

Abstracts -- Keeping Care in Early Modern England -- SAA 2020

Seminar Description

Brief, from the bulletin

This seminar will examine “keeping care” for others in post-Reformation England, especially as represented by Spenser, Shakespeare, and women writers. Natural disasters and the halt of Catholic relief efforts renewed questions of who needed, provided, and paid for this care. Papers might consider caregiving and characters (e.g., Spenser’s Belpheobe, Shakespeare’s Ariel, Wroth’s Denia) and/or in *A View*; associated affective dimensions; care networks; archival finds; and/or uncompensated labor.

Longer, for the original application

Early modern England underwent a health crisis that resonates with our own in the twenty-first century. The cause was complex, as ours is with aging populations, refugee immigration, and the clashing of values over all forms of social support. The early modern crisis in caregiving also resulted from a combination of issues including pandemic infection, flood, and famine, and the halting of Catholic charitable relief efforts. Families and local communities were forced to rethink the answers to the most basic of questions related to care, including who would perform and receive services, what would those services entail, and who would pay for them. Then like now, the answers depended on the often tacit agreements of women (individually and in networks) to perform arduous labors that regularly went undocumented. Foregrounded by the pioneering archival research of Richelle Munkhoff and Deborah Harkness, the complex stories of early modern keepers of care are emerging. In this seminar, we invite methodologically self-conscious and generous papers seeking to expand our understanding of keeping care for others in the period, specifically as represented by Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and/or women writers. Papers might address one or more of the following subjects: Spenser’s Glauce, Night, Merlin, Belpheobe Arthur, and/or other caretaking characters; Shakespeare’s Ariel, Helena, Nurse, Venus, Ophelia, Marcus, Paulina, and/or other care providing characters, male and female; Lady Mary Wroth’s many keepers of care in *Urania*; the role of the parish and other communities in keeping care of their members and nonmembers; family and other individual caregivers, male and female; care networks; archival finds; uncompensated labor practices; associated affective registers; and the gendered work of keeping care for bodies vs. for abodes, souls, households, etc. (as in *A View of the Present State*).

Section I Focusing on Spenser

Section Leader: **Rebecca Totaro**, Florida Gulf Coast University

Jeanie Renee Brink
Huntington Library/Arizona State University

Contextualizing Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*

Interest in Spenser as a poet seems to have sometimes overshadowed interest in him as a man. C. S. Lewis who was responsible for one of the most appreciative comments on Spenser's poetry: "I have never met a man who *used to like the Faerie Queene*" also thought that Spenser the man was less admirable than Sir Philip Sidney. Lewis, born in Ireland, belonged first to the Church of Ireland. Comparing Sidney and Spenser, Lewis commented: "We know Edmund Spenser as a man less well than we know Sidney; and probably, as a man, he was less worth knowing."¹ It is possible that the view that Spenser the poet was more important than Spenser the man may have been shared by his contemporaries who seem to have paid little attention to the details of his birth and career. Spenser was regarded as the leading poet of his age mainly because he was the author of the *Faerie Queene*, a poem considered to be the best Elizabethan counterpart to a classical epic. His *Faerie Queene* did not go through many editions, not nearly so many as Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*; nor did it achieve the popularity of William Shakespeare's plays, but his contemporaries compared Spenser's achievements with those of Homer and Vergil. Our recent perceptions of Spenser have had more to do with critiques by postcolonial critics of the *View of the Present State of Ireland* than with appreciations of the *Faerie Queene*. In fact, we, like Lewis, seem to have contrasting assessments of Spenser as the gentle poet who wrote the *Faerie Queene* and the less admirable author of the *View of the Present State of Ireland*. It would be difficult to accept the accuracy of Edward Said's description of the *View* as a "bloodthirsty plan for Ireland" in which a "British army virtually exterminates the native inhabitants" and still describe its author as moral, gentle, or caregiving. Our assessment of Spenser the man has much to do with how we contextualize the *View of the Present State of Ireland*. In this paper I will examine Spenser's rhetorical strategies while attempting to identify his audience(s).

¹ C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 347.

