such reports, as Buckingham's trial is based on reports the audience should recognize as false, and Wolsey claims that he is characterized by "sick interpreters" (1.2.82) and Katherine of Aragon complains of "false professors" (3.1.115) who shape accusations against her.

The primary method of inserting commentary in the play is the inclusion of scenes of the two (and sometimes three) gentlemen, 2.1 and 4.2. These voices become a kind of chorus for the play, as they represent the responses of those who "see the very persons / Of our noble story" in the play itself. McMullan argues that the gentlemen "fail to fulfill their ostensible role as choric figures" because they "do not cut through the confusion of events."[12] However, in the discursive, polyvocal history that the play engages in, they perfectly perform the kind of choric response that marginal notes from multiple texts would produce. Their idiosyncratic and shifting interests—they move from discussion of Buckingham's trial to the juicier, newer gossip about the king's impending divorce— are an appropriate commentary on the kind of responses that the history texts I've explored show. Their tendency to glory in their connection to great events and their penchant for tearing down the participants in those events reflect the same kind of interests that seem to spark annotators in historical texts, and likely reflected the discussions that playgoers had about the events they'd seen dramatized, to the extent that they, too, saw the very persons in the drama as living before them, both the historical personages and their contemporary political relevance.

Shakespeare and Fletcher's play is overt in its invitation to personal connection, as we've seen, from its very prologue, but it also ends with a clear invitation to make the audience directly connected with its action. As the play heads to its climactic close in the baptism of Elizabeth—which is, appropriately, reported rather than enacted—and the prophecy of Cranmer about

[12] 103.

Elizabeth's bright future, taking the audience right up to its own moment in his references to James I. But before this culmination in 5.4 comes the curious addition of 5.3. This scene, at first, might seem like another of the "gentlemen" scenes of rumor mongering, but its function is a bit different. We don't get commentary on the proceedings in this scene, just excitement and energy from the audience that will be witness to the scene to follow. The scene draws the audience in the theater together with the audience in the play, as they are compared to "youths that thunder at a playhouse," (5.3.62) and the scene ends with the porter pushing people back from the bar, likely a reference to the edge of the stage and probably enacted there, effectively making the audience in the play and that at the play one, especially given the clear references to James I in the scene that they clamor to be part of. So, the close of the play is a direct invitation to participate in the discursive history that the whole play has enacted.

So, what "truth" does history show in these plays? If all is true, and if we know the truth when we see it, it is true only in the sense that the "chosen truth" these plays present is a discursive space in which audience finds their own truth in the reign of England's most recognizable king. Both Rowley and the Shakespeare and Fletcher duo, thus, are filling in the margins of their Holinshed as they produce drama, underlining events, creating their own connections to the persons on stage, drawing mustaches on their chosen targets and adding notations about the meaning and character of those referenced in the facts of history. In considering the "legitimate purposes of history" all those years ago, Ribner was at least partially right about what history plays set out to do. But he, and so many other readers and historians, overlook the ways in which history is a discursive space, in which different meanings and connections create different notions of history as a whole. Though they are not historians, per se, both playwrights engage in this discursive marginalia, as each frustratingly flouts the known details of history, choosing to ignore or rearrange events and people, suggesting new possible meanings with each distortion, and inviting their audiences to recognize and re-shape the reign of Henry VIII. While such an approach may not make for historical drama that meets modern tastes, the popularity of both plays through the 17th century suggests that, while these figures and events were still fresh in the minds of their audiences, those audiences delighted in engaging in personal discourse with these plays as much as readers of Holinshed took pleasure in producing their own marginalia.

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Wordsworth's: A Few Good Memories

William Wordsworth's ideas about the connection between memory and time were reflected in his two outstanding poems, "Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey" and "The Prelude." Talking about his own experiences and journeys, Wordsworth reveals his ways of thinking or reasoning that sought to explore fundamental questions about meaning, reality, existence, and knowledge. The latter poem describes a walk he took with his beloved sister years ago and how the memory of that walk has stayed with him over time. He notes, "nature never did betray/ The heart that love her." In the former poem, he writes about his experiences in the Alps and how they helped him to "store up food" for his mind. He especially emphasizes how "the external world/ Is fitted to the mind." For Wordsworth, nature acted as a kind of mnemonic device for inspiration and writing. Memories were starting points that helped him to see into the life of things. Moreover, they represent the most important tools for finding meaning in life to "build up the being that we are by deeply drinking-in the soul of things" (Abrams 85). In both of his poems, he explores the ways in which memory shapes our understanding of the world and our place within it. Such ideas include how nature reclaims memory and helps create continuity between the past, present, and future. His ideas on how memory connects us to our past selves is a central focus of my research. I'm interested in how he uses the influence of nature to move time and connect us to our memories. On a larger scale, I will analyze William Wordsworth's poetry and how it presents a complex Romanticism exploration of memory, as he explores the power of the past to shape the present, the role of nature as a cuing device and the ways in which individual and collective memories intersect and influence each other.

Memory pertains to the connection between the individual and time, as well as that between the mind and the passage of time. It is a cognitive process that operates internally, resulting in a coalescence of current and past occurrences, which then consolidates thoughts into a coherently unified whole. The concept of memory was minor in literature and poetry for centuries before Wordsworth. The earliest examples of memory in poetry can be found in the

works of Homer, often linked to the remembrance of heroes and the past. In the fourteenth century, Chaucer wrote about memory in the ways in which it can be unreliable and how memories can change over time. In the early seventeenth century, the poets John Milton and Alexander Pope wrote about it in their works and how it shapes human experience and identity. However, it was Wordsworth in the later century who made the greatest contribution by examining what it means writing about oneself, drawing from memories, and transforming them into something that may be valuable for other people to read (Robinson 4). Throughout the eighteenth century, memory received a lot of attention. Memory considered as a literary idea in poetry was not as familiar as memory being considered as a mental capacity. Memory was defined as the recollection of real events, while the imagination was associated with thoughts that were not based on immediate experiences. Although it was acknowledged that these two capabilities were independent, it was also realized that in some instances, imagination could take on the characteristics of memory; on the other hand, memory could deteriorate to the point of being mere imagination. Therefore, the concept of memory envisioned by Wordsworth became a subject of profound influence during the Romantic era.

The philosophical aspects of memory typically revolve around questions: What is the nature of memory? Can we trust our memories to accurately reflect reality? How are memories formed and stored? Why do we remember some things but forget others? Philosophers have also explored issues to memory and personal identity. It poses the question: Can a person still be the same individual without access to their memories? In "*The Landscape of Memory*", Christopher Salvesen proposes that Wordsworth's best poetry can be better understood by analyzing how memory works, functions, or operates over time. Despite being a relatively new mode of experience in literature, memory is intricately linked to Wordsworth's originality, poetic development, past places, and his personal feelings. Salvesen depicts Wordsworth as a pioneer in exploring the ways in which memory informs our understanding of the world around us, particularly regarding the relationship between the individual and the natural environment.

Attention is drawn to the complex nature of memory, which can elicit strong emotions in the present while also being tinged with nostalgia and a sense of loss. Wordsworth's poetry explores the way memory has a way of connecting the past and creating a sense of connection with those who have come before us. His poetry symbolizes the memory of how the distant past

may be perceived, but memory serves as a bridge that enables individuals to close that divide. Wordsworth's poetry often touches on this duality of memory, which can create a separation between past and present consciousnesses (Salvesen 36). Moreover, Wordsworth recognizes that memory plays a crucial role in creating a permanent personal history and a sense of continuity over time. As illustrated in "Tintern Abbey", the pleasant thoughts and memories associated with a place can provide sustenance for the future. Wordsworth's verse also emphasizes how reflecting on the past can foster restorative memory. This enables his readers to impart some essential truths gleaned from the world around them. This shift in the way people see things makes the eye become an inward, reflective lens that broods and sleeps in the heart (Salvesen 75). Wordsworth's poetry exemplifies his philosophy, emphasizing the interrelation of all things and the importance of introspection and reflection in understanding the world and our place in it. By recognizing the power of the inner eye, Wordsworth suggests that we can develop a deeper understanding of ourselves, our relationships with others, and the natural world, ultimately leading to a more profound sense of purpose and fulfillment.

John Locke, an English philosopher from the seventeenth century, was an important philosophical influence on Wordsworth’s poetry. Locke's ideas about how the "power of nature" on human experience and the role of sensation in shaping our thoughts and beliefs resonate with Wordsworth's own views on the potency of the environment to define human perceptions and the human mind (Abrams 103). One of Locke's most famous ideas was the "tabula rasa" or blank slate theory, which suggests that human beings are born with empty minds and that all knowledge and ideas are gained through experience. This idea influenced Wordsworth’s conception of the might of Mother Nature shaping individual perceptions and experiences, as well as his emphasis on personal observation and experience as a source of poetic inspiration. On the other hand, Wordsworth believed that humans have a deep, intuitive, and emotional connection to nature that is often overlooked in traditional empirical observation. Additionally, Locke’s views on language and the relationship between language and experience may have influenced Wordsworth’s emphasis on the use of simple and natural language in his poetry. He believed all men could have a true sense of depth and meaning of life and that the feeling of the modest is as important as those of the most renowned (Drabble 29). Locke's essay on "The Conduct of Understanding" argues that the use of clear and simple language can help individuals

gain a better understanding of the world around them. This idea is reflected in Wordsworth's use of plain, everyday language to describe natural phenomena and his memory of the human experience in his poetry. Locke was an influential philosopher who believed that all ideas and knowledge come from experience. His ideas about sensation, perception, and memory helped shape Wordsworth's own views on these subjects.

Wordsworth's profound appreciation of nature is a recurrent theme in his poetry, one that is intimately linked to his perception of time. As exemplified by the poem "Michael", Wordsworth sees the natural world and the human mind as mutually reinforcing, each filled with a sense of lasting significance that reaches beyond fleeting moments. The striking landscapes that he encounters are a potent source of personal and collective memory which he repeatedly draws upon throughout his literary output (Salvesen 148). His perception of memory and the past is frequently exhibited as a time-based presence, not only within his own recollection but also in the tangible embodiment of various entities, such as his sister Dorothy, friend Coleridge, a vast assortment of observed or invented shepherds, vagrants, and discharged military personnel, not to mention birds, beasts, and flowers, and the very forms of nature, such as lakes, mountains, and clouds (152). Wordsworth's strongest sentiments were connected to the great contours and substantial mass of the hills of his birthplace, which left an indelible impression on his sense of memory, time, and identity. This impression was initially ingrained during his early childhood and later reinforced through his poetry, serving as a continuously evolving source of creative inspiration (158). His strong attachment to a place was always intertwined with the workings of his memory. Through repeated exposure to recognizable landscapes, coupled with the emotions and recollections of past pleasures, he experienced a range of intricate and complex human feelings. For Wordsworth, the core concept underlying memory is not simply the act of revisiting physical locations but rather the understanding that these sources of memory are continually present within him in both place and time. Memory is not only a continuous recollection of the past but also a distance that separates and creates the space needed for an instantaneous unity (198).

Wordsworth is primarily known as a romantic poet rather than a philosopher. He writes about the importance of intuition and a deep, emotional understanding of the natural world as a means of gaining insight and wisdom. Wordsworth also explores memory in cooperation with

imagination. Memory, whether remembered or imagined, involves loss because the mind cannot re-create an experience; it can only make a memory approximately accurate (Robinson 10). In the preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth asserts that poetry is born from recollection; it is only after emotions and concepts have been assimilated to the point of tranquility that they can produce "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" that embody poetry (Rountree 55). Time is of the essence in this process (Robinson 54). Although Wordsworth experienced separation from his siblings during childhood, this did not disappoint him; rather, it fostered a greater appreciation for their reunion in later years. He wrote extensively about the experiences of childhood in his poems. He believed childhood was a time of greater clarity and innocence and that adults could learn from their experiences as children. In several of his poems, he draws on his own childhood memories to express his belief in the upside and ease of childhood. One of his most famous poems, “Tintern Abbey,” is an indication of the power of memory, where he lyrically recalls his childhood experiences along the Wye River in Wales. He uses his memories to show the ideas of the passing nature of time and beauty of the physical world. Also, in “We are Seven,” Wordsworth describes a conversation between an adult and a young girl about her family, in which she insists that although two of her siblings have died, they are still existing in her life. Her mind was just as much on the memory of playing in the snow as on the memory of their death. Her unawareness that death is disconnection is obvious to the narrator and reader (Drabble 51). The poem is a reflection on the persistence of childhood memories and the permanent connections they create. Overall, Wordsworth’s use of childhood memories in his poetry mirrors his belief in the importance of the natural world and the power of individual experiences to create meaning and connection in our lives.

Wordsworth was also known as the "philosopher poet" for his preference of recording his own experiences and defending his personal insights against skepticism. Throughout his poetic work, profound metaphysical concepts intermingle and alternate with vivid depictions of the natural world’s beauty. One example of his use of this idea in his poetry is in his work “Tintern Abbey”. In this poem, he reflects on his connection with both nature and his own spiritual being. He writes:

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living,
And the blue, and in the mind of man.

This passage portrays the metaphysical idea of a spiritual force that go beyond the physical world and soaks everything around us. Wordsworth's philosophy is an expression of what is referred to as "sentimental imagination", a mode of thought that recognizes the importance of feeling and emotion in the apprehension of the natural world (Stallknecht 31). Wordsworth sees nature not as an object to be studied or analyzed but as a living presence with which the individual can form a deep and meaningful connection. This connection is based on a recognition of the essential unity of all things and a belief in the inherent goodness of nature.

Wordsworth's spiritual belief, referred to as Pantheism, views the entire universe, including everything in nature, as divine rather than a personal God. According to this belief, God is not a separate entity but is infused in everything, making the universe itself divine. A theme that comes up often in Wordsworth's work is the natural world. During the Romantic period, poets considered the natural world to be a source of beauty and inspiration, and transcendence. It was a central part of human experience, and its beauty and awe-inspiring qualities could lead to spiritual insight and emotional renewal. His philosophical convictions made it clear to him that there were no separate beings but rather that everything in existence was united through a universal spirit, which he refers to as 'one life'.

In the spirit of the age, William Wordsworth is at the center of the story, but this is the age that writers began writing above all about themselves. A French Romantic said he was convinced “the great writers have told their own story in their works, when only truly describes one’s own heart by attributing it to another, and the greater part of genius is composed of memories.” Memory places a crucial role in shaping the intellect and creativity of those who are considered

to be geniuses. A significant part of Wordsworth’s intellect is not only innate but also the result of his ability to remember and recall information.

In conclusion, Wordsworth's poetry offers a valuable contribution to the larger movement of Romanticism and its philosophical explorations. By examining the power of memory, the influence of nature on human thought and perception, and the intersections of individual and collective experience, Wordsworth reaches beyond mere poetic language to delve into the nature of human existence itself. As such, his poetry remains relevant today as an exploration of some of the most fundamental aspects of human experience and continues to inspire and challenge readers to engage with their own memories, experiences, and perceptions in meaningful and thought-provoking ways.

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Reading the Signs of the World in Donne's Prose and Poetry

Donne was a person who had to keep his nose to the wind: he had to read the signs of the world around him. He had to worry about a brother, arrested for harboring a priest; at sea, he interpreted both a storm and a calm: in a verse epistle to a friend, he describes shipmates asking "'What news?" and he diagnoses the "ship's sickness" in "The Storm" (Dickson, 49; 53).[13] He had to read the court—to flatter, impress, plead, and seek patronage—this a delicate matter of reading others and of seeking to have them read him correctly both in person and through his poetry. Katherine Rundell remarks that "Performance, and the clothes that accompany it, remained an interest all of Donne's life" (Rundell, 57). Donne dressed to impress, to be read.[14] Equally, he was at pains to be understood well in his verse epistles: Rundell writes, "There must have been real satisfaction for him somewhere in lavishing compliments" (Rundell, 195). As a preacher, he read his audience, adapting to their status and to the occasion, while at the same time "always preaching to himself" (as Walton puts it; Rundell 224)—reading himself. In his *Devotions*, he reads the signs of his illness—they are the "emergent occasions" for his meditations. In "Hymn to God, My God, in My Sickness," the poet reads his physicians reading him like a map.[15] Everywhere, there are signs.

Like the rest of us, I suppose, Donne did not always read the signs well. What was he thinking when he secretly married Anne More in a bold act of powerful, mutual love (from what his poems, his letters, his life suggest, unless we agree with Walton that "His marriage was the remarkable error of his life," xxvii)?[16] This miscalculation led to his imprisonment (as well as that of friends foolish enough to facilitate the marriage; Rundell 158); also to the loss of his position (hint to the love-besotted: be careful not to run off with your boss's charge and niece).

[13] Donne's poetry is cited from Dickson's edition.
[14] Rundell later adds that in London, "Donne, best dressed among the poets, would have been passing good outfits daily" (207). His communicating through attire extended to his posing for his own effigy (see Rundell 287-90 and Walton—quoted in part by Rundell—xlv).
[15] The map image shows up in a sermon; see Simpson 31.
[16] I would suggest that Walton refers primarily to the circumstances surrounding his marriage, not the fact and effect of it. Walton is cited from Donne, *Devotions.*

And it precipitated the withering of potential income and the lasting ire of his father-in-law. The counterargument is contained in Donne's Holy Sonnet #17 ("Since she whom I loved"), in which Donne seeks to read the signs of his experience of her death (in 1617)—an event in the world that needs interpretation. He begins,

> Since she whom I loved hath paid her last debt
> To nature, and to hers, and my good is dead,
> And her soul early into heaven ravished,
> Wholly in heavenly things my mind is set. (1-4)

One could suggest that the experience of his marriage made Donne all the more wary—and more urgent—to get things right, to read the signs in a way that contributed to settling his (and his family's) estate and establishing (finally) his career.

If this brief account of Donne in the world sounds like it's under the influence of Katherine Rundell's electric book, *Super-Infinite: The Transformations of John Donne*, that would be about right. Her generous, ranging biography, at its best when she compliments Donne with her own metaphors or when she offers reasoned but imagined speculations about the person (she would say "persons," see 5-6) behind his actions or words, does us the service of bringing Donne into our world—neither excusing his occasional harshness nor blunting his power.

There is, of course, another source for interpretating the signs of the world. It is that biblical distinction between wheat and chaff, or between flesh and spirit, which enjoins believers to move from the literal to the metaphoric, from the dead letter to the living word. For Donne, the cosmos—created, ordered, and sustained by God—is meaningful and worthy in its own right, but it does not point only to itself but to other things—they are not just things but signs, as Augustine puts it. In a famous passage from his *Devotions,* Donne addresses God:

> My God, my God, thou art a direct God, may I not say a literal God, a God that wouldst be understood literally and according to the plain sense of all that thou sayest? but thou art also (Lord, I intend it to thy glory, and let no profane misinterpreter abuse it to thy diminution), a figurative, a metaphorical God too; a God in whose words there is such a

> height of figures, such voyages, such peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors, such extensions, such spreadings, such curtains of allegories, such third heavens of hyperboles, so harmonious elocutions, so retired and so reserved expressions, so commanding persuasions, so persuading commandments, such sinews even in thy milk, and such things in thy words, as all profane authors seem of the seed of the serpent that creeps, thou art the Dove that flies. ("Expostulation" #19, 124).