Tanya Schmidt
New York University

“Phantastes’ Flies”

It will come as no surprise that early modern poets often waxed eloquent about the elevating and hopeful powers of the imagination. Book 2, Canto 9 of Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, however, presents a different picture of the imaginative faculty. In this canto describing the allegorical Castle of Alma, Spenser figures the mental faculties of imagination, reason, and memory as embodied spaces in desperate need of attention and care. Particularly besieged is the chamber of the imagination, inhabited by its allegorical figure, Phantastes. This paper focuses on two surprising details in Spenser’s description of this imaginative faculty. First, Phantastes is not a lighthearted fairy effortlessly conjuring captivating images but, rather, is “of crabbed Hue, / That him full of Melancholy did shew”; and second, his chamber is not an expansive blank tablet infinitely available for writerly inscription but, rather, is “filled,” overwhelmed by the incessant noise of flies that “buzzed all about” and “encombred all Mens Ears and Eyes.” With Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* as an intertext, I will explore how Spenser’s representation of Phantastes illuminates the period’s connection between mental health, bodily humors, and imaginative capacity. Furthermore, I will suggest how Spenser’s representation of incumbered senses participates in and also looks forward to concerns with the barrage of stimulation, lamented by characters such as Morose in Ben Jonson’s city comedy *Epicene*. I will ultimately suggest that Spenser’s striking preoccupation with the potential damage inflicted upon this image-making faculty maps onto Spenser’s larger Book 2 concerns with English nationalism and historical time. Each of the mental faculties governs a period of time, and Phantastes, who has “foresight,” deals with the future. The threat posed by the lack of care in Phantastes’ chamber, then, is no less than the dangerous consequence of an insecure national future.

Section II Women, Textual Knowledge, and Caregiving

Section Leader: **Mary Trull**, St. Olaf College

Sara D. Luttfriing
Pennsylvania State University, Behrend

Re-gendering Care in Early Modern Medical Treatises

During the early modern period, changes to books' title pages and prefatory matter over the course of their publication histories could reveal the changing ways in which publishers imagined and attempted to attract potential audiences. In my paper, I plan to examine the ways in which some early modern medical treatises, including Thomas Vicary's *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* and Owen Wood's *An Alphabetical Book of Physicall Secrets*, were redesigned by publishers in ways that explicitly target women readers as medical caregivers. In their earliest publications, these books are presented as texts for male readers, including surgeons, medical students, and male householders. However, in later editions early modern publishers turned women's association with household medicine into a marketing opportunity, repositioning these texts to appeal specifically to women readers. Part of this shift involves attempting to fashion an "acceptable" version of the female caregiver who might purchase, read, and/or use these books: upper-class, charitable, maternal, and acting under the professional guidance of the male practitioners who authorize the books' contents. However, I will argue that the books might also encourage women readers to think beyond the role of charitable gentlewoman when it comes to their own practice of medical care.

Rebecca Laroche
University of Colorado, Colorado Springs

"Here begins the good": Women on the Edge of Medical Practice

Three seventeenth-century moments – one in an autobiography, one in a work of dramatic fiction, and the third from a recipe book – center this analysis. In each moment, breaking from her life before, a young woman decides to begin medical practice. In the first, Elizabeth Isham, having chosen not to marry in order to care for her ailing sister and to run her father's household, abjures further study in Latin to pursue the medicinal study of herbs. In the second, Helena decides to leave the Countess's household to cure the king. In the third, Dorothy Shirley begins a new section of her recipe collection with "A Better Draft," saying that "most" of the previous culinary recipes are "not good for any thing." My analysis considers the ways in which these moments figure the time before and after these decisions in how they recognize intergenerational inheritance and in how the three young women variously relate to the question of marriage. As a result, each differently captures a dynamic sense of the roles of women in seventeenth-century England.

Section III Complex Caregivers: Paulina and Mistress Quickly

Section Leader: **Susan C. Staub**, Appalachian State University

Arnaud Zimmern
University of Notre Dame

Mistress Quickly's Quickening Care

Talk of the body-politic in Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part 1* and *Part 2* quickly gets figurative and opaque – with terms like the “sickness of life” and “political malaise” taking precedence in scholarship over the gritty realities of disease and remedy that the play unambiguously presents. Focusing on the tavern world, however, it becomes clear that Falstaff's urine, diet, and groin as well as Doll Tearsheet's vomit, “pulsidge,” and womb remain objects of real concern for the play's only remotely competent medical figure, Mistress Quickly. I want to propose that Quickly provides a window into perceptions of women's medical care in England, not because her portrayal is historically accurate for any Lancastrian or Elizabethan woman but because, to the contrary, she toggles the line between care-taker and caricature. She is, for many readers, the archetypal old housewife whose domestic, “hand-me-down” medical knowledge was the stuff of disparagement by male elites. Yet her famous proclivity for malapropisms has made critics over-hasty to dismiss her therapeutic acumen together with her intellectual abilities, putting us at risk of rehearsing that tendency among early modern learned physicians to dismiss women's contributions to the period's health-care. Perhaps the most illustrative example revolves around her prayer that Falstaff's alleged child and “the fruit of [Doll's] womb miscarry.” Scholars including Sujata Iyengar in *Shakespeare's Medical Language: A Dictionary* (2011) excuse or disavow as malapropism what might in fact be carefully chosen language and a serious wish, dark though it may seem. If Quickly's own name ties her at all to the period's technical term for fetal conception and revitalization, “to quicken,” then the Hostess is ripe for recuperation as a figure who alternately confirms and disrupts the caricatures of old wives, whose medical knowledge was once derided, desired, and dreaded.

Cora Fox
Arizona State University

Paulina's willful care and narratives of wellbeing in *The Winter's Tale*

When Paulina famously pauses in the final scene of *The Winter's Tale* before she reveals that the statue of Hermione is Hermione herself, she tells her on-stage and off-stage audience, "It is required / You do awake your faith" (5.3.94-5). "Faith" had clear religious connotations in post-reformation England, and this has led critics to read Paulina's role as Hermione's secret caretaker in relation to religious narratives of redemption. As a woman, and a shrewish woman, however, Paulina does not fit into mainstream Protestant narratives as a redeemer; she worries, rather—and the play worries—that she will be accused of witchcraft. The primary meaning of "faith" in the period was, in fact, "the quality of fulfilling one's trust or promise; faithfulness, loyalty, fidelity, trustworthiness."² Faith, in this sense, is essentially contractual, and the play situates art, and Paulina as a patroness and producer of art, as communal agents of Leontes' redemption and the state's recovery and wellbeing. Drawing on theories of positive affect and sociality in 21st century philosophy, social psychology and affect theory, this paper investigates Paulina's care for Hermione, the court and the state. It argues that the play reflects shifting narratives of early modern wellbeing. Investigating the possibility for abstract spiritual consolation, the play produces instead a spectacular moment of shared secular awe, celebrating a communal experience of happiness. In addition, rather than reproducing the Augustinian notion of fortune's precarious wheel that constructs the action of its contemporary source text, Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, Shakespeare's play offers an emergent narrative of willful care as necessary for the state's flourishing.

² "faith, n. and int." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2015. Web. 1 February 2016.

Katy Lou Krieger
University of Oklahoma

Caring for a King: Paulina's Royal Tending Practices in *The Winter's Tale*

In Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, King Leontes quickly accuses his wife's attendant, Paulina, with having an illusory connection to witchcraft ("A mankind witch! Hence with her, out o'door-/ A most intelligencing bawd" (2.3.67-68)) and suggests that her care is easily a masked attempt to harm him. Such characterizations, historically, are attributed to women like Paulina whose knowledge stems from shared, familial practice and informal and experiential learning.³ This early portrayal of Paulina's care then colors his interpretation of her argument for Hermione's innocence and the legitimization of their children (see 2.3). After fully rejecting Paulina's attempts to defend Hermione, King Leontes appears utterly ruthless in his treatment of both women and unreasonably moves to sentence his own wife for adultery. In a rather rapid dramatic sequence, Leontes then loses his son and wife, and sends his newborn daughter away to die. Leontes' response is to then seek comfort and care from Paulina; a woman he spent many lines disparaging against and whose practices he views as dubious in nature.⁴ This paper aims to understand the motivations behind Leontes' curious choice to seek Paulina's aid and to develop a clearer definition of the kind of care Paulina performs in his service and why her particular practices address his kingly needs. Central to this paper is the argument that Paulina's gendered reputation (at its worst connected to black magic and at its best domestic care keeping) interestingly affords her access to the king but puts her skills at odds with more formally trained physicians.⁵

³ Laroche, Rebecca. *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*. Routledge, 2016.