The meaningfulness of signs—their grounding, we might say—begins and ends with God, with "all that [he] sayest." One catches here Donne's intense engagement with the practice of interpretation—he references, in Protestant fashion, "the plain sense" of Scripture as well as a concern for misinterpretation. Furthermore, and this is crucial, for Donne, one meets metaphor with metaphor. To describe the vastness of God's words, Donne resorts to analogies of travel (what does Donne do in his poems and prose but engage in "such voyages, such peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors"); he explores space ("extensions" and "spreadings"), even he even adapts Paul's metaphor of moving from milk to meat (I Cor. 3:2) with his "sinews even in thy milk."

Donne continues in this "Expostulation," "Neither art thou thus a figurative, a metaphorical God in thy word only, but in thy works, too" (125). We read God's works as well as his word. Scripture's persistent and essential use of metaphor is Donne's warrant for seeking meaning through metaphor. And nature, God's work and actions displayed in the world, is a place to seek that meaning. Indeed, this is the project of Donne's *Devotions*, each of which (there are 23) contains three parts. The first, the "Meditation," is less reflection (as the title might suggest to us) than focused observations on Donne's condition as he experiences it. His second part, his 'Expostulations," are described by Lewalski in this way:

> The "Expostulations" are a tissue of biblical texts and analogues which illuminate or reinterpret the terms and issues identified in the "Meditations," and which generally present the particular phase of the illness considered in each "Meditation" as an image and effect of the sickness of soul caused by it. (169)

Yes. In the *Devotions*, Donne attempts to read the signs, making them a good place to explore Donne's approach to metaphor. Speaking of the *Devotions,* but expanding on them, Guibbory writes, "In virtually all Donne's writing, we witness his intense search for a sense of significance to experience, not just a grasping towards faith . . . but a hope that something transcendent actually *inheres* in the body, the physical" (7).

What I would add here is that Donne believes meaning inheres in experience because God made all things. This belief provides Donne with both the urgency to seek meaning in metaphor and the confidence that his path will be productive. At the conclusion of his "Expostulation" # 17, Donne plays a kind of metaphor leapfrog as he seeks meaning ("assurance," he calls it) that the faint signs of his recovery from illness are propitious. He calls that sign of relief a cloud, which suggests a rainbow, which he calls the "great seal of all the world, " adding, a rainbow is but "a reflection of a cloud." This reference evokes the pillar of cloud which led Israel –really the church—in the wilderness (an image of his illness) as representing God's guiding glory. Beginning the process again, Donne invokes the "little cloud rising from the sea," which was a sign to Israel, mediated by Elijah, that a long drought (brought on by their unfaithfulness) was ending. It's hard to keep up.[17]

Applying these signs to his disease—both physical and emblematically spiritual in this moment—Donne, expressing his assurance, concludes, "none of thy indications are frivolous, thou makest thy signs seals, and thy seals effects, and thy effects consolation and restitution, wheresoever thou mayst receive glory by that way" (129). As the Psalmist says, "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge" (Psalm 2:1-2, KJV). Nature is eloquent—it can be heard, read, and understood.

Turns out, Donne's almost ecstatic, seemingly free association of images—clouds, rainbows, pillars, seals—are grounded in two ways. They are connected by the vast interrelatedness of Scriptural types and tropes (as Donne's passage demonstrates[18]), and they are, as all things in the world, eloquent with meaning. Donne can hunt for meaning in the world—whether it is in the minute details of illness, the likeness of things, or the suggestiveness of a

[17] I'd love to have a look at Donne's Biblical concordance, but I suspect it was a memory palace in his mind.
[18] For another example of Donne's freely ranging through Scripture, see his "Expostulation" #15, on sleep.

cloud—because, to cite the mountain climber, it's there. Or, to invoke George Herbert, "Thy word is all if we could spell" ("The Flower," 21). Here's Guibbory (who is commenting on Devotion #17) in summary:

> Donne's labor in understanding this illness (which is an action or work of God, as he insists from the first Devotion on) is to decipher the metaphors, to understand the figures. God has created a world that is figurative, and it is meant to be figured out—both in the sense of discovering the figures God has already written and in the sense of metaphorically describing a reality that is inherently metaphoric, in the hope that Donne's metaphors will actually match and mirror God's. (11)

Similarly, Janel Mueller suggests that the *Devotions*, particularly in the "Meditations," are engaged in the "exegesis of experience" (7), which she describes as a desire "to fit the Bible to the observed actualities of his own condition" (4). By searching the Scriptures, he searches himself: each is a comment on the other. And while God's meaning and purpose is discerned best in Scripture, experience (much of which is the burden of the narrative of Scripture; think David) and Scripture do not tell us different things. Submitting both the story of Scripture and his own physical and spiritual experience to God (in context he is talking about original sin), Donne (in "Expostulation" #22[19]) declares, "But, O my God, I press thee not with thine own text, without thine own comment; I know that in the state of my body, which is more discernible than that of my soul, thou dost effigiate my soul to me" (150). *Effigiate* means to represent, to present a likeness of (so the OED); thus, Donne invites God to explain himself (Donne) to himself. That is, he offers the text of God's word and works, together with their interpretation ("comment"), and he does so with the expectant certainty that his bodily disease, through God's purposes, reveals his soul's dependence on grace.[20]

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[19] Mueller's discussion of this "Expostulation" on page 7 alerted me to the relevance of this passage.

[20] "Expostulation" #9 has many affinities with #20, and for our purposes expresses Donne's confidence that the many books of God's revelation (which include, besides nature and Scripture, the "book of life," the "book of just and useful laws"—the body politic—"the bosom books of our own conscience," and Revelations' book of seven seals, 60-61) affirms that the Spirit interprets "the promulgation of their pardon and righteousness who are washed in the blood of the Lamb"; then the Spirit—the Spirit of truth—will offer him a "new reading" of all those books, one that comforts him with "thy morning dew, thy seasonable mercy, thy forward consolation" (61).

What we are exploring here, connecting his *Devotions* to his poetry, is Donne's approach to metaphor. This is what we aim to capture when we call Donne a metaphysical poet. It's more than those "heterogenous ideas yoked by violence together," as Johnson observed; it's also the productivity—or meaningful productiveness—of the metaphor. Donne's metaphors are meaning-seeking missiles. We might even call this the stability of metaphor for Donne: because of the stable ground of the world (yes, it is also changeable, unstable, "Variable," as the first word of the *Devotions* declares, 7)[21], as interpreted by Scripture, from which he draws his metaphors, he can read spiritual things through the physical and the physical by means of the spiritual. This process is the center of his *Devotions*: as he reads the signs of his physical illness figuratively (spiritually), he also invokes the physical world—sea voyages, circles, a mirror—as spiritually illuminating.[22] This is what Mazzeo was getting at when he argued for Donne's "poetic of correspondences": Believing, as Donne did, that all things hold together, and are being held together, what we call "far-fetched" puts more weight on the "fetched" than the "far." As in alchemy, so the spirit; as in heavenly bodies, so the body and soul (or the man and the woman). The task of the poet it to illuminate the meanings that inhere—often through juxtaposition, like bringing a match to scratch box. Or as Guibbory puts it, "Figures and metaphors are what allow him to make sense of his condition" (7). And "this is what the whole set of *Devotions* works towards; it is / arduous work—must be repeated again each time. Each devotion, and the book as whole, labors to transform suffering into assurance" (8-9).

A similar process of finding meaning in metaphor may be observed in Donne's Holy Sonnet #2 ("O, my black soul") –a poem, along with #15 ("I am a little world"), we might call a riddle poem. In both, the process of discerning their central metaphors seeks to solve the problem the poem raises. In the opening line, Donne (or his speaker) declares—in the tone of immediate lament—his soul to be "black." This short half line offers a kind of proposition: we may ask, "Is it so?" or "How did it get to be so?" Or, whether because we find this poem following the sonnet "As due by many titles,"[23] where what appears to be a settled relationship with God is disrupted by the usurping Devil, or because we acknowledge, with Donne, humankind's fallen state, we may declare, "Yes, I know—me, too." The rest of the first line—beginning with the word

[21] "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher"; Donne has Ecclesiastes (1:2 KJV) in mind.
[22] These are from "Meditation" #7 (50), but they could come from almost any page.
[23] In the order of the first (1633) edition, which Stringer says represents Donne's "last, revised sequence" (309).

“now”—throws the speaker and us precipitously forward into a specific occasion (the illness of the speaker—a connection to the *Devotions*) and an examination of his condition through the metaphors of a treasonous pilgrim and a thieving, condemned prisoner.[24] The immediate consequences of his “black” condition are judgment, doom, and death. In the turn of the sonnet, the speaker remembers grace, but he gets tangled in “yets,” “ifs,” and “buts”:[25]

> Yet grace, if thou repent, thou canst not lack.
> But who shall give thee that grace to begin? (9-10)

The theological point is a precise one: one must repent to receive grace, but one cannot repent without grace. In his “Prayer” #10, Donne asks, “O Lord, pardon me, me all those sins which the Son Christ Jesus suffered for, who suffered for all the sins of all the world; for there is no sin amongst all those which had not been my sin, if thou hadst not been my God, and antedated me a pardon in thy preventing grace” (69). Befitting a prayer, the tone here is more assured, but the problem is the same—only God can save, and that by the legal strategy of antedating.

In the sonnet, grace is real, but it seems distant from one whose soul remains black. “Oh, make thyself” (the next line) is unpromising since it follows the declaration that it is not the speaker but God who must act. But there is a suggestion, too, of re-reading the meaning of color: if I am black, let it be the color of mourning, not corruption—or may it be seen so (there is a similar process at work in “Good Friday. 1613. Riding Westward). The metaphor begins to do the work. Color suggests color, and Donne wishes his soul may be “red with blushing as thou [his soul] art with sin” (12). These are not just tricks of interpretation—a way to say, “my sin and my

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[24] See the Sermon Preached at Whitehall, the first Friday in Lent (part of a Lenten series, says McCoulough 177), where Donne urges his audience to see all the dead (kings, counselors, prelates along with the “vulgar, ignorant, wicked, and facinorous [remarkably evil]” persons “thrown all by one hand of death into one Cart, into one common Tide-boat one Hospitall, one Almeshouse, one Prison, the grave, in whose dust no man can say, This is the King, this is the Slave . . . (Simpson 167).

[25] In *Death’s Duel*, apparently Donne’s last sermon preached, Donne’s ifs and buts become a “wherefore”:

> All manifestation is either in the word of God, or in the execution of the decree; and when these two concur and meet it is the strongest demonstration that can be: when therefore I find those marks of adoption and spiritual filiation which are delivered in the word of God to be upon me; when I find that real execution of his good purpose upon me, as that actually I do live under the obedience and under the conditions which are evidences of adoption and spiritual filiation; then, so long as I see these marks and live so, I may safely comfort myself in a holy certitude and a modest infallibility of my adoption. (in Donne, *Devotions* 175).

lust I declare really to be repentance and shame."[26] Instead, I would suggest, they are an attempt to reread the signs. The "Or" which follows does not have the sense of "Either/or" but rather of discovery, which has been achieved—graciously, if we take the hint of that earlier line—through the uncovering of a new meaning as Donne explores the metaphor:

> Or wash thee in that blood, which hath this might,
> That being red, it dyes red souls to white. (13-14)

The lines allude to Psalm 51, one of David's penitential Psalms: "wash me and I shall be whiter than snow" (vs. 7b, KJV) and even more directly to Revelation 7:14, where John sees the redeemed who "have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."[27] But there is more: the miracle of redemption is brought to light in the surprise of the metaphor. We find that the poem has been asking, "How can black become white?" and the answer is as surprising as it is fitting. In fact, it's a riddle on two levels: in the natural world, blood does not cleanse, it stains, as the speaker's sin had stained him (ask Lady Macbeth about that). So white becomes, dark, if not actually black. But in God's economy, the blood of Christ does indeed cleanse, as various Scripture passages attest, and as the Eucharist celebrates. But did you catch the second level of riddle? Christ's blood must be "red"—read as a page or a sign, interpreted through Scripture, and understood, even internalized (one thinks of Ezekiel being told to eat a scroll, 3:1). Furthermore, there is a phonetic pun in the word "dyes"—dyeing cloth, of course, but also dying as Christ did: the color symbolism of the poem is there for the reading, which comes at the conclusion of a careful search in the sonnet for how one finds grace.

A similar exploiting of the resources of metaphor toward discovery may be found in Sonnet #15 ("I am a little world"). The poem shares key terms with "O my black soul," including

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[26] Donne covers similar ground in Holy Sonnet #14 ("Oh might those sighs"), in which he wishes to convert his sighs of longing and tears of loss as a lover—his "idolatry"—into the "holy discontent" of repentance (ll. 5, 3).

[27] See also I John 1:7 ("If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" KJV) and Hebrews 9:14. All of Psalm 51 reads like a gloss on "O my black soul": better put, Donne invokes the Psalm in its entirety, from its opening plea for mercy, to his acknowledgement of sin and God's just judgment, to the plea "Create in ma a clean heart, O God" (vs. 10a), to "broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart" as the proper sacrifice (vs. 17) to the gratefulness of the redeemed. The Psalm is more comprehensive than the sonnet in considering sin, redemption, and gratefulness. Donne may invoke the Psalm as completing the process begun in the poem.

the “black sin,” which has betrayed the speaker, and the need for washing (3, 9).[28] In this poem, the metaphysical conceit of the “little world”—the person as a microcosm of the greater world—is squeezed until it reveals something new. If we are a “little world,” suggests the poem, may the work of astronomers and explorers discover “new seas” that can serve as tears of repentance. This suggestion brings the speaker to consider this world’s apocalypse (a significant topic in the *Holy Sonnets*). If the world was once drowned in Noah’s flood as a means of punishment for sin and renewal (to read figuratively), the speaker, learning from the biblical record, remembers that “it must be drown’d no more” as a result of God’s promise (sealed by the sign of a rainbow[29]). Then the discovery: “But oh, it must be burnt” (10). Donne recognizes the aptness of this disintegration, since “lust and envy have burnt it heretofore” (11). So, burning must be read—no pun here, I mean interpreted—and Donne finds a more fitting metaphor, not unlike converting black to white, out of the Psalms: “For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up” (Psalm 69:9a, KJV). Donne asks that the flames of sin “retire” (12),

> And burn me, O God with a fiery zeal
> Of thee and thy house, which doth in eating heal. (13-14)

If in little I experience the predicted apocalypse, says the speaker, let it be for me one of purifying—God is, after all, “a consuming fire” (Hebrews 12:29, quoting Deuteronomy 4:24). Interpreting the metaphor of fire in the light of Scripture leads Donne to reframe his relationship to God. There is another sense in “doth in eating heal,” of course, one which invokes the sacrament of communion, whereby the believer is transformed as they symbolically ingest the healing, transforming body (the concern of this sonnet) and blood (sonnet #2) of Christ. Once again Donne finds meaning—presented to us through the speaker’s discovery, of a metaphoric truth that is nonetheless real.

[28] The similarity may explain why the poem was not included in Donne’s final, 12-poem sequences (represented in the 1633 edition): Donne may have decided it covered too much of the same ground as #2 (see note 17 below).
[29] In “Expostulation” #19, we find, “Thy great seal to all the world, the rainbow, that secured the world for ever from drowning, was but a reflection upon a cloud” (129).

That the speaker must work to discover these truths might seem at odds with Donne's claims in the *Holy Sonnets* that transformation is God's work. In that sense, we could say that Donne's speaker is given the insights he discovers—Donne says in "Expostulation" #9 that "for all the way, O my God (ever constant to thine own ways), thou hast proceeded openly, intelligibly, manifestly by the book" (60). The *Holy Sonnets* often worry about human agency in the divine economy, but the speaker's work, is focused on reading the world of internal and external signs (of an imagined apocalypse, of illness, of the state of his soul) in order to discern God's work in his life. What Janis Lull, writing about Donne's disciple George Herbert, says about that poet's interpretation—focusing on the word *spell*—may be helpful here. She explains,

> Herbert developed "spelling" as a synecdoche for all that is positive in human behavior. To "spell" is to read according to God's intentions. In the text-oriented environment of *The Church*, "spelling" defines a kind of Bible reading in which the human reader's will is neither annihilated nor exalted, but merges with the will behind the Word. (23)

As Lull describes it, Herbert shares with Donne a confidence that we can read the signs—the metaphors—of nature, of our own circumstance, of Scripture applied to ourselves, faithfully, intuitively, creatively. Yes, we often read erroneously, in the world and in poetry: hence the work of the poems. But they may in fact, they illumine us, correct us, even allow us to speak to God on the shared terms of his creation. Metaphor is a path to knowing—and being known.

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Keynote Address

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Shakespeare's Boy Heroines: *As You Like It*

I'm going to be speaking about Shakespeare's boy heroines in this piece, especially in *As You Like it*. This of course refers to the practice, uniquely characteristic of the English, to have boy-actors play the role of girls who then, in turn, disguise themselves as boys. Shakespeare begins to use boy heroines in *Two Gentleman of Verona* (Julia as Sebastian). Then he proceeds to *Merchant of Venice* (Portia playing the role of Balthazar), *As You Like It* (Rosalind playing the role of Ganymede), *Twelfth Night* (Viola playing the role of Cesario) *and Cymbeline* (Imogen playing the role of Fidelio). Of course, there are many Shakespeare heroines who just play the female role.

According to Thomas Laqueur, in his book *Making Sex*, women were conceived of as analogous to the man but less perfect and therefore inferior in the Elizabethan era. It's a one-sex model, and there is no discussion of the opposite sex. (Laqueur) **(Figure 1)** Baldasar Heseler, in his commentary on the great sixteenth-century anatomist, Vesalius (1640), wrote: "the organs of procreation are the same in the male and the female…for if you turn the scrotum, the testicles, and the penis inside out, you will have all the genital organs of the female (Weismann-Hanks). This confirms a version of 19th-century doggerel:

> Though they of different sexes be,
> Yet on the whole they are the same as we.
> For those that have the strictest searchers been
> Find women are but men turned outside in. (Laquer 4)

Nonetheless, this process can easily be reversed. Leontes, the jealous king in *The Winter's Tale*, when he compares himself to his son, Mamillius, harkens back to himself as a child. **(Figure 2)**

In Shakespeare's time, boys were put in skirts through age 7; Leontes is worried about being "unbreeched" and stripped of his manhood.

> Looking on the lines
> Of my boy's face, methoughts I did recoil
> Twenty-three years, and saw myself
> unbreeched,
> In my green velvet coat; my dagger
> muzzled,
> Lest it should bite its master, and so prove,
> As ornament oft does, too dangerous.
> How like, methought, I then was do this
> kernel,
> This squash, this gentleman.[1] (Pitcher)

He is desperately paranoid about his rival, Philanax, cuckolding him, thus making him effeminate, emasculated, and reduced to a "kernel" and a "squash." He therefore accuses his wife of adultery. In this figure, the older boy is properly dressed in britches, and the younger boy in a skirt.