⁴ Porter, Chloe. "In the Keeping of Paulina': The Unknowable Image in *The Winter's Tale*." In *Making and Unmaking in Early Modern English Drama*. Manchester University Press, 2014.

⁵ Lim, Walter SH. "Knowledge and Belief in" *The Winter's Tale*." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 2001, 317-334.

Section IV Caring for Others: Wards, Mad Girls, and Foreigners

Section Leader: **Darryl Chalk**, University of Southern Queensland

Nancy Simpson-Younger
Pacific Lutheran University

Affect, Requit, and Care in *All's Well's* Court of Wards

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Shakespeare presents two parallel stories of minors and their guardians. Bertram, heir to the Count of Rousillon, must become the king's ward after his father's death; Helen, daughter of the deceased physician Gerard de Narbonne, has been "bequeathed" to the care of Bertram's mother (1.3.89). In both of these cases, "care" has a double meaning. Implying an affective relationship as well as a fiduciary responsibility, Tudor guardianship care involved looking after both a minor individual (their "body") and their property. While it was possible for a single guardian to provide both kinds of care simultaneously, the Tudor Court of Wards (founded 1540) prioritized the latter, with the king selling the fiduciary, property-linked component of a minor ward's care to noble or gentry families who could administer the land for profit and even choose the ward's spouse. Given this historical context, questions of affect and requital begin to rise to the surface. If a minor's care is a financial opportunity, does that minor become an instrument, a servant, or a family member of the assigned guardian? And when that guardian uses affective language--for example, the King's assertion upon meeting Bertram for the first time that "my son's no dearer [to me]" (1.2.76)--what do both parties learn and convey about the obligations of care, including the obligation of affective requital? By exploring these questions, this paper argues that both Helen and Bertram have internalized a way of thinking that frames the affect of care solely in transactional terms. At the same time, neither is able to perform the acts of affective requital that wardship ostensibly demands of them. Helen is uneasy about accepting the Countess' claim of loving motherhood, while Bertram rebels against the marriage that the king has arranged for him, and both fail to consider the affective desires of their potential lovers, prioritizing only their own interests. While it would be too simple to say that Shakespeare is linking wardship alone with a distorted understanding of care, or with a lack of ability to requite others' affects in appropriate ways, *All's Well* creates a complex picture of the environmental variables that inflect a ward's social and emotional development.

Melanie Rio
University of Maryland, College Park

“Give her good watch”: Care and Cure for Shakespeare’s Mad Girls

This paper will explore the medical, textual, and societal treatment of madness in young women in two of Shakespeare’s plays: *Hamlet* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. While Ophelia and the Jailer’s Daughter exhibit similar symptoms of madness and the “green-sickness” associated with gynecological disturbance in unmarried girls, the methods of diagnosis, care, and cure undertaken engender opposite results. Because the care of mad people usually fell to friends and family in the late 15- and early 1600s, madness in the early modern period is inseparable from social and familial structures. Though Ophelia is the daughter of a nobleman and a fixture in the Danish court, her illness is left untreated and gradually worsens until her death by drowning. The Jailer’s Daughter is of a much lower social station, but her father, a hopeful suitor, and the physician engaged to treat her malady not only save her from the same watery suicide, but restore her to sanity and see her happily betrothed by the end of the play. These opposite endings not only demonstrate a clear cause/effect relationship between caretaking and prognosis, but also suggest an inverse correlation between social class and healthy social dynamics; while Ophelia is abandoned by her friends and family during her madness in a misguided attempt to stave off scandal, the Jailer’s Daughter is successfully cured and ultimately empowered by friends and family who value her soundness of mind above her reputation.

Susan C. Comilang
United States Merchant Marine Academy

Reformation Imaginings of Care in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*

As Joshua Philips mentions in his article, "Labors Lost: The Work of Devotion in Tudor Literature," the removal of Catholic monuments and those of the religious orders created "the negative spaces that gave shape to Tudor and Jacobean culture" (46). Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* may be seen as one of the literary representations which works to fill the empty spaces left by the dissolution of the charities, hospitals, and other Catholic establishments which went into caring for the sick, the aged, and the poor. Richelle Munkhoff states that "sixteenth-century reformers were concerned about older systems of charitable care that were devastated along with the monasteries: these needed to be reimagined, both theologically and structurally" (582). In my paper, I will examine how the *Faerie Queene* participates in this theological reimagining of care in Book III. The landscape is peopled with a mixture of diverse individuals from natives to strangers to gods. Individuals suffer both physically and psychically, and these wounds are cared for by others. I am particularly interested in how being an alien, such as Britomart and Arthur, works within caregiving in a strange land. Reformers during the time of Queen Mary had to create systems of support, such as the women who gave monies to the imprisoned or the networks of individuals who went abroad and who then returned under Queen Elizabeth. The *Faerie Queene* affords an opportunity to see how women who give care, such as Glauce and Belphoebe, and others who receive care, such as Britomart, Timias, and Marinell participate or don't participate in a network of support, as well as how care functions within and from a Reformation theological framework.

Papers-- Keeping Care in Early Modern England -- SAA 2020

Seminar Description

Early modern England underwent a health crisis that resonates with our own in the twenty-first century. The cause was complex, as ours is with aging populations, refugee immigration, and the clashing of values over all forms of social support. The early modern crisis in caregiving also resulted from a combination of issues including pandemic infection, flood, and famine, and the halting of Catholic charitable relief efforts. Families and local communities were forced to rethink the answers to the most basic of questions related to care, including who would perform and receive services, what would those services entail, and who would pay for them. Then like now, the answers depended on the often-tacit agreements of women (individually and in networks) to perform arduous labors that regularly went undocumented. Foregrounded by the pioneering archival research of Richelle Munkhoff and Deborah Harkness, the complex stories of early modern keepers of care are emerging. In this seminar, we invite methodologically self-conscious and generous papers seeking to expand our understanding of keeping care for others in the period, specifically as represented by Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and/or women writers. Papers might address one or more of the following subjects: Spenser's Glauce, Night, Merlin, Belphoebe Arthur, and/or other caretaking characters; Shakespeare's Ariel, Helena, Nurse, Venus, Ophelia, Marcus, Paulina, and/or other care providing characters, male and female; Lady Mary Wroth's many keepers of care in *Urania*; the role of the parish and other communities in keeping care of their members and nonmembers; family and other individual caregivers, male and female; care networks; archival finds; uncompensated labor practices; associated affective registers; and the gendered work of keeping care for bodies vs. for abodes, souls, households, etc. (as in *A View of the Present State*).

Section Facilitators

Darryl Chalk (IV)
University of Southern Queensland

Susan C. Staub (III)
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Mary Trull (II)
St. Olaf College

Rebecca Totaro (I)
Florida Gulf Coast University

Contents

<u>Section I Focusing on Spenser – Rebecca Totaro</u>	<u>3</u>
• Keeping Care of Edmund Spenser and the <i>View of the Present State of Ireland</i> <u>Jeanie</u> Renee Brink	4
• Phantastes’ Flies <u>Tanya</u> Schmidt	8
<u>Section II Women, Textual Knowledge, and Caregiving – Mary Trull</u>	<u>16</u>
• Re-gendering Care in Early Modern Medical Treatises <u>Sara</u> D. Luttfriing	17
• "Here begins the good": Women on the Edge of Medical Practice <u>Rebecca</u> Laroche	24
<u>Section III Complex Caregivers: Paulina and Mistress Quickly – Susan Staub</u>	<u>31</u>
• Mistress Quickly’s Quickening Care <u>Arnaud</u> Zimmern	32
• Paulina’s willful care and narratives of wellbeing in <i>The Winter’s Tale</i> <u>Cora</u> Fox	39
• Caring for a King: Paulina’s Royal Tending Practices in <i>The Winter’s Tale</i> <u>Katy</u> Lou Kreiger	44
<u>Section IV Caring for Others: Wards, Mad Girls, and Foreigners – Darryl Chalk</u>	<u>53</u>
• Affect, Requit, and Care in <i>All’s Well’s</i> Court of Wards <u>Nancy</u> Simpson-Younger	54
• “Give her good watch”: Care and Cure for Shakespeare’s Mad Girls <u>Melanie</u> Rio	61
• Reformation Imaginings of Care in Spenser’s <i>The Faerie Queene</i> <u>Susan</u> C. Comilang	71