(Figure 3) In this figure, we see a *Commedia del Arte* troupe. We know that the French, Spaniards, and Italians were just as concerned with female propriety as the English, but the only nation to enlist boy actors was England. It was assumed that only whores would show themselves on stage. Thomas Nashe in the 16th century boasts, "Our players are not as the players beyond the sea, a sort of squirting bawdy comedians, that have whores and courtesans to play women's parts and forebear no immodest speech or unchaste action that may provoke laughter." (Nashe) William Prynne was tried in the 17th century for his attack on women actors as whores (Prynne). Though Prynne's text made clear he was referring to French actresses who had recently performed at Blackfriars, the remark was taken as a direct reference to Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I who had appeared in various courtly masques. In the end, Prynne was

[1] All references to Shakespeare are to the Arden edition.

sentenced to be pilloried twice, fined £5,000, and imprisoned for life for insulting the queen; he got off when the Civil War broke out, and he was released from prison (Morrill 79).

In 1583, boys appeared on the public stage in John Lyly's *Campaspe* put on by a joint company of the Children of the Chapel and the boys of St. Paul's School **(Figure 4)**. The boys continued to perform women's roles in early 1601, and they appeared in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* in the same year**.** In Shakespeare's play *Hamlet,* Rosencrantz refers to the so-called "war of the theatres" between the adult acting companies and the Children of the Chapel who began performing at the Blackfriars theater in the late fifteenth century (Shakespeare, Thompson, and Taylor). He also refers to "an eyrie of children, little eyases [fledgling or untrained hawks]" (326) who have driven the adults on the road and are preferred by fickle playgoers in the capitol. Hamlet asks,

> What are they children? Who maintains them? How are they escotted [provided for]? Will they pursue the quality [acting profession] no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards if they grow themselves to common players . . . Their writers do wrong them to make them exclaim against their succession. (331-6)

This may refer to someone like Nathan Field, John Ostler, or William Underwood, boy actors who would later join the King's Men, where they would certainly become "common players." In 1596, James Burbage purchased Blackfriars theater, intending to turn it into "a common playhouse" for the Lord Chamberlain's Men, but a petition against it complained that it would be "a very great annoyance and trouble, not only to all the noblemen thereabout inhabiting but also a general inconvenience to all the inhabitants" (Gurr 191-2). That petition blocked the use of the theater by the King's Men until 1609. The lease took effect in that year when his sons, Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, rented it, and the common players moved in for the late romances' performance.

Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe's *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, was played by the Children of the Chapel in 1594. Jupiter sits with Ganymede on his knee, saying to the child, "I love thee well, say Juno what she will" (1.2), and Ganymede, in turn, complains about Juno's "shrewish blows" (1.4). Venus enters, denouncing Jupiter for "playing with that

female wanton boy" (1.53). Certainly the "female wanton boy" was a big part of the sex appeal of theatre-going; the effeminacy of boy actors would arouse both the men and women of Marlowe's audience (Marlowe 330-1). **(Figure 6).** Marlowe's own play, *Edward II*, is the most overtly homosexual of all of all Marlowe's plays; Gaveston, an Earl and the royal favorite, sets out to seduce King Edward II by having

> Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape, / With hair that gilds the water as it glides, / Crownets of pearl about his naked arms, / And in his sportful hands an olive tree / To hide those parts that men delight to see" (Marlowe, 326, 1.1.60-4).

Marlowe was said to be an atheist and a homosexual. He was accused by Richard Baines of saying that "Christ was a bastard and his mother dishonest" and "St. John the Evangelist was a bedfellow to Christ and leaned always in his bosom" (Nicholl 52). Robert Greene, in his *Groatsworth of Wit*, recommends that Marlowe turn from his "Diabolicall Atheism" before it's too late (Greene).

Ben Jonson was even more provocative and contentious. Jonson was arrested and imprisoned for slander of King James and his new Scottish knights in *Eastward Ho* (1605), and he was suspected for his conversion to Catholicism, and even his potential implication in the Gunpowder Plot (Donaldson 216-19). **(Slide 7)** He went on to write *Epicoene* in 1609. In that play, we first meet Morose who's described as "a gentleman who loves no noise" (Jonson and Harp 111)[2]. His nephew, Dauphine, tricks Morose into marrying this "silent gentlewoman, Mistress Epicoene" (1.4.47). Epicoene answers Morose's queries softly and gently at first, and she strikes him as fair and beautiful. Then she invites Mistress Otter, Lady Haughty, Lady Centaur, and Mistress Mavis, the "Collegiates," to her home. Each wants to "be princess, and reign in mine own house," and Epicoene wants to make Morose her "subject, and obey me" (3.1.29-30). He denounces their claim as "Amazonian impudence" (3.5.36). Morose concludes "Strife and tumult are the dowry that comes with a wife" (4.4.19-20) and wants nothing more than a divorce; he's even willing to confess impotence to obtain it, prompting him to admit, "I am no man, Ladies" (5.4.41). Dauphine, his nephew, promises to "free you of this unhappy

[2] Morose is identified as such in the "The Persons of the Play."

match absolutely and instantly" by taking off Epicoene's wig or peruke to reveal that "You have married a boy!" (5.4.86). A marriage between two men was certainly a valid impediment in Shakespeare's time – and in ours only until the last decade. In contrast with Marlowe and Jonson, Shakespeare kept his head down and treated themes of cross-dressing and androgyny more thoughtfully and gracefully, with a more complex and nuanced approach.

(Figure 8) Let us compare *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*, both plays being written in the same year. Both plays begin in a dark mood, with fratricidal hostility between Hamlet senior and his brother, Claudius – this figure shows Claudius pouring lethal poison into his brother's ear – and, in *As You like It*, hostility between Duke Senior and his brother the usurper, Duke Frederick, and also between the brothers, Oliver and Orlando. Rosalind, the play's heroine, first meets Orlando when he emerges victorious from a wrestling match. Both plays begin with melancholy protagonists who hide their true feelings. Hamlet says, referring to his black suit of mourning, "I have that within which passes <u>show</u>" (1.2.85). When Celia, her cousin, Rosalind urges her to "be merry," Rosalind resists, saying, "I <u>show</u> more mirth than I am mistress of" (1.2.1-4).[3] But soon, in contrast to the tragedy of *Hamlet*, *As You Like It* takes a comic turn with the move to the Forest of Arden, and with Celia resolving, "Now go we content / To liberty and not to banishment" (1.3.134-5).

(Figure 10) Rosalind, the heroine, disguises herself as the boy, Ganymede, and she chooses that name because of its homoerotic associations. In Greek mythology, Ganymede was a beautiful Trojan boy swept up by Jove himself, disguised as an eagle to be cupbearer to the gods as in this figure. It also meant, in Shakespeare's time, a catamite or rent-boy **(Figure 11)**. Orlando attempts to convince Ganymede that he sincerely loves Rosalind. Orlando says to Ganymede, "Fair youth, I would I could make thee believe I love" (3.2.370-1). Ganymede replies, "Me believe it? You may as soon make her you love believe it, which I warrant she is apter to do than to confess she does" (372-4). This exchange is replete with dramatic irony because Ganymede, the boy actor, is actually playing the character, Rosalind. He, as Ganymede, proposes to cure Orlando of his love for Rosalind which "is merely a madness" (384) by playing the role of Rosalind. Ganymede talks about curing another man of love sickness: "He was to

[3] I refer to the Arden edition edited by Juliet Dusinberre, *As You Like It*, (London: Arden, 2006). She specifies in her Introduction that a Ganymede refers to a catamite or boy used for sexual purposes on 10.

imagine me his love, his mistress, and I set him every day to woo me. At which time would I – being but a moonish youth – grieve, be effeminate, changeable, longing and liking, proud, fantastical, apish, shallow, inconstant, full of tears, full of smiles; for every passion something and for no passion truly anything, as boys and women are for the most part cattle of this color; would now like him, now loath him; then entertain him, then forswear him; now weep for him, then spit at him; that I drove my suitor from his mad humor to a living humor of madness, which was to foreswear full stream of the world and to live in a nook merely monastic" (390-403). To which Orlando replies "I would not be cured, youth" (407).

In this same scene, Rosalind is a boy actor playing a girl who plays a boy. Ganymede, who, after encountering Orlando, plays the girl, Rosalind, exclaims to Celia, "What should I do with my doublet and hose?" (3.2.212-13). Then Rosalind contradicts herself: "I'll speak to him like a saucy lackey, and under that habit play the knave with him" (287-8). But she really is a boy actor playing the "knave" and "saucy lackey," both male identifications **(Figure 11)**. Shown here is an artist's version of a boy-actor in drag by the name of Alexander Cooke **(Figure 12**). Cooke was probably born approximately in 1583 or 1584, and he was a boy player in the King's Men and was apprenticed to John Heminges as a member of the Grocers' Company. While guild records state that his indenture was to last seven years, Cooke was not freed until 22 March 1609. Cooke's full name first appears in the plot for Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1603) in which he is listed as a "principal tragedian." This may indicate that he was a young actor in a prominent female role, Agrippina. He continued playing female roles at least through 1605 when he played Lady Would-Be, and he became a shareholder in the King's Men in 1604. Cooke acted until 1612 when he became ill. He wrote his will on 3 January 1614, and he named John Heminges and Henry Condell as trustees of his four children. Cooke joined up with the Kings Company. He is in drag and bedecked with a pearl necklace but without a wig (Kathman).[4]

Seen in this scene **(Figure 13)** is a 2005 production by the Royal Shakespeare Company of the mock-marriage of Rosalind and Orlando. Rosalind embarks on her courtship of Orlando,

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[4] David Kathman, "How Old Were Shakespeare's Boy Actors," *Shakespeare Survey*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521850746.021. Kathman posits that the boy actors were in their teens and maxed out at age 22 or 23. "Alexander Cooke and Nicholas Tooley were probably fourteen and fifteen when they played the lead female roles in *2 Seven Deadly Sins*; Ezekiel Fenn was fifteen when he played Sophonisba in *Hannibal and Scipio*; Charles Hart was sixteen when he played the Duchess in *The Cardinal*. John Thompson was in the middle of his apprenticeship, and thus probably around seventeen, when he played the key role of Domitia in *The Roman Actor*.

saying to him “Come woo me, woo me, for now I am in a holiday humor, and like enough to consent” (4.1.62-3). Ganymede refuses Orlando’s offer to kiss him: “you were better speak first” (4.1.66). Then they engage in the following banter:

> R: “Am I not your Rosalind?
> O: “I take some joy to say you are because I
> would be talking of her.”
> R: “Well, in mine own person I say I will
> not have you.”
> O: “Then, in mine own person, I die.” (4.1.81-6)

To which she replies by calling out bullshit: “These are all lies. Men have died from time to time and worms have eaten them, but not for love” (97-9). Rosalind and Orlando proceed to a mock wedding with Celia officiating. Rosalind promises to be as fickle and contrarian in her moods, saying to Orlando, “Maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives” (4.1.138-9).

Meanwhile, Oliver, Orlando’s suddenly reformed brother, arrives with a message of Orlando’s heroism and virtue in rescuing Oliver from a lethal double assault by a snake and a lioness. He produces a “bloody napkin” to show the injuries that Orlando sustained in fighting off the lioness (4.3.92) Hearing this, Rosalind faints dead away. Her explanation? Despite Oliver’s accusation – “You lack a man’s heart” (164) and “counterfeit to be a man” (170-1), Rosalind claims he (the boy actor) was only “counterfeiting” or playing the role of a woman; “I pray you tell your brother how well I counterfeited” (166-7). He is counterfeiting emotions and playing the role of the woman. She, once again, plays with dramatic irony. She is counterfeiting to be a man playing the role of Rosalind and explicitly admits it, but Oliver doesn’t get it.

In the last act of the play, Orlando can’t play the game anymore. Rosalind says, “I cannot serve your turn for Rosalind?” to which Orlando replies, “I can live no longer by thinking.” Her response is to forswear “idle talking” and a promise to “speak to some purpose” (5.2.47-9). She adds, “Believe then, if you please, that I can do strange things. I have since I was three-year-old conversed with a magician, most profound in his art and yet not damnable” (57-60). She

addresses the other lovers on the stage, promising Silvius "I will help you if I can," she promises Phoebe I would love you if I could . . . I will marry you, if ever I marry woman, and I'll be married tomorrow," and, finally, she promises Orlando "I will satisfy you, if ever be married tomorrow" (5.2.108-11).

(Figure 13) Shakespeare wrote some late plays such as *The Tempest* incorporating masque-like elements in them, with the descent of Iris, Juno, and Ceres from the heavens, prompting Ferdinand to exclaim about "a most majestic vision" (4.1.118). This scene from a 1951 RSC production shows the elaborate and majestic pomp characteristic of the masque **(Figure 14)**. Otherwise, Shakespeare abstained from doing masques with elaborate pageantry and settings as in the figure. This stands in contrast to his rival, Ben Jonson, who composed dozens of masques for the Jacobean court. This figure shows a masque staged before Charles I by William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia* (1540). In *As You Like It*, in the staging in the RSC production, Celia and Rosalind hire Corin as their shepherd And in this 2008 RSC production, they enlist to Corin to fill in for Hymen, the Greek god of marriage, a far more modest substitute. **(Figure 15)** However, the 2019 RSC production of *As You Like It* stages the climax with a full-on masque. Hymen descends as a literal *deus ex machina* to pronounce the marriage of all the couples – Rosalind and Orlando, Oliver and Celia, Silvius and Phoebe, and Audrey and Touchstone.[5]

In conclusion, in *As You Like It*, in Rosalind we find one of the greatest of Shakespeare's heroines. She's a romantic skeptic who is head-over-heels in love. According to C. L. Barber in *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy*: "Because she remains always aware of love's illusions while she herself is swept along by its deepest currents, she possesses . . . wholehearted feeling and undistorted judgment" (Barber 233) **(Figure 17)**. In this production at the Globe, which is consistent with so-called original stage-practices, Rosalind is played by a man. She herself is an illusion; as a male actor playing a girl which really does challenge our willing suspension of disbelief. And in the epilogue to this play, the boy-actor for the first time in this play appears in bridal garb, and he deploys self-deprecation: "What a case am I in then, that am neither a good epilogue, nor can insinuate with you in the behalf of a good play" (Ep. 7-9). But he's dressed like a princess, so he has the authority of royalty: "I am not furnished like a beggar, therefore, to beg

[5] See the RSC website, https://www.rsc.org.uk/blogs/out-of-the-spotlight/building-a-god.

will not become me. My way is to conjure you," oscillating between the legal bond and magical sense (9-11). This androgynous actor begins by addressing the women of the audience: "I charge you, O women, for the love you bear to men, to like as much of this play as please you." He continues: "And I charge you, O men, for the love you bear to women (as I perceive by your simpering none of you hates them), that between you and the women the play may please" (12-16). He spells this out in the epilogue by admitting to the fact that he's a boy-actor and thus counterfeiting to be a woman and catering to the illusion that people make assumptions on the basis of appearances: "If I were a woman I would kiss as many of you had beards that pleased me, complexions that liked me and breaths that I defied not" (Ep. 16-19). He adds flirtatiously, "And I am sure as many as have good beards, or good faces, or for my kind offer, when I make curtsy, bid me farewell" (19-21). In this play, Shakespeare uses gender confusion to explore the most profound complexity of human sexual relationships.

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Figures

Figure 1. One-Sex model vs. Opposite Sex: Isomorphic Equation, from Thomas Laqueur's *Making Sex*, Figure 24, 85

Figure 2. Boys in Skirts till age 7

Figure 3. *Commedia del Arte*

Figure 4. Children of the Chapel Royal

THE

Tragedie of Dido

Queene of Carthage:

Played by the Children of her

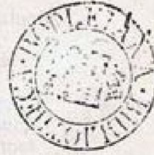
Maieſties Chappell.

Written by Chriſtopher Marlowe, and

Thomas Naſh. Gent.

Actors

Iupiter.	*Aſcanius.*
Ganimed.	*Dido.*
Venus.	*Anna.*
Cupid.	*Achates.*
Iuno.	*Ilioneus.*
Mercurie, or Hermes.	*Iarbas.*
Æneas.	*Cloanthes.*
	Sergeſtus.



AT LONDON,

Printed, by the Widdowe *Orwin*, for *Thomas Woodcocke*, and are to be ſolde at his ſhop, in Paules Church-yeard, at the ſigne of the blacke Beare. 1594.

Figure 5. Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage.*

The troubleſome raigne and lamentable death of Edward *the ſecond, King of* England: with the tragicall *fall of proud* Mortimer:

As it was ſundrie times publiquely acted *in the honourable citie of London, by the* right honourable the Earle of Pem-*brooke his ſeruants.*

Written by Chri. Marlow *Gent.*

Imprinted at London for *William Iones,* dwelling neere Holbourne conduit, at the *ſigne of the Gunne.* 1594.

Figure 6. *Edward II*

Figure 7. Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*

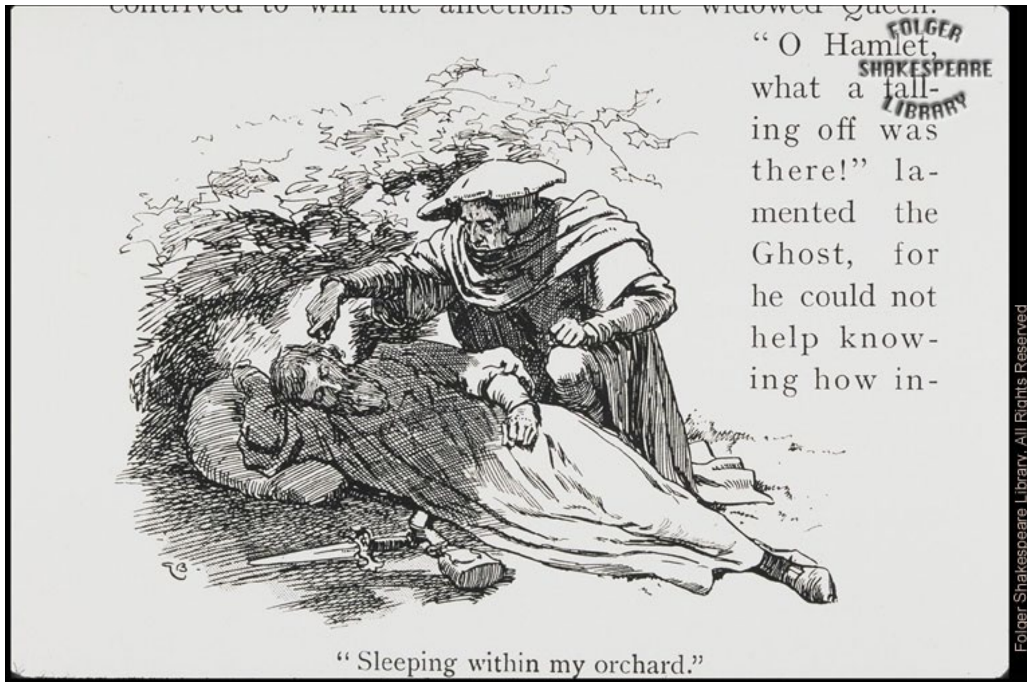


Figure 8. *Hamlet* composed in same year as *As You Like It* (1599-1600)

Figure 9. Ganymede

Figure 10. Rosalind: “What shall I do with my doublet and hose” vs. “I’ll speak to him like a saucy lackey, and under that habit play the knave with him.”

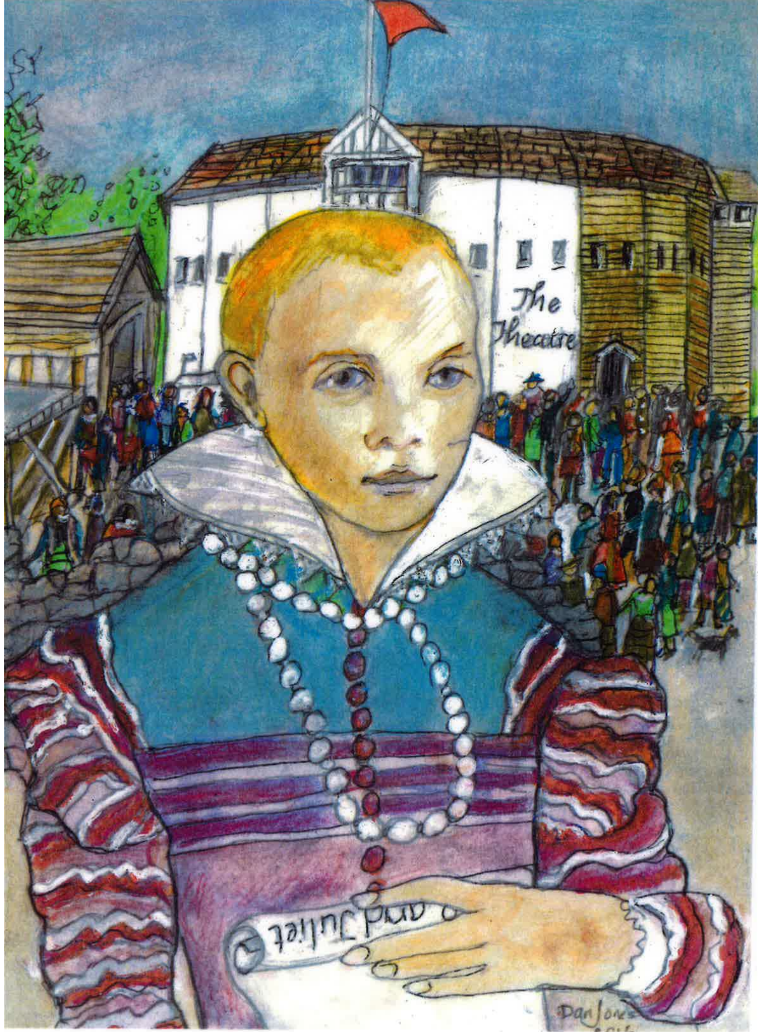


Figure 11. Alexander Cooke

Figure 12. Mock Marriage

Figure 13. *The Tempest* in 4.1 starring Iris, Ceres, and Juno

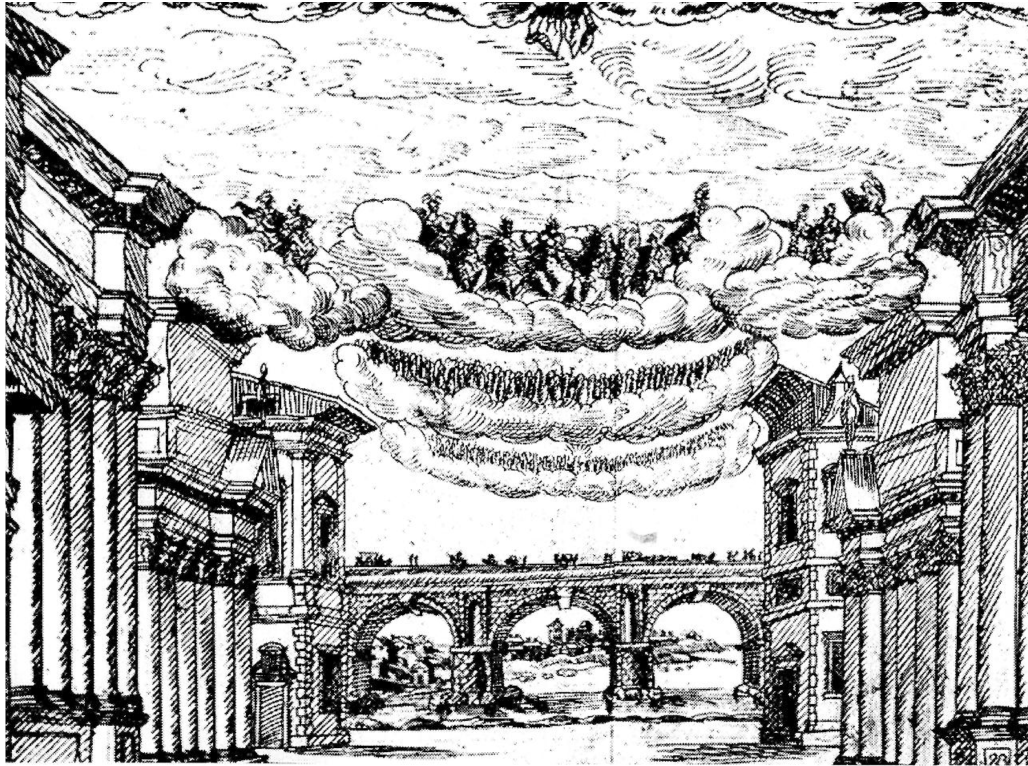


Figure 14: *Salmacida Spolia*. Masque performed before Charles I (1640)

Figure 15. Corin substitutes for Hymen

Figure 16. Hymen descends as *deus ex machina*

Figure 17: Rosalind as male, in original stage-practices at Globe (2018)

David Sprunger
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Counting Chaucer's Pilgrim Interactions:
A Practical Problem in Digital Humanities

The following remarks stem from an ongoing digital humanities project that explores the social network that Geoffrey Chaucer creates in the Canterbury Tales. As a student, I heard on many occasions that part of Chaucer's genius lies in his use of the frame tale, a narrative strategy in which multiple characters tell stories that fit somehow within an even larger narrative. Professors told us that Chaucer improved on existing frame tale strategies, and as a professor, I dutifully repeated this assertion to my own students. With the emergence of network studies as part of the digital humanities movement, I wondered if the new approaches – new to the humanities, at least – could be used to demonstrate this claim that Chaucer's use of frame tale structure was more complex than that of his medieval predecessors. The first step was to map Chaucer's pilgrims into a network by tabulating who speaks to whom in the inter-tale links. Eventually I would create similar models for collections such as the *Decameron* or *Cent Nouvelles*. By measuring the complexity of each network, I hoped to gain new insights into the authors' strategies.

About halfway into coding the Tales, I was reminded of a warning from Scott Weingart, currently the Chief Data Officer for the National Endowment for the Humanities. Although it is easy to organize items into networks, he cautions that ease of use "does not give us an excuse to apply networks to *everything*." He goes on to add, however, that

> Nothing worth discovering has ever been found in safe waters. Or rather, everything worth discovering in safe waters has already been discovered, so it's time to shove off into the dangerous waters of methodology appropriation, cognizant of the warnings but not crippled by them. (Demystifying Networks)

My study of the Canterbury pilgrims' network is one case where appropriating methodologies helps us notice connections between characters in fresh and useful ways. The complexity of a

network is, of course, more than merely its density, but this paper focuses on establishing density and two counting problems that complicated my work on the visualization.

To jump to my conclusion, Figure 1 shows my current visualization of the Canterbury Pilgrim network. I used the program Gephi to map all of the pilgrims' direct conversations between the tales. This version without labels emphasizes the underlying structure of the inter-tale speeches. Each circle or node represents a pilgrim. The relative size of the node shows the degree to which the pilgrim interacts with the others. The thickness of the connecting lines or, as they're called in network parlance, edges, indicates the number of interactions on that same channel.[1] The arrows mark the direction of exchange. An arrow at each end shows that the pilgrims have some sort of two-way communication. A single arrow indicates that someone spoke, but no one replied. The isolated or unattached nodes around the perimeter of the diagram represent those pilgrims who are introduced in the general prologue but who never speak to their fellow travelers.

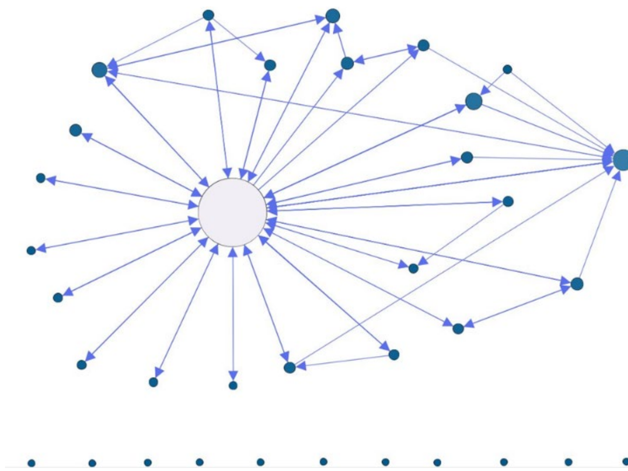

Figure 1. Canterbury Pilgrim network, nodes unlabeled.

Figure 2 is the same network but with the pilgrims identified. This visualization reminds us of several interesting characteristics of the social network. First, as I have argued elsewhere, Chaucer's invention of the Host is the hub that holds the whole network together. He speaks

[1] See Weingart, "Demystifying Networks 2" for discussion of node centrality and the weighting of edges in the visualizations.

often, even though he rarely receives a reply to his suggestions or questions. Second, while the group of pilgrims represents a cross section of social ranks, individuals rarely speak across the lines that divide those groups. Instead, they channel their comments through the Host. Third, give-and-take exchanges between pilgrims are rare. The most complicated set of such conversational transactions occurs between the Host and the Canon's Yeoman, a pilgrim who comes across as an afterthought to the whole enterprise. Finally, a number of pilgrims don't speak at all during the framing interactions. In some cases, this silence hardly surprises because Chaucer did not assign tales to each pilgrim, but that's not the case with the Physician or the Second Nun, who tell tales but don't speak during the framing elements.

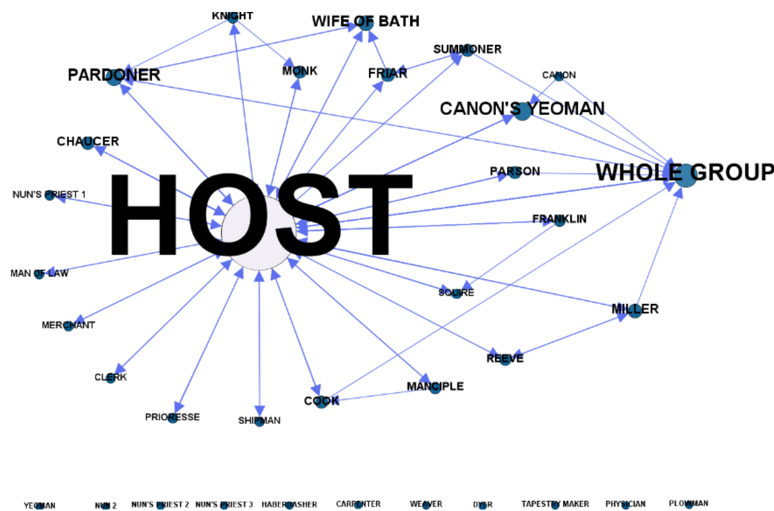

Figure 2. Canterbury Pilgrim network, nodes labeled.

Network complexity balances many factors, but two important ones are the size of the potential network and the density of the network. To determine the values, one uses these formulas (Rosenblatt):

Potential Connections

PC = Nodes * (Nodes - 1) /2

Network Density

ND = Actual Connections / Potential Connections

To get accurate results for this project, one must, therefore, determine two variables: the number of travelers (the nodes) and the number of speeches between travelers (the actual connections). In both of these areas, I encountered counting issues. It turns out that it is not easy to count how many pilgrims are going to Canterbury, and it is equally difficult to count their conversational transactions.

COUNTING PILGRIMS

Chaucer tells his audience that he joins "wel nine and twenty" pilgrims, the "wel" calling extra attention to the number. Unfortunately, no one knows what he meant by "wel." The *Dictionary of Middle English* includes examples of "wel" meaning both "exactly" or "approximately" ("wel"),[2] which leads to conflicting interpretations. Does Chaucer mean to establish that there will be exactly 29 pilgrims, whom he intends to enumerate in the General Prologue, or is 29 a general estimate, made before he actually goes through the list of travelers? To the average reader, a discrepancy between approximately 29 and exactly 29 pilgrims is probably incidental. For the sake of the network density equation, however, the number matters.

The problem, of course, is that the General Prologue introduces 30, not 29, pilgrimage participants. Next, one must decide whether to include the Host and/or Chaucer as pilgrims who must be added to the 29 (or 30). Finally, the Canon and his Yeoman, who don't appear until Fragment 8, almost at the end of the tales, could be included in the pilgrim total. As shown in Figure 4, there could be as many as 34 pilgrims.

Critics interested in counting pilgrims fall into two main groups. The first group wants Chaucer to be a good arithmetician, so these scholars search for ways to make the 30 pilgrims introduced in the General Prologue equal 29.[3] The second group doesn't care if there are more than 29 pilgrims, but these scholars want to have the count of pilgrims equal some number with a

[2] The MED quotes this line as an example of the "approximate" use but notes elsewhere that the various meanings of "wel" are largely contextual.

[3] For a comprehensive review of the counting dilemma, the best essay is Eckhardt's "The Number of Chaucer's Pilgrims.

symbolic value in the Middle Ages. For example, if the number of travelers totals 30, the number is significant for its associations with the ideal active life of Christianity.[4] Or, there might be 33 pilgrims, which could be an homage to Dante's division of the *Commedia* into 33 cantos (Eckhardt 177). Or, if the pilgrimage starts with 29 pilgrims, a number associated with what Russell Peck calls, "transgressions, spiritual decrepitude, sterility, concupiscence," but later increases, by addition of the Canon's Yeoman, to 30, a number representative of sanctity, the addition of the later pilgrim models a dynamic shift from corruption toward perfection, just as the tales progress from the secular to the spiritual (Peck 208). My quick summary and oversimplification of these numerological arguments may make them seem a bit silly, but the important point is that both groups of critics must somehow reduce the pilgrims in the General Prologue in order to reach the target numbers, whatever that number may be.

Readings that massage the number of pilgrims concentrate on two key passages. The first tricky section has to do with the Prioress's entourage: "Another nonne also with her had she, / That was her chapeleyne, and preestes three" (GP 163-64). On the surface, this language sounds like Chaucer is introducing four people – the second nun and three priests – yet some critics consider the line faulty. [5] After all, only one Nun's Priest appears elsewhere in the Tales.

One argument about line 164 is that Chaucer drafted "prestes thre" but planned to later replace it with a line denoting a single pilgrim. Instead, the error somehow became incorporated into every known manuscript version of the General Prologue. An alternative theory is that Chaucer did intend "prestes thre," but he assumed readers would count as two of these three priests the Monk and the Friar, whose portraits follow that of the Prioresse. This theory falters for lack of evidence that monks or friars were ever classified as priests in medieval England. In any case, the problem here is that if two priests are removed from our list, we are now short a pilgrim from the magic target of 29.

Another problematic section of the text concerns the guildsmen, who are introduced as "An haberdasshere, and a carpenter, / A webbe, a dyere, and a tapycer" (GP 361-62). Are there truly five pilgrims, or is it possible that Chaucer's series contains at least one appositive, which would reduce the number of guildsmen? Recall that manuscripts of the CT are unpunctuated, so

[4] For fuller discussion of the numerological arguments, see particularly the essays by Peck and Steadman.

[5] See Broshahan for summaries of the "prestes thre" controversies.

one has considerable freedom to shape grammatical order from the list of adjacent occupations. Depending on how a person finagles the series, it is possible to subtract one, two, or perhaps even three pilgrims. For instance, perhaps the weaver also dyes cloth (imagine "A webbe, [who was also] a dyere") Or, maybe the weaver both dyes cloth and does tapestry work (imagine "A webbe, [who was also] a dyere and a tapycer").

To complicate matters further, if one wishes to really increase the number of guildsmen, it is possible to imagine them traveling with their wives. Chaucer does report on how the wives behave in church. Is this detail based on direct observation or is it a general comment on wives of the *nouveau riche* in general? The guildsmen are so showy that they bring their own cook. It's not difficult to imagine that they also have brought along their wives whose finery would be another way to flaunt their status.

A final complication has to do with the Canon and his Yeoman. Most counters of pilgrims include the Yeoman because he interacts with the Host, shares a tale, and presumably stays with the pilgrims for the rest of the existing tales. The canon is trickier because he does not actually travel with the group, doing little more than galloping up in pursuit of the runaway yeoman and then retreating after he delivers his single line.

These counting issues loom large when one wants to calculate network density. For example, 29 pilgrims provide 406 possible interactions: 30 pilgrims, 435 – a difference of over 6% for each added pilgrim. When this range of potential connections is plugged into the density formula, the final results vary by about 1% for every pilgrim included or excluded.
For the sake of my own counting, I start with a base number of 34 pilgrims, counted thus. First, there are the pilgrims described in the general prologue. Taking Chaucer at his words, I include one nun and three priests as part of the Prioresse's party and five guildsmen without their wives. This brings us to 30 pilgrims.

My counting decision does not resolve the "29 vs. 30" dilemma, but the difference doesn't perturb me. In fact, I particularly appreciate Caroline Eckhardt's suggestion that the vagueness of this number can be read as part of the differentiation between the historical Chaucer – our author – and Chaucer the constructed narrator of the tale (180). Whereas the historical author, veteran of the custom house, must have practiced precise numeracy, the fictionalized Chaucer shows himself unable to use numbers accurately. Just as he later becomes entangled in

the trigometric minutiae of time telling based on angles of the sun and length of his shadow, here he is unable even to count accurately the number of people with whom he sits at table.

To finish my pilgrim roster: if we have 30 pilgrims, the host and Chaucer increase the number by two. Then, because the Canon and his Yeoman each speak to the pilgrims, I include them, thus increasing the number by two more. This gives us a party of 34 pilgrims, a number that allows for 561 possible interactions. See figure 3 for the complete list of pilgrims.

Pilgrims Used for Inter-Tale Visualization Project

1. Knight	11. Merchant	21. Shipman	31. Host
2. Squire	12. Clerk	22. Physician	32. Chaucer
3. Yeoman	13. Man of Law	23. Wife of Bath	
4. Prioress	14. Franklin	24. Parson	
5. Nun 2	15. Haberdasher	25. Plowman	33. Canon
6. Priest 1	16. Carpenter	26. Miller	34. Canon's Yeoman
7. Priest 2	17. Weaver	27. Manciple	
8. Priest 3	18. Dyer	28. Reeve	
9. Monk	19. Tapestry maker	29. Summoner	
10. Friar	20. Cook	30. Pardoner	

Figure 3. My inventory of pilgrims travelling to Canterbury.