Section I
Focusing on Spenser

Jeanie Renee Brink

Huntington Library/Arizona State University

Keeping Care of Edmund Spenser and the *View of the Present State of Ireland*

Comparing Sidney and Spenser, C. S. Lewis commented: ‘We know Edmund Spenser as a man less well than we know Sidney; and probably, as a man, he was less worth knowing’.¹ Epitomizing perhaps our own dilemma, Lewis also wrote, what I consider, the best appreciative statement about Spenser: ‘I never meet a man who says that he *used* to like the *Faerie Queene*’ (393). Our recent perceptions of Spenser have had more to do with critiques by postcolonial critics of the *View of the Present State of Ireland* than with appreciations of the *Faerie Queene*. In fact, like Lewis, we have contrasting assessments of Spenser as the gentle poet who wrote the *Faerie Queene* and the almost savage and certainly less admirable author of the *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Edward Said describes the *View of the Present State of Ireland* as a “bloodthirsty plan for Ireland” in which a “British army virtually exterminates the native inhabitants.” How we perceive Spenser and how we characterize him for our students has much to do with how we contextualize the *View of the Present State of Ireland*. In this paper I will reexamine briefly Spenser’s understanding of barbarism and civility, suggest the view of war which he shared with his contemporaries, and introduce the importance of his rhetorical strategies in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

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Barbarism vs. Civility

Spenser’s younger contemporary, Sir John Davies, poses a question at the beginning of his *A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued [and] brought under obedience of the crown of England until the beginning of his majesty’s happy reign* (1612) : “Why are the manners of the Irish so little altered since the days of King Henry II?” In the *View* Spenser likewise compares the current fashions in clothing with those of fourteen-century

¹C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 347.

England, in fact, citing Chaucer to corroborate his observation.). In her astute article on “Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians,” Deborah Shuger shows that Spenser (and Davies’) notions of barbarism have much to do with perceptions of their own medieval past. Shuger links this perspective on medievalism with what I have termed the early modern chivalric code, an honor code embraced by aristocratic Irish and English military servitors.² Singling out Shakespeare’s Hotspur as the epitome of this honor code, Shuger comments:

. . . the Hibernian chieftain and the English nobility stand together in the ranks of the barbarian, just as the Irish rebel, praised by the native bards because “his musike was not the harpe nor layes of loue, but the cryes of people, and Clashinge of armor,” bears an unmistakable resemblance to Hotspur, the quintessential English warrior aristocrat.

If the *View*, in fact, does represent a “drastic critique of the whole aristocratic culture of honor,” then it is not only the Irish whom Spenser is criticizing but also Sir Philip Sidney and Robert Devereux, the 2nd Earl of Essex, his early and later patrons. If Spenser is criticizing both the Irish and aristocrats in general, then who is the audience of the *View*? Surely, this text which, by the way, lacks a dedication in all but one of the surviving manuscripts was addressed to someone. In fact, only one surviving manuscript has a dedication and that dedication is addressed to King James. Spenser died early in 1599 before James succeeded to the throne in 1603. Who then was intended to serve as the audience for this problematic text?

*

Early Modern Warfare

For better or worse, the English Renaissance has been rechristened as early modern England. The emphasis upon modern in early modern is misleading at least in terms of warfare. Until modern culture refined the practice of reigning terror on civilian populations by using bombs, there was only one means of war on a civilian population and that was to starve people by destroying crops, domestic animals, and all possible food sources. The “scorched earth” policy which Spenser describes in the *View* was used for centuries on the border of Scotland and England. Irish school books written during the Irish Civil wars of the early twentieth century and

² Debora Shuger, “Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997), 494-525.