COUNTING CONVERSATIONS

The second variable in calculating network density involves counting the number of edges or interactions between pilgrims. Again, this coding seemed straightforward as I started the project. I would work through the inter-tale links and note who speaks to whom as the pilgrimage progresses. Alas, here I encountered additional challenges. First, I had to make a decision about direct versus indirect speech. When Chaucer reports that he spoke to everyone at the Tabard Inn or tells us that the pilgrims gave their assent, he implies that there was speech, but it is not documented in the narrative. When the Miller says he imagines his tale as a sort of rebuttal or complement to the Knight's Tale, the tale becomes part of an indirect conversation. In some cases, not speaking – like the Pardoner's silent pouting after the Host's rebuke following his tale – communicates a message within the social network. For this project, however, I decided to use only the direct dialog documented in the narrative framework.

A second problem involves whole-group communication. In eight cases, a pilgrim – often the host – directs a statement to the entire group. In two episodes, the entire group responds to a

pilgrim. Such speech transactions required a decision with significant implications for network density. The coding could show one person either speaking to 30-some individuals or delivering a single speech to a different sort of reception target. In the same way, it's difficult to imagine how the entire group responds to pilgrim in a unified voice. Unless they speak as a group (as some of the crowd speeches appear in *The Life of Brian*), presumably one person speaks loudly while others nod assent or add confirmatory comments that are not reported.

Fragment 6 provides a clear illustration of this situation because it contains both situations: someone speaking to the group and the group speaking back. Figure 4 shows the network mapped as if the Host and Pardoner speak to 31 individuals and the 31 individuals reply in kind. The result is that the heart of the interaction – the Pardoner, the Host, and the Knight – is buried beneath the interfering static of connecting lines.

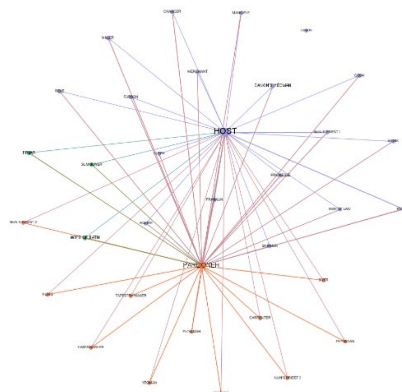

Figure 4. Fragment 6 without the "Whole Group" node

Weingart warns that overly "dense networks are rarely useful," so it is necessary to have some way to reduce the number of edges in order to keep the graph from looking like what he calls "a big plate of spaghetti and meatballs" (Demystifying Networks). Shaving data is a process that Weingart labels an art, not a science, for one must find a balance between reducing distracting static and reducing meaningful content. One possible solution in this case would be simply to exclude the interactions between pilgrims and the group, but that strategy seemed too drastic because the group component reminds us that this is not a private conversation. Neither willing to lose these cases altogether nor wanting them to clutter the visualizations, I created a placeholder node that I call "Entire Group." In Figure 5, the visualization maps fragment 6 with

this extra node. As a result, the visualization retains emphasis on the more meaningful interactions between the pardoner, the host, and the knight, but retains a reminder of the group interactions.

This decision to use the “whole group” node obviously has an effect on density because it affects both the number of nodes and the number of edges as seen in figure 6. Adding an “Entire Group” node increases the number of nodes to 35 with a potential of 595 edges compared to the 561 potential edges from 34 nodes.

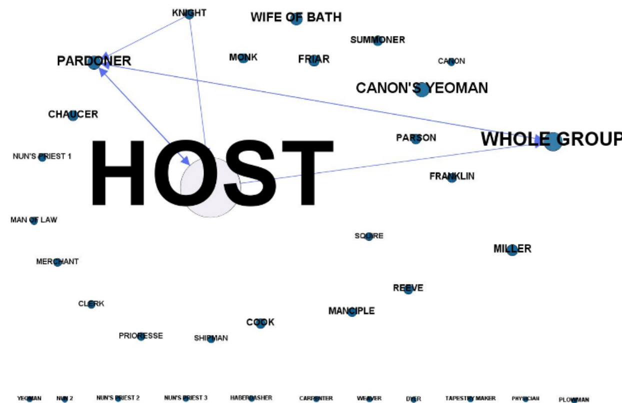

Figure 5. Fragment 6 with the “Whole Group” node

At the same time that the number of potential edges increases, the number of actual edges declines drastically. Without the “Entire Group” node, there are 324 unique edge interactions. With it, there are only 64. Note the difference in resulting density. Of these two options, the lower 10.8% value more accurately reflects my reading of the tales and results in a visualization that lacks the clutter decried by Weingart.

Without “Whole Group”		With “Whole Group”	
Nodes (Pilgrims)	34	Nodes (Pilgrims)	35
Actual Connections (Direct Speeches)	324	Actual Connections (Direct Speeches)	64
Potential Connections	561	Potential Connections	595
Density	57.8%	Density	10.8%

Figure 6. Network density with and without the “Whole Group” Node

NETWORK COMPLEXITY

Having made decisions on how to calculate network density, the next stage of the project will be to explore further dimensions of network complexity. The current visualization emphasizes the oral communication in a rather flat, structural way. To appreciate complexity, it is necessary to consider more than just who is talking; one must somehow be attentive to what is being said. Subsequent coding will need to differentiate quality from quantity of the responses. After all, one should not treat as equal the Miller's drunken claim of precedence from the Knight's expository agreement to tell his tale, the former mattering more to interpretation of the tales. Responses could be categorized as questions, answers to questions, responses to specific details in the tales, insults, and so forth. I look forward to reporting on the evolution of the project at a future meeting of the Northern Plains conference.

I'll close this report with a takeaway about the whole mission of the digital humanities. In some quarters, the digital humanities are promoted as a scientifically objective approach to humanities research. Indisputable data goes in; indisputable conclusions come out. My project may generate precise network visualizations, but the underlying data is fragile. Even something as seemingly simple as counting pilgrims and how they communicate with one another turns out to be as fraught with subjective interpretive decisions as the squishiest sort of literary analysis. And yet, I find the results helpful in thinking about Chaucer's art.

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The References to Spartan and Athenian Education in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*

Analyzing the state structures of the fictional countries in *Gulliver's Travels*, especially their economic and political systems, a great majority of Swift scholars frequently point out apparent historical and mythological references to ancient times, while the cultural and social spheres usually remain out of sight. Therefore, in this paper, I will explore the influence of Ancient Greece on the development of science and education systems in Swift's fictional countries and the connection of Greek culture with the characters' lifestyles in *Gulliver's Travels* in order to demonstrate the writer's perspective on the deplorable state of affairs of English society of the eighteenth century.

The human longing for education and learning is considered an essential part of our existence as it is intrinsically linked with the instinct of self-preservation or the so-called "instinct of life." The outstanding Russian biologist Ilya Mechnikov claims that, formed under the influence of the fear of death, such an instinct is a powerful driving force for the survival and reproduction of all living beings (129). Moreover, Abraham Maslow assigns the instinct of self-preservation to the category of basic human safety needs because in order to successfully adapt to an ever-changing environment, we need to possess specific knowledge and skills as well as apply them reasonably (376). Over evolutionary time, people not only learned how to think logically and critically but also realized the significance of transferring knowledge from one generation to another. Thus, as a result of discussions and debates about effective ways of transferring knowledge accumulated by generations, a diverse variety of methods, principles, and approaches to the upbringing and educating of young people appeared.

The attempts to structure educational approaches have their origins in ancient times, since the emergence of such world powers as Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, and Mesopotamia. It was then that the first education systems began to develop as integral social and state institutions. Also, by investing in the formation of education, each country pursued its own goals and objectives and sought to put its views on the upbringing and training of the younger generation

into action. Although the educational process varied from country to country, and sometimes from city to city, pedagogy reached its genuine heyday in Ancient Greece. Along with this, the ancient Greek education system became world-famous due to its dichotomous approaches: Spartan and Athenian. The emphasis on intensive physical training and combat skills made Sparta one of the strongest and most influential military forces in Ancient Greece. The Spartan government perceived its citizens as “soldiers who were ready to give their lives for their country” and sought to teach them the art of war and hostilities (Marrou 38). Unlike the Spartan education system, the aim of Athenian education was to bring up harmoniously developed personalities “through the all-around physical, aesthetic, and intellectual development” (Smith 132). The Athenians assigned a great emphasis on instilling a love of painting, sculpture, music, theatre, and literature in the younger generation.

In addition, Ancient Greece inspired many writers not only with its unique approaches to the learning process but also with great scientific achievements in philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, physics, and medicine. Jonathan Swift’s fascination with ancient times is also reflected in his works, where the writer expresses his conservative views and praises the achievements of his predecessors such as Aristotle, Plutarch, Plato, and Xenophon. The writer also publicly criticizes his contemporaries, especially scientists, as he is not satisfied with the deplorable state of affairs of English society in the eighteenth century (Patey 809). Besides, he questions the scientific activity of The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge because of a huge gap between theory and practice: the practical results widely advertised by the scientists were not achieved. Therefore, creating a unique world in *Gulliver’s Travels*, Swift pays special attention to the development of education systems as well as the formation of science in his fictional countries: Lilliput, Laputa, and the country of the Houyhnhnms. In my opinion, the writer does this not only to satirize and reveal the vices of English society of the eighteenth century but also to demonstrate what fundamental approaches to education and science his contemporaries can borrow from predecessors in order to prevent their society from degeneration.

Currently, there are a great variety of credible and compelling sources devoted to the issues of the upbringing and educating of children in Sparta and Athens. Moreover, this topic is present in the works devoted to both the history of Ancient Greece and the history of pedagogy.

As a rule, all the materials are based on a common body of data, including epigraphical, literary, and archeological evidence as well as the manuscripts of such Greek and Roman scientists and philosophers as Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, and Plutarch. For example, according to Nigel Kennell, the historian and author of *The Gymnasium of Virtue*, Plutarch is "the fundamental authority on the Spartan *agoge* [the brutal physical training program] for modern scholars" (23). Jean Ducat, the leading specialist in classical Sparta and author of *Spartan Education: Youth and Society in the Classical Period*, also supports Kennell's point of view and states that the historians' reconstructions rely on Plutarch's collection of stories about the Spartan education system in his work *The Life of Lycurgus* (9). As for the Athenian education system, according to the historian Tracey Rihll, Plato's and Aristotle's views and ideas had the greatest impact on the formation of a personality-oriented pedagogical approach in Athens (168).

According to Marrou, the historian and author of *A History of Education in Antiquity*, "Sparta has a special place in the history of Greek education, and Greek culture generally" (35). The emergence and formation of the Spartan education system are associated with Lycurgus, the founder and ruler of Sparta, famous for his military and political reforms. Controlling all spheres of people's lives, the government also carefully monitored the health of newborn children as well as their growth and development, because only strong and robust people could become full-fledged citizens of Sparta. Since "the supreme civic obligation of the Spartan male citizen was to be a brave and ruthless warrior," the male population was engaged in the *agoge*, the brutal physical training program (Smith 131). At the age of seven, the Spartan boys were sent to specialized educational institutions where they honed their combat skills and learned how to survive in field conditions. The future defenders of Sparta were subjected to harsh and severe trials: they were taught how to tolerate hunger, thirst, pain, inconveniences, and sickness to prepare for military campaigns. Moreover, gymnastics, handling of weapons, fencing, javelin throwing, racing, and wrestling were mandatory parts of the educational program. The Spartans had to control their passions and feelings as well as obey the authority and commands. The government did not pay special attention to the intellectual or aesthetic training of its citizens; however, "this does not [did not] mean that Sparta was an intellectual backwater" (Kennell 46). The Spartan youth could read and write as well as knowing several military songs, religious rituals, Spartan history, traditions, and customs.

As for female education in Sparta, although the sources are rather “fragmentary” and “scarce,” the government also paid special attention to the physical development of women (Ducat 223). In order for their future offspring to be healthy, young ladies had to take care of strengthening their health by training their bodies with such exercises as running, jumping, racing, wrestling, and javelin throwing. Overall, Spartan education was a rigorous and highly disciplined system that was designed to bring up physically fit and mentally tough warriors who were loyal to their government and homeland.

The education system in Athens was different from that of Sparta as it was based on a holistic approach to the upbringing of the younger generation with an emphasis on physical, intellectual, and aesthetic development. The Athenians sought to educate citizens who could contribute to the development of their society, participate in public life, and maintain democracy.

At the same time, education was considered to be the responsibility of the government. At the age of seven, boys began to receive basic education either by studying with private tutors or by attending educational institutions. According to William Smith, the historian and author of *Ancient Education*, the educational program included training in “gymnastics, letters, and music” (132). The Athenian boys were also taught moral and civic values, such as kindness, responsibility, respect for other people, obedience to the laws, and devotion to their homeland. The government also paid special attention to physical training, so boys took part in various racing, wrestling, throwing, and fencing competitions. After completing basic education, they could continue their studies by enrolling in one of several higher educational institutions in Athens. These schools were known as gymnasiums, and they provided more advanced education in subjects such as philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, and natural science. The curriculum was designed to develop critical thinking skills, encourage intellectual curiosity, and foster a love of learning. In addition to formal education, the Athenian boys also acquired specific skills and knowledge through their participation in diverse social and cultural activities: public gatherings, festivals, performances, and sporting events.

Moreover, they were also invited to participate in debates and discussions in order to hone their social skills and public speaking abilities. As for female education in Athens, young ladies, as a rule, did not receive formal education in schools; they studied at home, obtaining knowledge from their mothers and relatives. Girls were taught domestic skills such as weaving,

cooking, and childcare, as well as music, dance, and basic literacy. Overall, education was highly valued in ancient Athens, and it was considered essential for the harmonious development of the younger generation. In addition, the Athenian approach to the educational process became "a model and inspiration to the whole of classical Greece" (Marrou 64).

Next, I will analyze several scenes from *Gulliver's Travels*, in which Swift makes references to the Athenian and Spartan education systems. The journey to Lilliput becomes Gulliver's first adventure, and in his narration, the main character describes not only the customs, traditions, and laws of the new country but also the lifestyle of local residents. The Lilliputians adhere to their own philosophy of the child-parent relationship and believe that children should be brought up and educated under the guidance of teachers in educational institutions. In addition, they do not think that parents have any responsibilities towards their children, just as children are not obliged to take care of their parents, since the desire to create a family stems from the natural physiological need for reproduction.

Consequently, as soon as children begin to demonstrate "some rudiments of docility," the Lilliputians send them to schools that are located in every city (Swift 67-68). In its turn, the educational process is organized considering the tendencies and abilities of children, which directly corresponds to the goal of Athenian education aimed at the upbringing and educating of harmoniously developed personalities. The conditions of the Lilliputians' stay in schools are characterized by modesty, simplicity, and unpretentiousness, which is a core feature of Spartan education. According to Marrou, "They [the Spartans] went around in poor clothes, hatless, with shaven heads and bare feet, and slept on a litter of reeds from the Eurotas, lined in winter with a padding of thistle-flock. And they got very little to eat: if they wanted more, they were told to go and steal it" (46). The daily routine of the Lilliputian boys is similar to the schedule of the Spartan boys since most of the time is devoted to physical exercises and activities. Moreover, the Lilliputians are brought up in the rules of honor, justice, and bravery.

As for women's education, girls study some sciences and learn how to run a household. By the age of twelve, young ladies are preparing to become married women and mothers. In addition, in Lilliput, there is also a special physical training program for girls, almost similar to the physical training program for boys but differing in the number and severity of the exercises. In Sparta, women's education also consisted of physical activities aimed at maintaining and

strengthening their state of health, since young ladies, first of all, were considered future mothers and keepers of the family hearth. In Athens, in addition to housekeeping, girls were also taught various arts such as dancing, singing, painting, and performing. Here, we can see how Swift strives to show the merits of each ancient Greek education system as well as express his attitude toward the education system of England in the eighteenth century. According to the writer, children are exposed to the influence of passions and vices early, which eventually leads to the inevitable degeneration of society (Patey 822). In order to prevent such a tragic outcome, the government should from the very beginning take responsibility for the upbringing and educating of their citizens, taking into account their intellectual, cultural, aesthetic, and physical development.

Another adventure that Gulliver goes on is a trip to the country of the Houyhnhnms. The main character admires the local system of the upbringing and educating of the younger generation and emphasizes: "In educating the youth of both sexes, their method is admirable, and highly deserves our imitation" (Swift 320). First of all, the Houyhnhnms strictly monitor which individuals want to get married because the spouses should complement each other both in appearance and physical qualities. If this balance is disturbed, it will inevitably lead to the degeneration of their society. At the same time, they also control the birth rate of children in order to avoid overpopulation of the country and lack of resources. For example, females are allowed to give birth to no more than two children. In my opinion, Swift again refers to his contemporaries because the birth rate increased significantly in the eighteenth century, but people did not fully realize what consequences this could lead to. Moreover, the Houyhnhnms advocate equality of men and women, which again cannot be said about the English society of the eighteenth century, where women actually depended on men and could not provide for themselves on their own.

Consequently, the Houyhnhnms do not divide education into male and female, as they believe that both sexes should be hardworking, wise, and strong. Several times a year, the Houyhnhnms compete in running, jumping, swimming, and other exercises that require strength and agility, which is also an obvious reference to Spartan education. During their *agoge* training program, the Spartan boys took part in various competitions, festivals, and battles. According to Kennel, "For centuries, Sparta had been renowned for its festivals, whose choruses and dances

drew visitors from all over the civilized world" (49). For example, the Gymnopaediae was held annually and considered one of the most significant celebrations in Ancient Greece, where participants were engaged in foot races, wrestling, boxing, and performances. This festival was also intended to demonstrate the physical prowess and discipline of the Spartan warriors. Moreover, it had a moral and educational purpose, instilling values such as courage, self-discipline, and obedience in the youth. Thus, we can also see how Swift draws a parallel between the country of the Houyhnhnms and England, criticizing his contemporaries for neglecting the problem of inequality between men and women, degeneration, and waste of resources.

Another example of Swift's historical reference to ancient times is Gulliver's trip to Laputa. Being a well-educated and curious person, Gulliver never missed the opportunity to learn more about discoveries, inventions, and experiments. So, when Munodi, the lord and former governor of Lagado, offers to visit the Grand Academy, the main character gladly agrees. Since one of the main goals of the academy is to make their society happier, scientists who work there are called "projectors," since they are mainly engaged in "putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics, upon a new foot" (Swift 209). For example, for eight years, one of the scientists has been developing a project for the extraction of solar energy from cucumbers in order to then use this energy to heat the air in case of cold and rainy weather. Another "innovative" projector has come up with a new way of building houses, starting with the roof and ending with the foundation. The height of insanity turns out to be a project of transforming human excrement into the nutrients from which they were formed. Describing in detail the absurdity of the state of affairs at the Grand Academy, Swift makes references to The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge and criticizes its controversial scientific activity.

According to a study by Nicolson and Mohler, the writer's satire is based on real experiments that were published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (301). Swift raises an important question about the practical benefits of experiments and their value to society, emphasizing that his contemporaries mistakenly assess "the nature and limits of human knowledge" (Patey 818). The writer also does not support the new experimental methods used by the scientists and claims that his contemporaries neglect the achievements of their predecessors and solid theoretical and practical knowledge of antiquity. More than that, Swift points out that

the Laputans as well as his contemporaries do not have a clear understanding of “the ancient distinction between the sciences of demonstration and the arts of prudence” (Patey 818). In addition, the fact that Laputa is a flying island proves once again that the world of scientists and the real world are two parallel worlds that exist separately from each other. Thus, comparing the Royal Society and the Grand Academy of Lagado, Swift argues that scientific inquiry should be driven by a genuine longing to improve people’s lives and comprehend how natural phenomena work, and not by a desire for fame, recognition, or the pursuit of trivial knowledge.

In conclusion, the historical references to ancient times that Swift makes in *Gulliver’s Travels* are reflected not only in the political and economic spheres of his fictional countries but also in the cultural and social spheres, especially in science and education. Drawing parallels between Ancient Greece, England, and fictional countries, the writer seeks to attract the attention of his contemporaries to such a significant issue as the degeneration of humankind. As future research, it would also be beneficial to explore how Swift’s criticism of the deplorable state of affairs of English society in the eighteenth century was perceived by his contemporaries and how his ideas and conclusions influenced the subsequent development of science, education, and the reorganization of The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge.

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The Novelty of a/the Novel: Frances Burney's *Evelina*

When it comes to novelty, what's more novel than the novel itself? To the English people of the eighteenth-century, the answer is simple – nothing. After all, the novel was named for its inherent newness. With the rise of the middle classes throughout the eighteenth century came the emergence of the novel, which represented the common people at every level. Not only were English novels written by the people, but they were written for the people as they centered around the everyday lives and ideals of the middle classes. This representation of the masses in literature ultimately allowed the novel to become popular and continue growing throughout the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting part of the novel's growth was the continual transformation through experimentation that occurred until its form was solidified in the early nineteenth-century. A prime example of these literary experiments is Frances Burney's first novel, *Evelina,* which was published anonymously in 1778. Throughout its three volumes, Burney was able to maintain elements of the beloved theater whilst blending various experimental forms, such as the novel of sentiment, the novel of manners, the novel of development, the female *Bildungsroman*, and the epistolary novel, which she furthered by creating a first-person epistolary novel. These coinciding experiments are what allowed for this novel's success, and I further discuss each of these literary experiments in my expanded essay. In this paper, however, I will be focusing on *Evelina* as an epistolary novel, a novel of manners, and a female *Bildungsroman* in order to demonstrate the capabilities of a single, complex eighteenth-century English novel. Through this, I aim to show that not only were eighteenth-century novels a novelty but that many novelties can be found within a single novel.

As I discuss the English novel as a novelty, it is important to note that I am referencing novels of fiction. This is not to say that prose fiction had not existed prior to the eighteenth-century, but rather that the form of the novel within the scope of fiction allowed for vast amounts of experimentation ranging from form to subject to style in a way that non-fiction did not. For instance, authors were able to write on a fictional scale anywhere between realism and fantasy

with varying levels of detail, pace, and complexity of storylines (Spacks 18-22). Although authors of the time had relatively free reign over what they wrote and how, the masses ultimately favored novels based on realism with type characters, rapid action, and complexities of plot (2-5). These preferences were borne out of the theater, especially as they relate to the comedy plays which were hugely popular leading up to the birth of the novel. Furthermore, the way in which realism was portrayed throughout the eighteenth-century offered what Patricia Spacks calls "a plausible illusion of actuality" where exaggeration and satire are used to create scenes and scenarios that lean more toward a desired situation than a probable one (3). This was done in order to appease the main, middle-class consumers of the fictional English novel.

With the rise of the middle class came an increase in the literate population. The expanse of literacy across social levels resulted in the emergence of the novel not only as a literary form, but a literary form with a dual purpose. Its first purpose was to instruct the women and enlighten the men in what were deemed mental and/or moral culture (Armstrong 100). For women, this was done through what are called "conduct books," which were a more simple and serious form of fiction illustrating the ideal looks and behaviors of women. For men, this was done through adventure novels, which had more worldly themes. The novel's second purpose was to delight and entertain all readers regardless of gender. This led to subject shifts in literature that emerged along with the novel form. With the urbanizing middle classes being the main consumers of the novel, it makes sense that the "ordinary people" became centralized. For example, stories shifted from knights in court to country girls in London. Moreover, the imperfectly realistic hero/heroine that makes both minor and catastrophic mistakes, ranging from failed love to lost money, becomes the main figure of the novel (Spacks 13). Not only do these realistic characters mirror that of the ordinary person, but they are almost always able to achieve their goal of becoming a more well-rounded person with either a spouse, a sum of money, or both. This further supports the notion of a realism conformed to the readers' desire rather than realistic probability. Before continuing into genres and experimentation, I must note that as the eighteenth century continued, the novel's dual purposes blended so that a majority of novels were both educational and entertaining (Skinner 67-73).

In order for the novel to remain novel and therefore popular, it went through innumerable transformations and experimentations. So much so that the novel could be labeled as a genre

whereas its literary experiments could be named subgenres (Skinner 52). In an effort to further classify the variations of the eighteenth-century novel, some scholars look to Paul Hernadi's four types of similarity: expressive, pragmatic, structural, and mimetic. In order, they relate to the mental attitudes of authors, the effects on readers' minds, viewing literary works as verbal constructs, and the likeness perceived between imagined worlds (53). While these groupings succeed in linking similarities between novels and their forms, they fail to identify specific types of literary experiments. For this reason, other scholars have created their own classifications of varying levels of focus. John Skinner, for instance, generalizes subgenres as "epic and satire," "letters and journals," "stage and closet," and "instruction and delight" as has been aforementioned (53). On the other hand, Patricia Spacks focuses on specific experimental variations of the novel, such as novels of adventure, gothic fiction, novels of consciousness, and more (26). Spacks does note that these categorizations are non-definitive and that most novels of the eighteenth-century contained multiple experimental subgenres. For the remainder of this paper, I will be referring to categorizations of literary experiments within the novel that are similar to what Spacks lays out.

Lastly, it is worth considering where Frances Burney sat not only as an eighteenth-century novelist but as an experimentalist. Frances (Fanny) Burney was regarded as one of the most well-known and well-liked female novelists of her time. Her name is often listed in line with other founding novelists like Henry Fielding and Samuel Richardson, who wrote *The History of Tom Jones* (1749) and *Clarissa* (1748) accordingly. Additionally, Burney's novels operated primarily as novels of manners or what some would call "epics of social embarrassment" (Skinner 208). For this reason, Burney was favored by Jane Austen who would later innovate and elevate the sentimental novel of manners in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Burney's experimentation of form and subject can be seen across her evolutionary career, which spanned five decades and began with the epistolary feat of *Evelina* (1778).

Epistolary Novel

The first literary experiment that I want to look at pertaining to Burney's *Evelina* is that of the epistolary novel. The world epistolary means 'relating to the writing of letters,' which

makes epistolary novels then ‘novels that relate to the writing of letters.’ For the entirety of the eighteenth century, letters were the main form of communication across all social classes, education levels, genders, locations, and relationships of people. In fact, letters were so vital to the functionality of the eighteenth century that letter writing manuals were circulated (Brant 33). As novels reminiscent of reality were favored, it is no surprise that the form of the letter worked its way into the experimental movement of the novel. The most common way that epistolary novels functioned was through “epistolary correspondence” between characters (Skinner 59). This correspondence is evidenced throughout *Evelina* in two main avenues. The primary letters sent and received are between Evelina and her father figure, the Reverend Mr. Villars, while Evelina is away from home. These letters make up the majority of the novel and lean heavily on Evelina as the novel’s narrator. This isn’t to say that Mr. Villars does not respond, but rather that Evelina’s tellings of the happenings are what keep the reader in the loop. The secondary letters written and received are between Mr. Villars and Lady Howard regarding Evelina’s safety and travel. Although these letters appear significantly less, they set up the frame of the novel in which Evelina, a young country girl, is to travel to London for the first time. They are also woven throughout the novel to maintain the real concerns of a parent that come out when the child is not around. Regardless of whom the sender or receiver is of these epistolary correspondences, they are all formatted similarly to that of a typical letter; they are each addressed to the person with their title, dated and located, and signed with a corresponding valediction often repeated by each character. For instance, both Mr. Villars and Lady Howard sign with some phrasing using the words humble, obedient, servant, and friend.

While it is through these epistolary correspondences that Burney aligns with other literary innovations of time, it is through her positioning of Evelina’s letters as first-person narratives that she is able create her own novel experiment. In a similar way that letters were the main form of communication with others, journals and diaries detailing thoughts, ideas, and tellings of the everyday happenings were the main form of communication with self. The journal so popularly paralleled the epistolary novel that is considered by some to be an appendix to the epistolary novel (Skinner 62). This means that a vast number of epistolary novels were either made up of journal entries rather than letters or had a blend of both. Burney’s *Evelina* would be considered the latter. The novel is made up entirely of letters, yet the personal intimacy that can be found in

Evelina's letters to Mr. Villars toes the line of a diary. Throughout Evelina's accounts of her personal experiences in London, she details her own thoughts while also leaving out very little detail about what actually happened, even when depicting the violences brought toward her. While these details bolster the realism of the story, they are especially interesting as Evelina is meant to be a young girl writing to her father-figure. It is for this reason that many view Evelina's letters to Mr. Villars as both letters and a diary. Through her personal inventiveness, Burney was successfully able to create not only an epistolary novel made up of various corresponding letters, but a first-person epistolary novel that married the structure of the letter with the intimacy of a journal.

Novel of Manners

The second experiment of the novel that I want to focus on is that of the novel of manners. What is meant by the term 'manners' had transformed throughout time leading up to the eighteenth-century. Manners were first meant in relation to morality before later expanding to encompass social behaviors. Therefore, by the time the novel of manners was being created in the mid-to-late eighteenth-century, the term manners held both moral and social significance (Spacks 161). While morality and social behavior are often overlapping and dependent, the idea of pleasing is often referenced as a mode of connection between them. Ultimately, one should act with manners in order to appear as pleasing to others (161). Although this includes the physical pleasing that comes with being well-kept and well-dressed, it is more so about behaving in a way that is unoffensive, accommodating, and polite. In referencing Frances Burney's *Evelina*, Patricia Spacks states, "The novel's mannerly ideal combines moral awareness with conventional compliance" (162). By this she means that throughout the novel characters must comply with the social manners that are in place or risk tarnishing their moral reputations by being noncompliant.

As Burney's *Evelina* is widely regarded as one of the first novels of manners, it is specifically fascinating that the novel involves very few of these morally and socially well-mannered individuals. Instead, Burney presents multitudes of "low" figures stretching across social classes and genders without also offering ideal counterparts, save for Lord Orville. Perhaps the worst mannered characters are that of Captain Mirvan and Sir Clement Willoughby.

Throughout the novel, both characters are depicted as boisterous and conniving while also putting other characters at risk physically, morally, and reputationally. Because both men are socially ill-mannered with little regard for others, they are both morally corrupt. On the other hand, Lord Orville is presented as the social and moral ideal. Not only is Lord Orville the highest-ranking, but he is also the most respected because of his excellent manners behaviorally and conversationally. As such, he is deemed to be a proper suitor and role model for Evelina.

Because the novel of manners is a romantic adaptation of the conduct books, they often center around a 'heroine of manners' who is usually a young girl making social missteps in her entrance into the social world. For this reason, many novels of manners have a secondary title similar to Burney's *Evelina,* which is fully titled *Evelina or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778). Furthermore, the novel of manners' plot is carried by the heroine's process of learning through action in a social world constructed by rules of decorum (Spacks 168). In *Evelina,* the heroine of manners must learn an esoteric code regarding dance partners and social exchanges (162). In comparing the balls that Evelina attends, the reader is able to gauge her growth in understanding this code. For instance, at Evelina's first ball in London she observes the systematic way in which the women are made to dance with the men, and she resolves that she would rather not dance than dance with the first man to ask her (Burney 30). She then directly rejects her first invitation to dance, only to later be dancing with other men. This series of events upsets the first inquiring man who ultimately calls her out socially for being a lady with ill manners (35). For Evelina this is not only embarrassing but could also be detrimental to her reputation had she been a permanent figure in London. By the time of the second ball, Evelina's thoughts on dancing had not changed, but her plan to avoid dancing had. Instead of outright refusing dance invitations, she claims to already be engaged, having learned this phrasing at the first ball (41). Although this keeps Evelina from having to dance, the truth eventually comes out that she lied and thus she suffers further embarrassment that is only soothed by Lord Orville's rescuing manners (48). Between these two scenes, it is evident that Evelina is stumbling on her way to growth and manners, and suffering the social consequences along the way in a probable sort of romanticized realism that is common in novel of manners.

Female *Bildungsroman*

The last experimental variation I want to discuss is the female *Bildungsroman* as it pertains to *Evelina.* Here it is important to distinguish between the typically male *Bildungsroman* and the experimentally new *female Bildungsroman.* In both instances, the German term '*Bildungsroman'* maintains its compounding definition of a 'formative' or 'educational' novel. However, the male *Bildungsroman* holds more similarities to what are called ”apprentice novels” than the female *Bildungsroman,* though each overlap in certain aspects. For instance, the key points of apprentice novels are that the main figure is an inexperienced youth on a journey to mastery with the aid of a mentor. Furthermore, apprentice novels are noted as being chronicles of the educational mistakes that are made on this journey; it is especially common for the chronicles to be made by the main figure who is often a writer or an artist (Fraiman 5). Female *Bildungsromans* of the eighteenth-century were able to present a centralized inexperienced youth and their journey to mastery. This can be seen in Burney's *Evelina* as its eponymous heroine is a young girl from the country who is wholly inexperienced and unaware of the social rules of London. Additionally, as was discussed prior, Evelina is the primary epistolary author throughout the novel chronicling her own social missteps in an autobiographical nature that is common in traditional *Bildungsromans*.

Where the experimentation and innovation come in is where female characters are unable to have direct mentors and linear paths of progress. This is because they are held in the same social entrapments of their real-world counterparts. Instead, mentors are often depicted as potential husbands and the women are forced into a paradoxical task of seeing and learning the world whilst avoiding violation by the world and its viewers (Fraiman 6-7). The former is demonstrated in *Evelina* as Lord Orville, who becomes Evelina's husband, is not only presented as the social and moral ideal for Evelina to follow but plays the role of an indirect mentor as Evelina constantly compares her own and others' behaviors to Lord Orville in order to gauge their levels of correctness. The aforementioned female paradoxical task is evidenced throughout the novel each time that Evelina finds herself in risky and often violent situations. Each public event that Evelina attends throughout the novel could be considered a risky situation as she remains inexperienced and therefore at risk of misstep, embarrassment, and potential isolation.

Furthermore, every time that Evelina finds herself alone with a man could be considered a violent situation as she is often manipulated or held captive. Susan Fraiman states, "essential faith in the ability of individuals, however laboriously tried, to weather 'plot' and affirm the sovereignty of 'character'" noting the paradox that in spite of the monumental risks of being in the world, female characters such as Evelina must continue to venture out in order to learn (10).

Finally, due to the non-linear and often hindered path of heroines, it is a common occurrence in female *Bildungsromans* that the major narrative is decentralized to make way for alternative "stories of female destiny". This can be seen in *Evelina* as the tragic story of Evelina's mother, Caroline Belmont, is intertwined throughout Evelina's own narrative, as is the rescuing of Evelina's imposter, Miss Belmont, from a life as an impoverished outcast. Although there has been major debate on what exactly a female *Bildungsroman* is and if Evelina grows enough by the end of her novel to warrant the *Bildungsroman* title, it is evident that there is a substantial enough amount of overlap to claim that it is, at least, a semi-successful *Bildungsroman* experimentation.

All in all, the emergence of the novel as a literary form for the middle classes led to a century's worth of experimentation and innovation regarding subject, form, and style. Due to the vast number of novel variations that came out of the eighteenth-century, it is hard to distinguish specific categories of subgenres. This is made even more difficult as many English novels of the time were amalgamations of multiple subgenres and experimentation. However, Frances Burney's *Evelina* can claim the title of being one of the most successful and innovative texts of the eighteenth-century. Burney's ability to blend her versions of the epistolary novel, the novel of manners, and the female *Bildungsroman* truly demonstrates the capabilities of an English novel. Furthermore, it shows the novelty of the novel and the many novelties that can be found within a single novel.

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Love's Labour's Found: Shakespeare's Don Armado: The Sincere Braggart of *Love's Labours Lost*

Don Armado is my favorite character in the play *Love's Labour's Lost*. I am not sure why he gets so little respect; when people talk about him, they call him a "potentate of nonsense" (Hazlitt); it would seem perhaps the stock-character tag of "braggart" overdetermines their response.

According to Boughner, a braggart, in Renaissance comedy, was a "swaggering mercenary soldier" based upon models of classical Rome (5); by the time of the 1500s in Italy, the braggart was prone to "compare his warlike deeds with the feats of fabulous heroes . . . " (94). Don Armado's military status and liking for heroes is mentioned in only two contexts—when he is worried that it is inappropriate for a warrior to be in love, and when he is considering how to present the Nine Worthies' entertainment for the entertainment of the lady visitors to the court of Navarre. Don Armado actually spends no time bragging, and what he fears most is being disloyal to his calling as a warrior, though he has participated happily in the linguistic games of the court. Therefore, Don Armado is not really a braggart. Campbell asserts, "In fact, if he were not called 'Braggart' throughout the play, we should hardly recognize him as belonging to the 'miles gloriosus' type" (97). Others, such as Mousley argue that Don Armado is the opposite of what the play suggests is needed, not a "wise fool, " but a "foolish fool" (Mousley 117). Many members of the court, in fact, seem to be amused by Don Armado, yet think he is verging upon an imbecile. Don Armado is discussed before he appears, by the King of Navarre, who says:

> …Our court, you know is haunted
> With a refined traveler of Spain,
> A man in all the world's new fashion planted.
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain;
> One who the music of his own vain tongue

> Doth ravish like enchanting harmony;
> A man of complements, whom right and wrong
> Have chose an umpire of their mutiny.

He then says he loves to hear Don Armado lie, and he plans to “use him for my minstrelsy” (LLL I. ii. 159-167; 173).

This picture of Don Armado makes him foreign, a hanger-on, a wit who might not be witty, someone afflicted with vanity, who represents nothing, and is a liar. However, the king asserts, he is good for a laugh. I hasten to mention that Felicia Londre does not agree with me. She thinks the King is overall complimentary to Don Armado. She describes the attributes I have summarized as follows:

> fashionable . . .conceit, courteous manners with perhaps . . . punctiliousness about the rules governing affairs of honor (dueling), high birth or good breeding, and a patriotic delight in bragging about little-known Spaniards. This largely sympathetic description undoubtedly survives from the 1578 version of the play . . . . The more ridiculous attributes of the character may well have been added after the 1588 defeat of the Armada, at which time his name would have been changed from Braggart to Armado. (332-333)

I am unclear why she thinks the King is positive, but I think she is saying the text presents two conflicting versions of the character Braggart/Don Armado, and that if she is correct, my paper’s thesis may well not make sense! I see him as a central character, a hero of the play.