³ Brink, *The early Spenser (1554-80): ‘Mind on honour fixed’* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), Chapter 6.

much contemporary scholarship make it seem as if Lord Arthur Grey [and Edmund Spenser] invented the scorched earth policy but that is far from the case. Spenser, it is true, seems to have been haunted by the devastating scenes he witnessed during the Munster famines and gives voice to a haunting description, which he tells us a “stonie harte” would have “rewed”:

Out of euerie Corner of the woods and glinnes they Came Crepinge vppon their
handes for their Leggs Coude not beare them, they loked like Anatomies of
deathe, they spake like ghostes Cryinge out of their graues, they did eate the
dead Carrions, happie wheare they Coude fine them. Yea and one another after,
in so much as the verie carkasseses they spared not to scrape out of their graves.
And if they founde a plotte of water Cresses or Shamarocks theare they flocked as
to a fease for the time, yeat not able longe to Continue thearewithall, that in shorte
space theare weare non allmoste lefte and a moste populous and plentifull Countie
sodenlye lefte voide of man or beaste, yeat sure in all that warr theare perished not
manie by the sworde but all by the extremitie of famine which they themselves
had wroughte. (3259-70)

Although it seems unkind to state that the Irish wrought their famine, *The Four Irish Masters* make clear that the Irish also burned their own crops and slaughtered their own livestock to keep them from becoming food for the English military. Spenser’s graphic passage depicting starvation overshadow the section of the *View* in which Spenser specifies that at the beginning of the war, once the garrisons are well fortified, twenty days will be devoted to proclamations of mercy to those who will voluntarily submit themselves. (3191-3242).

Contextualizing the *View of the Present State of Ireland* and its advocacy of a “scorched earth” policy is assisted by the records of how the English prepared for the possibility of a Spanish invasion of the coast during the preparation for the Spanish invasion of 1588. In 1587 when preparations were made to defend England against the Spanish armada, Grey, along with Sir Francis Knollys, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, was consulted about how to determine where the enemy might land and what kinds of forts and garrisons should be erected. It was agreed that ‘if the enemy did land to leave all the land wast[e] round about, to taint all things that might be of use to them, that they might find nothing for food.’³ The scorched earth policy, which some modern scholars are shocked to find Spenser

³ Camden, *Historie* (1630), Bk 3, R2^v, p. 132.

advocating in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*, has to be interpreted in an historical context. The English government planned to use the scorched earth policy against their own people if the Spanish Armada had succeeded in landing on British soil. The destruction of crops and livestock in order to starve not only the invaders, but also the unfortunate inhabitants, served as both defensive and offensive strategies in medieval and early modern warfare

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Rhetorical Strategy in the *View*

Determining Edmund Spenser's assessment of England and Ireland seems at first simple. He left us a humanist dialogue in the *View*, a work almost universally regarded as anti-Irish and a text frequently cited in discussions of his attitudes toward Ireland. The *View*, in spite of its dialogue form, is rhetorical. Spenser's intention is to persuade the English government and powerful civil servants to use military force to protect the plantations of English planters. For this reason, among many, it cannot be read as a straightforward and complete statement of Spenser's own "view of Ireland." Had Spenser extolled the virtues of Ireland as a place to live or explained how Ireland had surpassed England as an asylum for intellectuals, his rhetorical objectives in the *View* would have been hopelessly compromised. The *View* cannot be examined as a memoir or a personal statement, but has been approached too frequently as precisely that. Elizabethan Englishmen almost invariably contrast the savagery of Ireland with the civility of their homeland, and in the *View*, Spenser accedes to and even embellishes the typical sixteenth-century English view of Ireland as a "salvage nacion." There is a brief, but notable, exception to his vilification of Ireland as a nation. In the *Mutabilitie Cantos* (pub. 1609), he celebrates Ireland's illustrious Medieval past, and this celebration even suggests that he regarded Ireland as a land with a richer history than England: "Whylome, when IRELAND flourished in fame/ Of wealths and goodnesse, far aboue the rest / Of all that beare the British Islands name" (*Faerie Queene*, VII.xi.38). Although unpublished during his life, this celebration of Ireland's "goodnesse" appears in what was probably the last poetry Spenser ever wrote.