Our next view of Don Armado is in the letter he writes accusing Costard of breaking the King’s law with Jaquenetta. This letter is baroque and complex in its language, definitely reflecting the traits of Euphuism. According to Harman and Holman, the main traits of Euphuism are balanced grammatical constructions, use of antithesis, alliteration, and an excess of figurative language such as similes, including those from myth and nature (205). This letter is written in verbiage vaguely reminiscent of Edmund Spenser, making me think that Don Armado’s attempts at Euphuism also contain old-fashioned words like “ycleped,” which, in addition to having the circuitous and backwards sense of formality also make him sound 300 years out of date, and thus

like a contemporary of El Cid (I I, quoted in letter). The letter, read by the King, goes as follows:

> So it is, besieged with sable-colored melancholy, I did commend the black-oppressing humor to the most wholesome physic of thy health-giving air; and, as I am a gentleman, betook myself to walk. The time when? About the sixth hour, when beasts most graze, birds best peck, and men sit down to that nourishment which is called supper: so much for the time when. Now for the ground which—which, I mean, I walked upon:it is ycleped thy park. Then for the place where—where,I did encounter that obscene and most preposterous event that draweth from my snow-white pen the ebon-colored ink. (I, ii, 225-236)

One notices the alliteration, the fanciful, self-created adjectives, and the rhetorical questions. It should be noted that he does answer his own questions. It also, however, presents Don Armado himself in an interesting light: he is just wandering around, being melancholy. While some might imply that this melancholy is insincere, and more style than substance, it does have an actual cause: the unrequited love he feels for Jaquenetta (revealed when he is speaking to Moth in the next scene). It may be assumed that all members of the court are insincere, as this is a frequent effect of the wit and language of euphuism, but I think this is slander to Don Armado. In fact, Archer suggests Don Armado and other men on the fringes are treated poorly because they are linked with "urban and national rather than courtly definitions of belonging and identity" (322). The Spanish Don Armado is a novelty not as threatening as the lovely ladies of France!

The Braggart is the hero of the play for he is totally committed to language and has a sincere desire to use it for truth and delight. This is evident from his tattling letter. He also loves practicing the curlicues of Euphuism, of being a courtier, rather than just a soldier. In III, I, Don Armado is explaining to the others how a l'envoi is part of a verse form in a poem, since Costard has confused the word with SALVE. Moth glibly mimics the form, but his asides reflect his contempt for his master, and he frequently seems insubordinate where his master is concerned. To him, Don Armado's affection for Jaquenetta is nonsense and embarrassing (Moth: "the hobbyhorse is but a colt, and your love perhaps a hackney" (III, i, 30). Having heard Costard's description of Jaquenetta as well, the viewer is likely to agree with Moth. We have parallel

soliloquies of Don Armado in I, ii and Berowne in III i. In Shakespeare's drama, a soliloquy signals that the character is talking to himself, and thus is sincere Don Armado, in his speech, tells his sword to rust while he gets a pen, ready to write a sonnet (I, ii, 174-5). Don Armado distrusts Love, but because he DOES love Jaquenetta, he is willing to "be forsworn" (I, ii, 162). This word, "forsworn," is interesting.

In studying its meaning, I found it can mean "to swear falsely" or "commit perjury" (dictionary.com); in seeking a specifically Shakespearean usage, I found "swear falsely," "break one's word," and "renounce, deny, or repudiate" (ask.com). Don Armado mentions it again at the end of the play. Of course, we know about the oaths that the King and his friends break, but what has Don Armado done? I think that Don Armado is often treated as though he too, is an oath breaker, or perhaps has sworn falsely against Costard, but it seems to me that Costard has confessed. Yet Don Armado twice feels this guilt—once is here, and later, in Act V.

In this particular spot, I think Don Armado may feel he has betrayed his oath as a knight—he wants to be a lover and not a soldier anymore. In his soliloquy, Don Armado asserts his love and renounces his soldier state. He realizes Jaquenetta is "base," but he does not care now; Don Armado has just discovered the Renaissance and is leaving the Middle Ages behind. His behavior in the court, despite his language, seems more a model of "Renaissance Man" than Medieval El Cid, truly. Berowne is also disgusted with himself to be controlled by such an unworthy force as love, but he also capitulates: "Well, I will love, write, sigh, pray, sue groan:/Some men must love my lady, and some Joan" (III, I, 201-202). This reminds us of "greasy Joan" in the song at the end of the play—perhaps who Jaquenetta will become.

To see Don Armado as foolish is a common interpretation of his character, yet his actions are the same as those of the King's friends, and he pursues these actions more sincerely. Don Armado enters into the poem-creation with the more correct Renaissance spirit than anyone else. He is looking to be a practitioner of this art (III, i). When he asks about the ballad, "The King and the Beggar," he wants it as a model for his poem to Jaquenetta (I, ii). However, this ballad suggests a rather major insult to Jaquenetta—in his letter, later, he talks of how Jaquenetta should be grateful to him for loving someone as low as she is (IV, 1, 61-86). Since the letter is accidentally delivered to Rosaline and is ordered read by the Princess of France, it manages to not insult anyone, but certainly Jaquenetta has shown no particular favor to Don Armado thus far.

(She has in fact received the far superior letter written by Berowne). Don Armado's letter is sometimes criticized for using the language of Julius Cesar and war to make his love appeal to Jaquenetta, even being accused of wanting to take her over like Gaul in a symbolic rape, a position that is heightened in a postscript where he tries to use the lion and lamb as symbols of himself and Jaquenetta (Erickson 247-8). Don Armado manages to begin his letter well, as he complimented the beauty of Jaquenetta and calls himself a vassal; he then tries to use Julius Ceasar as a model in having 3 action associated with his "campaign" for her love—instead of, "I came, I saw, I conquered," Armado wants to parallel this to the story of the King and the Beggar, where the end result is he wishes to command, enforce, and entreat her love….after which, the postscript about a hungry lion eating her is possibly not in good taste!

In fact, it is also true that Don Armado wants to know about sonnets for the purpose of writing a more modern love poem to his lady (I, ii, see above soliloquy). At this point, Don Armado is sincere and causes offense, and also speaks to Jaquenetta in a very plain way, showing that he realizes she may not understand his language otherwise (I, ii, 124-137) (Cunningham 95). Thus, what Leggat says, that "The two parties [women and men] seem incapable of approaching each other informally…" (63), seems not to apply to Don Armado. Don Armado can never be as plain and natural in this foreign tongue, but he delights in its strange possibilities, and when he speaks to Jaquenetta directly, he is very clear.

> Armado: I do betray myself with blushing. Maid.
> Jaquenetta: Man!
> Armado: I will visit thee at the lodge.
> Jaquenetta: That's hereby.
> Armado: I know where it is situate.
> Jaquenetta: Lord, how wise you are!
> Armado: I will tell thee wonders.
> Jaquenetta: With that face?
> Armado: I love thee.
> Jaquenetta: So I heard you say.
> Armado: And so farewell.

Jaquenetta: Fair weather after you! (I, ii 125-137)

Kehler, in her article, suggests that Jaquenetta in this exchange is insulting (or possibly insolent) to Armado (306). I presume Kehler's interpretation comes from the line "With that face?" , which actually means, according to Pelican footnotes, "You don't say?", expressive of curiosity or surprise rather than a cold insult (219). However, I have to admit that her other remarks might be insolent as well. At this point, Dull takes Jaquenetta away, and Armado returns to abusing Costard. Though I disagree with many of Kehler's conclusions, such as that Armado is a "parasite," I think her ending argument is right: the men of Navarre are all afraid of women's power, "Jaquenetta exerts a power over Don Armado that is even more striking than that of the ladies over their social equals" (310). This appears to be the whole point of the play, and why I see Don Armado as the leading man.

Since the topic of the play is actually a satire about language dividing people from feeling, it would seem Don Armado's verbal exchange with Jaquenetta might reflect the play's aims. While the play for today's students is a somewhat bewildering tangle of different rhetorics, the theme of the play is sincerity. Courtly love and games of wit are based upon the superficial manipulation of language and a basic division between words and feelings. As Leggatt says, "Mockery, like love, turns people into objects" (79). However, the reason "love's labour's" are "lost" would be this focus on language (and scholarship, oaths, sonnets, ballads etc.) vs communication itself (or style vs. substance). The lesson is forced upon the young men of Navarre when their games are disrupted by the appearance of Mercade, who announces the death of the King of France. The ladies, in turn, decline to accept the love of the men of Navarre until twelve months have passed. This ending of the play is seen as perhaps less than satisfactory (from a comedy standpoint), or perhaps as a return to more ordinary and sober times. According to Barber, this is the direction the whole play is moving anyway—that wit will be unseated and replaced by sober reality (158). Don Armado, however, does not have anything forced upon him: he seeks out sincerity for himself.

All the courtiers are sexist in their views of the French ladies, and all the secondary persons are aware that Jaquenetta is likely a little too free and easy (see Moth's comment, above). Don Armado may seem to be ignoring this or not aware, but I think his letter focusing

upon her "base" qualities rather than his love by using the "King and the Beggar" model is the source of his feeling that he has done something wrong immediately after the duel scene, where he says ""'For mine own part, I breathe free breath. I have seen the day of wrong through the little hole of discretion, and I will right myself like a soldier" (V, ii, 713-715). The Pelican footnotes say this means "I know I have done wrong," or words to that effect (246). Perhaps the demands that the Queen of France and her ladies make of the gentlemen of Navarre cause Don Armado to decide to work three years following the plow for Jaquenetta, but it seems likely he offers this to her, rather than that she makes a demand, for it would seem Costard's unceremonious interruption of the Nine Worthies' Pageant is designed to make Don Armado feel guilty. According to Kehler, "Armado ennobles himself by remaining the milkmaid's votary, no longer a braggart, but a man brave enough to accept the ignominy other men fear" (311).

Bobbyann Roesen (Anne Barton) suggests that Don Armado needs to be humiliated towards the end of the play because he is arrogant and a hypocrite, and for the play to have the proper chastening effect, everyone in it needs to be taken down a peg (140-141). However, I think this is not necessary for Don Armado, except that he himself thinks so. When Don Armado will not fight in his shirt (because he does not have one), the duel is called off. I am not sure this is humiliation either—surely Don Armado is more capable of conducting a duel than Costard! And though Moth testifies that all the linen Don Armado possesses is an old dishcloth of Jaquenetta's, I cannot say that Armado had displayed cowardice, but rather good manners. Respectable knights do not fight half naked! However, proper knights also do not decline a challenge. In my mind, Don Armado must love Jaquenetta, faithless or not, and by serving her, he secures her lifelong love (or so he hopes?). He cared whether it was proper for a knight to be in love at all, but now that he is, his view of Jaquenetta as an ideal cannot be changed.

According to Campbell, the model for Don Armado, a stock figure called a *capitano*, "is regularly either utterly humiliated and driven off in disgrace at the end of the play or he is married to some clownish and ill-favored female" (102). This female sounds like Jaquenetta (though one gets the impression she is pretty but perhaps saucy); however, Don Armado is not driven off in disgrace. Don Armado challenges Costard to a duel, and then he makes an excuse that he has no shirt. He is poor, and he is perhaps a coward, but I do not think a coward is the Don Armado we have come to see in the play. I think he knows that Costard's action is prompted

by a desire to get out of providing for Jaquenetta's child. If Don Armado kills Costard, he will potentially hurt Jaquenetta and take away her child's father. He accepts the humiliation voluntarily in order to demonstrate his true love for Jaquenetta, to show his willingness to take part in her "base" life, to have his love, anyway, not be in vain. And, as Kehler mentions, it is also possible that even Jaquenetta does not know who the father of her child is (311). Also, Don Armado feels he has betrayed his responsibility to love by taking up the sword against Costard. When he tells Berowne he is "forsworn," I think this is what he means. He is not a soldier anymore.

Don Armado has the last word of the play. He says "The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo. You, that way: we, this way" (V ii 913-914). What ways are those? If the Queen of France and her ladies must now return to France and mourn the King, and she must become a ruler, the romances begun so recently at the court of Navarre will be deferred for a year, while the waiting men must go to hermitages and hospitals, making penance for their false oaths. Armado has made no such false oaths (unless the charges against Costard were false), and he will do work, not penance.

He is not a dead hero like Hector, he is a potentially successful lover who will "hold the plow for her sweet love three year," in effect ending his career and status as a courtier—but he seems philosophical as he says the last words (V ii 867-868). This is the subject of an article by Kodama, who also asserts that maybe after the 3 years Armado can come back to the court (368). However, it seems like if he has success with Jaquenetta, he might not want that.

The songs of the cuckoo and the owl have also caused much comment. According to McLay, the Spring poem is filled with references to cuckoldry, and that in the language of flowers for the Elizabethans, blue was the color of infidelity (214). This might be the fate of the silly young courtiers, faced with the strong, deer-hunting women of France (and possibly the love-sick Armado). However, McLay also tells us that the Winter poem totally lacks double entendre and presents instead a more unvarnished and un-romantic picture (215). This picture is not a Romantic pastoral, but a common scene like one might see with the Mechanicals in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Possibly, this reality is a proper come-uppance to the foolish courtiers, but in fact, taking the final words of Armado, the sobriety of greasy Joan seems to be something he regrets not at all. So, he is poor. So, he has degraded his heritage. So, he is in the

winter of life. Still, his love's labour's have not been lost—misunderstood, yes, but lost, no. He appropriately tells the courtiers that while they wait, he will be working, which is, after all, man's usual and correct fate, according to the book of Genesis.

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"Was Ever Woman in this Humor Wooed?": Royal Courting and Seduction in Selected History Plays by Shakespeare and Marlowe

This presentation compares five scenes from plays by Shakespeare and Marlowe in which a King courts or attempts to seduce another person. The plays being considered are *Richard III*, *Henry V*, *Tamburlaine*, part 1, *Edward II*, and *Edward III*. I begin with Richard's wooing of Lady Anne at the beginning of *Richard III*. In the play's first scene we learn that Richard's brother King Edward IV is dying, and that Richard has set in motion the events that will culminate in the murder of Clarence, his other brother. The scene concludes with a soliloquy, or perhaps more accurately, an extended aside to the audience, in which Richard reveals his plans for Lady Anne:

> For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest
> daughter.
> What though I kill'd her husband and her
> father?
> The readiest way to make the wench
> amends
> Is to become her husband and her father:
> The which will I, not all so much for love
> As for another secret close intent
> By marrying her which I must reach unto (1.1.153-159)[6]

In short, Richard intends to marry Anne as part of his political maneuvering, and not for love. In fact, as he says later in the scene, "I'll have her, but will not keep her long" (1.2.29).

[6] References to Shakespeare and Marlowe are respectively from The Riverside Shakespeare, 2nd edition. Ed. G. Blakemore Evans, assisted by J. J. M. Tobin, Houghton Mifflin, 1997, and Christopher Marlowe. Ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, Oxford Drama Library, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

That he has killed her husband, and his father would seem an overwhelming impediment to winning her hand in matrimony. Indeed, when Anne enters in the next scene accompanying the funeral cortege of Henry VI, she pauses to address the corpse and delivers a lengthy curse directed against both Richard and any future wife of his, whom she wishes to suffer as she has suffered:

> If ever he have wife, let her be made
> More miserable by the [life] of him
> Than I am made by my young lord and thee! (1.2.26-28)

She does not know that she is cursing herself. The procession is about to start again when Richard enters and orders it to halt. Anne vents her anger on him, emphasizing his guilt for the murders. Her accusations and his retorts build to this surprising exchange:

> *Gloucester*. Is not the causer of the timeless
> deaths
> Of these Plantagenets, Henry and Edward,
> As blameful as the executioner?
> *Anne*. Thou wast the cause, and most
> accurs'd effect
> *Gloucester*. Your beauty was the cause of
> that effect—
> Your Beauty, that did haunt me in my sleep
> To undertake the death of all the world,
> So I might live one hour in your sweet
> bosom. (1.2.117-124)

She remains angry and incredulous of the claim. Richard then gives her his sword and bears his breast, daring her to kill him if she cannot forgive him. He pushes hard on his wrongs to her.

Nay do not pause: for I did kill King Henr

—

But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.

Nay now dispatch: 'twas I that stabbed your

Edward—

But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

Holding the sword against his bared breast, Anne cannot bring herself to stab because although angry, she is not murderous. Richard has bet his life that she would be unable to stab him, and he has won his bet. Moreover, being forced to rein in her anger moderates her hatred and leaves Anne emotionally open to Richard's lies. Still fearing that his heart and tongue are false, she bids Richard to put up his sword. She avoids making any verbal promise to him, but she accepts his ring. It is no wonder, then, that Richard gloats over his psychological domination of Anne:

Was ever woman in this humor woo'd?

Was ever woman in this in this humor won? (1.2.227-29)

We, his co-conspirators in the audience, surely agree.

The concluding scene of *Henry V* is analogous to this scene from *Richard III* in featuring a verbal confrontation between a king and the woman he is going to marry. We respond quite differently, of course, for in contrast to Richard's villainy, the ending of *Henry V* is comic. Nonetheless, we might note that Katherine is being forced to marry as a part of the peace treaty that concludes the war between England and France. Her answer, when Henry bluntly asks, "wilt thou have me," is "Dat is as it shall please *de roi mon père*" (5.2346-7). She does know, of course, what her father wishes. It is why she has been taking English lessons from Alice, the lady who attends on her. Still, she does not directly accept Henry's proposal. Rather she says in essence that she will do her duty to her father and her country.

Obviously, Henry has not injured Katherine in the way that Richard harmed Anne, but her father and her brother the Dolphin have been defeated by Henry, and the country she loves has experienced great loss at his hands. We are told that ten thousand of the French army lost their

lives at Agincourt. Also, we might note that Henry forces Katherine to kiss him despite her protests and despite his understanding that "It is not a fashion for the maids in France to kiss before they are married" (5.2.265-266). This last, of course, is more of an issue for modern readers than it was in Shakespeare's day, but there is resistance on Katherine's part. This is important if the point is that Henry is to be seen as a conqueror in both love and war. However, conquering in love does not mean beating down her resistance as Richard did with Anne. Henry knows that she will marry him. This last campaign is to win her heart, to lead her to think that being married to him might be acceptable, or even enjoyable. Henry desires more than a forced marriage. He wants a happy marriage.

Just as Henry's marriage to Katherine will cap his victories in France, so Tamburlaine's marriage to Zenocrate will mark the culmination of his military conquests in *Tamburlaine*, part 1. As in *Richard III*, we see them meet early in the play. They do not meet as equals, for if Tamburlaine has yet to win the first of many crowns and is not yet a king, Zenocrate is his prisoner. She and her entourage have been captured on their way to Memphis. Tamburlaine had not met her before her capture, and he is so taken with her beauty that he resolves to marry her. The first question he directly asks her is "is your grace betrothed?" (1.2.31), and learning that she has a fiancée but is unmarried, he tells her that she must marry him:

> But lady, this fair face and heavenly hue
> Must grace his bed that conquers Asia. (1.2.36-37)

Tamburlaine never proposes to Zenocrate, but decrees that their marriage is to be. However, he constantly praises her beauty, and admits to Techelles that "this is she with whom I am in love" (1.2.108). He treats her like the queen she is to be. In recent years, some critics have taken Agydas's reference to "Zenocrate's offensive rape by Tamburlaine" (3.2.6) to imply a sexual assault rather than her being taken captive. Clearly this is belied by the end of the play, when Tamburlaine assures Zenocrate's father, the Sultan, that

> Her state and person want no pomp, you
> see;

And for all blot of foul inchastity,
I record heaven, her heavenly self is clear (5.1.485-486)

Tamburlaine has ever maintained that his “words are oracles” (3.3.102): they are true or will become true. There is no reason to assume that he would begin lying in the final scene of the play.

Zenocrate did not immediately return Tamburlaine’s love. When Theridamas joins Tamburlaine’s army at the end of the second scene he tells his prisoners that they can choose to join him willingly or be forced into slavery. However, he says he has no doubt of Zenocrate’s response, and Zenocrate unhappily says “I must be pleased perforce” (1.2.259). Not long after this, though, she says that Tamburlaine’s behavior “hath changed my first-conceived disdain” and that she now wishes only “That I may live and die with Tamburlaine” (3.2.12,24). Later, when she rues the deaths of Bajazeth and Zabina and questions the morality of Tamburlaine’s behavior, she continues to see him as her true “love, sweet Tamburlaine” (5.1.354).

Although *Edward II* maintains the pattern of a royal lover and his beloved that I have been tracing in the three plays just considered, there are significant differences in Marlowe’s use of the idea in this play. It is not just that both Edward and Gaveston are male. A major difference is that the wooing occurs in a letter and not face to face. He promises great rewards: “come Gaveston, / And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend” (1.1.1-2). Is such extravagance necessary? To fully share in the kingdom is certainly more than Richard or Henry or Tamburlaine offered. Complicating the promise is that Richard already has a queen who should be a major sharer in the kingdom. Moreover, his profligate gifts to Gaveston weakened the kingdom, alienated him from the nobles, and turned Queen Isabella into a powerful political enemy. Even so, he perseveres in the belief that Gaveston loves him “more than all the world” 91.4.77).
But does he? When Gaveston reads Edward’s letter it is clear that he can imagine no “greater bliss” than to “be the favorite of a king” (1.1.4-5), but is the point that he loves Edward reciprocally, or that he will no longer have to stoop to the peers or pay attention to the poverty-stricken multitude? He clearly boasts that he knows how to manipulate Edward. He plans to provide entertainment that

May draw the pliant king which way I
please
Music and poetry is his delight;
Therefore I'll have Italian masques by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing
shows,
And in the day when he shall walk abroad,
My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
Shall with their goat feet dance an antic hey. (1.1.52-59)

We know that Richard's profession of love for Anne is false and that Tamburlaine's for Zenocrate is true, but Gaveston's seems focused on status and control, not love.

Edward II contains a second love affair somewhat analogous to that of Edward and Gaveston, the love between Isabella and Mortimer. For a long while it seems that Isabella wants her marriage to Edward to work, but he finally drives her away. The turning point is when Mortimer asks her to "think on Mortimer as he deserves." Alone on stage, Isabella then reflects

So well hast thou deserved, sweet Mortimer
As Isabel could live with thee forever.
In vain I look for love at Edward's hand,
Whose eyes are fixed on none but Gaveston. (2.5.58-62)

It is a brief exchange in comparison to the other scenes I have been discussing, but it too is an offer of love and its acceptance in spirit if not yet in fact.

Edward III provides a different perspective on this issue of royalty courting another person. Whereas Richard, Henry, and Tamburlaine are pursuing marriage, and Edward II wishes a permanent relationship with Gaveston, Edward III wishes for the Countess of Salisbury to become his mistress. That she is an attractive and desirable woman is established early in the play when the Scots are besieging her castle. Assuming that they will soon win this battle, the Scottish nobles King David and Earl Douglas are debating how to divide the spoils. Douglas says

that he wants nothing but the lady, but King David says that he will keep her for himself. The scene becomes comic since the Countess overhears their conversation, and she taunts the two men after King Edward's army arrives and raises the siege. Edward is overwhelmed by her beauty, and fearing his ability to control his passion, plans to leave. The Countess contends that the Scots have fled and asks him to honor her castle by staying. His struggle with his passion becomes increasingly comic as he attempts to write a love letter with the assistance of his confidant Lodowick. The comedy becomes darker when Edward forces the Countess's father, Warwick, to woo his daughter "To be my mistress and my secret love" (2.1.44). Warwick does as his oath of loyalty requires but is overjoyed by his daughter's vehement refusal. Edward then approaches her directly, and she tells him that she will agree to yield herself to him if he removes two obstacles. He must kill her husband and his own wife. Edward agrees, and the Countess then enacts a stunning theatrical coup. She suddenly pulls out two daggers and gives him one to use to kill his wife. Stepping away from him she says that she will use the other knife to kill her husband, who sleeps in her heart. Kneeling she says,

> Either swear to leave thy most unholy suit,
> And never henceforth to solicit me,
> Or else, by heaven, this sharp-pointed knife
> Shall stain thy earth with that which thou [wouldst] stain,
> My poor chaste blood. (2.2.183-187)

He is chastened and swears to never again utter such a suit. We might note that this dramatic tableau is arguably the best of the many depictions of Edward and the Countess. Originally Jean le Bell had written that Edward III had raped the countess. However, as Samuel Pratt has argued, English audiences seem to have found such a portrayal of Edward III to be morally unacceptable and the story then went through many different transformations (Pratt). Froissart had them play a flirtatious game of chess. In another version the countess was raped, but by Edward's son the Black Prince. In some versions either Edward or the Prince married the countess. In some versions of the threatened suicide there is only one knife, or Edward is able to stay her hand and prevent the suicide. Shakespeare draws on Painter for his story but corrects and improves it and

makes the staging physically believable, giving us what Pratt describes as an "artistic triumph" (10). Certainly, it makes a strong ending to this brief survey of the confrontation and interaction between powerful men and their objects of desire.

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Analyzing Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* Through a Feminist Lens

Dimly lit liminal spaces, unexplained supernatural forces, and a fearful heroine on the run: these are all elements of a typical Gothic novel. In *The Castle of Otranto*, the action of the novel relies equally upon the protagonist's willingness to transgress just as much as it does the heroine's defiance to escape him. For this paper, I will explore the typical Gothic themes in this novel, as well as a feminist perspective.

Upon first glance, the trope of a damsel in distress or a persecuted heroine does not seem to be the most feminist trope available in literature. However, one of the most significant elements of Gothic literature is the theme of transgression. It appears that Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* is capitalizing upon a trope of a fearful woman being chased by a man, and that may appear to perpetuate a harmful negative stereotype. However, Walpole's use of this scene appears to not be so much a way to subjugate the character Isabella solely because of her gender. Instead, it appears that Walpole's use of that scene is to highlight the strict gender roles of the time. Walpole does this by assigning the element of transgression to his protagonist.

However, I argue that Manfred's villainous attributes are fueled by his rigid views of gender roles and family roles. Ultimately, Manfred doesn't seem to exhibit a lot of care for his children, nor does he initially care much for his wife, either. Walpole shows the audience Manfred's complete disregard towards his family members as individuals. Manfred is willing to divorce his wife, Hipplolita, and hurriedly marry Isabella just so he can get what he wants, without taking into consideration Hippolita or Isabella's feelings.

In addition, Manfred goes so far as to view Isabella not as the individual who was supposed to be his daughter-in-law, but rather as a means to an end. Manfred, due to his heightened priorities towards his estate and property, sees Isabella as just a steppingstone to secure rights to his castle. As soon as Conrad dies, Manfred ultimately switches to just seeing Isabella as not an individual but a means to an end.

Kate F. Ellis, author of the book *The Contested Castle*, writes about the prevalence of domestic violence in Gothic fiction. Ellis states that, "The conventions of the Gothic novel, then, speak of what in the polite world of middle-class culture cannot be spoken. Silence around the issue of violence against women is still problematic, and it is difficult to sort out, even now, whether a shift in consciousness about it indicates an actual increase in incidents of violence or not… The redefinition of 'home' and woman's place in that began in the middle of the eighteenth century addressed the issue of violence and danger in a new way" (7). Based upon Ellis' quote, domestic violence in Gothic fiction did not occur in a vacuum. While it is a common theme in *The Castle of Otranto* for supernatural events to take place, as with other novels in the Gothic genre, it can be fair to say that the Gothic novel also reflects underlying societal concerns–not just fictitious ones. Likewise, I argue that scenes in *The Castle of Otranto* in which Isabella flees Manfred can be seen as criticizing the prevalent violence against women of the time, and also to show that there is no good reason for such violence to take place. In this sense, it is clear to the reader that Manfred is reducing Isabella to a means to an end.

I argue that Walpole brings up the presence of violence against women as a real threat to women of that time. In Helene Meyers' book, *Femicidal Fears: Narratives of the Female Gothic Experience*, she argues that the notion of the "femicidal plot" in the Gothic novel brings womens' fears to life (Meyers). Similarly, Walpole's novel never shows Manfred's actions in violence against women, especially in the possibility of a forced marriage between Manfred and Isabella as a necessary evil. In addition, Walpole's novel validates Isabella's fears. Other characters, like the family members and Theodore, who help Isabella, show the reader that her concerns are legitimate. *The Castle of Otranto* shows Manfred in the light that what he is doing is wrong, and there is no honor in his decision. From a feminist literary lens, bringing to light the fears of women at a time when not many people, especially men, spoke up about the plight of women was progressive.

Not only does Manfred reduce Isabella to a means to an end, but he also reduces her to the biological functions of her supposed gender. In *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir, she describes that biology is not destiny (pp. 21-68). *The Second Sex* is feminist literary canon, and by using literary criticism, it is clear to see that just because Isabella was supposed to be wed to Conrad, that does not mean that she cannot be forced to marry another man. In addition, Judith

Thurman writes about Simone de Beauvoir, stating that her inspiration for writing *The Second Sex* was that de Beauvoir heard differences in announcements to the genders of babies, in that baby boys were announced by family members as "I'm a Boy!" while baby girls were announced as "It's a Girl" (ix). De Beauvoir wanted to explore what it meant to be a woman as an individual in society, rather than being assigned the role of being a mother and wife (ix). In addition, Isabella, and even Matilda, in relation to Manfred, are distinct from rigid gender roles at the time. Joanna Russ, an author who writes about gender roles and myths in fiction, writes about how the audience perceives men and women. Russ writes in her closing arguments about women's roles in fiction:

> Our traditions, our books, our morals, our manners, our films, our speech, our economic organization, everything we have inherited, tell us that to be a Man one must bend Nature to one's will–or other men… To be a Woman, one must be first and foremost a mother and after that a server of Men (93).

To elaborate, Isabella, after Conrad's death, is not reliant upon either her late fiancé, nor Manfred. In addition, Matilda takes the side of her mother, and chooses to devote her future to join a convent as a nun, instead of wanting to devote her future to a life of marriage. In this, Walpole's character Matilda rejects the myths of Woman that Russ has set out. She has not declared herself to become a mother, nor has she necessarily declared herself to become "a server of Men" (93). Meanwhile, Manfred appears to take on the traditional myths of what it means to be a man: he attempts to bend supernatural events to his will. However, his failure in his plot to secure the Castle is not seen as him being less of a man. From a feminist perspective, Walpole changes the common mythos in literature pertaining to men and women. Manfred tried to bend the events that took place within the Castle to his will and suffered the consequences for doing so. Likewise, perhaps Walpole's use of Manfred's transgression in viewing Isabella as not an individual with thoughts, feelings, and liberties, but rather as a means to an end could be seen in a feminist context. By showing the audience that Manfred is transgressing, it shows the plight of Isabella from her perspective, and shows that Manfred is the perpetrator, not a hero.

Walpole uses third-person omniscient narration to better show the audience Isabella's perspective. By doing this, the reader is not only following Isabella, but they are also taking her side. I argue that Walpole showing Manfred as the transgressor rather than a hero can be seen through a feminist lens. In addition, the reader is able to see Manfred's flaws in logic and thinking as Isabella is one character who provides a point of reference for the reader. Isabella denies Manfred and provides the reader with a sense of right and wrong, and sets a precedent for a moral compass, despite the strange supernatural events that take place. Isabella evades Manfred by using her wit and intellect, as well as the kindness of others. Because of this, Walpole shows the reader that notions such as rationality, morality, and justice were not limited to just men.

Because Walpole employs third-person omniscient narration, it gives the reader the sense of horror from Isabella's perspective. Joanna Russ, author of the book *To Write Like a Woman: Essays in Feminism and Science Fiction*, discusses the genre of horror. Russ writes about how it is not uncommon for literary horror to embark on criticizing issues in society today. As previously mentioned, the threat of violence against women was shown in *The Castle of Otranto* as something to be not just feared but condemned and prevented.

In addition, author Kate Ellis brings up domestic violence in the Gothic novel in her book, *The Contested Castle*. Ellis writes, "The strand of popular culture we call the Gothic novel can be distinguished by the presence of houses in which people are locked in and locked out" (3). This seems like a hallmark of *The Castle of Otranto*, in which Isabella tries to escape Manfred. Ellis writes, "Feminism and a concern with domestic violence emerge in the context of the Enlightenment, with its faith in the power of masculine reason to correct and check social abuses" (3). Although domestic violence typically takes place in a romantic relationship between two partners, Ellis' quote can be interpreted to broadly describe the way women were treated by men. In addition, Ellis' quote can describe how the Enlightenment showed a wave of literature that highlighted social abuses.

Similarly, Manfred's character is an example of how a typical man could abuse his power of that time. There's an old saying: "An Englishman's home is his castle." My interpretation of this saying is that the common man of England at the time had control over his own property without interference from others. In addition, this saying could be understood to communicate that every Englishman was equal and deserving of the same respect and privacy as that of rulers.

This saying implies that the house is not just a democratic, domestic realm, but a fortress, in which everyone living there has a role to play. However, throughout *The Castle of Otranto*, Manfred is almost always foiled by some distraction, person, or supernatural event. Meanwhile, Isabella is helped by others. Walpole makes the distinction clear: An Englishman's home *is* his castle, but that does not mean that he is the ruler of the people within it. Walpole breaks the typical norm that a man ruled over everything within his domestic domain. The saying never was told as, "An English*woman*'s home is her castle," nor has it ever been simplified to, "A woman's home is her castle."

For most of Europe's history, estates were passed down in a male-line primogeniture. Ultimately, Manfred viewed primogeniture over the lives, thoughts, and feelings of the individuals within his family. Manfred fought against the situation of having no male heirs, and yet it was futile. In the end, Manfred loses what he fought for, and accidentally kills his daughter in the process. Perhaps Walpole used this scene placed at the end of the novel to criticize the privilege of male heirs inheriting property as opposed to female heirs.

Similarly, despite being written in the eighteenth century, the novel is set to take place in the Middle Ages of Italy, as introduced in the first pages. Slipping under the guise of a historical, newly discovered text, it adds an element of suspense and intrigue for the reader. As compared to eighteenth century Britain, pre-Industrial Italy must have felt like worlds away to the typical reader of Walpole's novel. Because of this, it would most likely disarm the reader, and allow him or her to take in the events of the story without much criticism or attack. However, I believe that the setting of the novel not only is used for the element of suspense, but also as a way for Walpole to criticize the notion of male-line primogeniture. The word "Medieval" is formally used as an adjective to describe the period of the Middle Ages, but it is also used informally to describe something that can be seen as backwards. From a feminist perspective, choosing to have the novel take place in the Middle Ages could serve as a sense of progress in terms of women's rights throughout Europe. Not only is the reader taking the perspective of Isabella, but she also provides the reader with a sense of right and wrong. *The Castle of Otranto* showcases the typical sense of conquering for the sake of male-line primogeniture, but Walpole shows how conquering for its sake is not always right, nor is it logical. By assigning Isabella in the scene with the point

of reference in morality for the readers, Walpole rejects the traditional notion of the evil feminine.

To provide some background, Europe's Middle Ages were primarily influenced by archaic teachings of the church, in which the Genesis story of Adam and Eve was placed as an answer for the perceived wrongs and evils of the world. Because of this, the concept of Eve being the first sinner was a notion that was passed down, even in medical practices, in which childbirth was seen as "Eve's curse" (Coretti & Desai, 182). In *The Castle of Otranto*, the male character is the one who is transgressing, and the female character is the one who is trespassed against. In this sense, Isabella is pursued by Manfred for no fault of her own, but rather because Manfred chose to transgress.

In addition, French writer and literary critic Helene Cixous wrote in her essay, "Sorties," about male and female binary oppositions. According to author Hans Bertens' *Literary Theory: The Basics*, Bertens writes about Cixous' findings. Cixous states that women have traditionally been assigned the binary oppositions of moon, night, heart, sensitive, and pathos, while men have traditionally been assigned the oppositions of sun, day, head, intelligible, and logos (Bertens, 137). In fact, based upon the Genesis story about the Garden of Eden, Eve is traditionally seen as committing the original sin, and the reason why humanity was expelled from the Garden, according to the Book of Genesis. Because of this, it is not unusual for women to have been portrayed as holding the opposition of evil, impious, and dark throughout literary works. However, *The Castle of Otranto* subverts the trope of the evil, impious dark seductress who tricks the hero into sinning. Rather, Walpole has Manfred as the one who transgresses, thus stepping away from the traditional role of the woman tempting the man.

In addition, researchers and co-authors Carolyn Coretti and Sukumar Desai of the article, "The Legacy of Eve's Curse: Religion, Childbirth Pain, and the Rise of Anesthesia in Europe: c. 1200-1800s", explore the concept of pain in the European Middle Ages. The authors write, "Both Catholic (and later, Protestant) clergy members and theologians offered powerful explanations of human suffering, for example, that it derived from physical and moral weakness brought on by original sin –that of Adam and Eve" (183). The co-authors also mention how clergy members spoke of the pain of childbirth being an inherited punishment because of Eve's transgression in the Garden of Eden (182). Based upon what Simone de Beauvoir stated in *The Second Sex*, it

appears that, in the European Middle Ages, biology was inextricably interwoven with destiny (21-68). Isabella in *The Castle of Otranto* shows that women are eligible to free will just as men are.

Walpole might employ the time of the novel so that it could reduce the possibility of the novel being misconstrued as an attack on British society. Similarly, author Ahmet Süner of the article, "The Comic Tragedy of Mere Men and Women: The Ambiguously Distracting Use of Laughter in *The Castle of Otranto* and Its Prefaces," writes about comedy in its use in Walpole's novel. Perhaps Walpole uses comedy to make light of scrambles to find legitimate heirs to inherit property. Süner argues that *The Castle of Otranto* is a comic novel just as it is a Gothic one. In fact, Süner mentions that the third-person omniscient narration is limited when it comes to the "speechless servants," in which the reader cannot follow them to witness the journey they embark upon. Süner also mentions the aspect of supernatural elements, stating that they "are the opposite of plausibility" (14-15). Perhaps the presence of supernatural elements in the novel is meant to show the reader to not take occurrences within the novel too seriously, not to mention the presence of male-line primogeniture.

In closing, Walpole's character Manfred is deemed villainous, and not a hero who is simply performing a necessary evil. The crux of this character's actions rests upon the rejection of feminist thought–that the protagonist believes biology *is* destiny. However, other characters, such as the family members and Theodore, show the reader that it is not an inevitable future, and that women are eligible for free will and choice. Moreover, Walpole's use of the woman pursued not as a seductress who led the protagonist to sin, but rather as someone undeserving, subverts the common trope of the woman character being an evil seductress. In addition, Walpole's use of narration shows that concerns of violence against women are legitimate, and it brings up the real-life fears of women at the time. To conclude, Walpole uses the dark, supernatural Gothic elements to bring to light the concerns of women and abuses of power over them.

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