Tanya Schmidt

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Phantastes' Flies

Though today we often wax eloquent about the elevating and ennobling powers of the imagination, early modern thinkers often expressed more ambivalence about the imaginative faculty. In Book 2, Canto 9 of *The Faerie Queene*, for example, Spenser both celebrates and cautions against the powers of this cognitive function. In a series of dense stanzas that allegorize the standard early modern account of cognitive functions, the tower of Alma's Castle represents the brain, and three rooms in the tower represent the mental faculties of imagination, reason, and memory. While each faculty is presented as an embodied space in need of attention and care, particularly besieged is the chamber of the imagination, inhabited by its allegorical figure, Phantastes. To illuminate the poem's ambivalence about this cognitive faculty, this paper analyzes the peculiar detail that flies buzz throughout Phantastes' chamber. Ultimately, I will suggest that Spenser's preoccupation with taking care of this image-making faculty relates to his larger Book 2 concerns with imagining an English empire in a particular historical time. In other words, the threat posed by the lack of care in Phantastes' chamber is no less than the potential dangerous consequence of jeopardizing what Spenser sees as a possible British future.

Spenser's outline of the brain's three chambers follows theories in early modern faculty psychology that trace their origins back to the second-century Greek physician and philosopher Galen, who was himself building on earlier Greek and Roman thinkers, including Aristotle. According to Galen, the brain featured three ventricles that each carried out a particular cognitive function. Broadly speaking, the first ventricle was responsible for receiving sensory input, the second for judgment, and the third for memory. Galen's influential tripartite division informed classical and medieval medical practice, natural philosophy, and even Christian theology, and his ideas maintained currency through the early modern period. Although the sixteenth-century anatomist Vesalius expressed doubt about the ability to determine with certainty which ventricles were responsible for which functions, he also wrote that his dissections confirmed the number and positions of the ventricles. In this context, Spenser develops his allegory, and his poetic

description emphasizes both the potential gifts and the dangers of the imaginative cognitive faculty.

Upon first encounter, Phantastes' chamber seems unpleasant ("filled...with flyes"), unproductive ("those were idle thoughtes"), and deceptive ("And all that fained is"). Aristotelian and Galenic theories about cognitive powers illuminate some of this description. According to Aristotle in *De Anima*, the faculty of *phantasia* has the power to receive, combine, and hold sense impressions. As Galen then expounded, the brain's first ventricle, where *phantasia* resides, does not sort these impressions, as that is the function of the second ventricle. It makes some sense, then, that Spenser allegorizes the reception of sensory impressions in the brain's first chamber as flies that buzz about without direction. As Spenser writes:

And all the chamber filled was with flyes,
Which buzzed all about, and made such sound,
That they encombred all mens eares and eyes,
Like many swarmes of Bees assembled round,
After their hiues with honny do abound:
All those were idle thoughtes and fantasies,
Deuices, dreames, opinions unsound,
Shews, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies;
And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies. (2.9.51)

Buzzing "all about" Phantastes' chamber, the flies make an incessant noise that "encombred all Mens Ears and Eyes" (2.9.51). As the *OED* notes, "to encumber" can mean "to load or fill (places, things) with what is obstructive or useless; to block up" (*OED* "encumber, v., 6"). Several linguistic features of this stanza also formally reflect the feeling of becoming thus overwhelmed. To name a few, the stanza begins with the additive conjunction "And," as if the description is spilling over from the previous stanza; furthermore, like in the previous stanza, the plural nouns here also pile upon each other in lists ("Deuices, Dreames, Opinions unsound, / Shews, Visions, Soothsayes, and Prophecies"); the word "all" repeats five times in this nine-line stanza, merging individuals together ("all Mens") to push towards a sense of the maximum— inclusive, maybe, but crowded.

Such crowding is not just a matter of wishing, as it were, for a cleaner subway car; to an early modern audience, "filled" space could communicate possible spiritual implications. The

closely following adjective “idle,” which was often pejorative in an English Protestant Reformation context, further suggests the potential spiritual danger of this filled space. As Tiffany Jo Werth has shown, Protestant reformers emphatically complained that romances filled readers’ brains with their fabulous stories, which were perceived as idle, not edifying material, and thereby left no space for remembering scripture. In 1588, just two years before the publication of *The Faerie Queene*, John Harvey lamented that romance stories like *Guy of Warwick* and *Orlando Furioso* “busie the minds” of readers and distract their attention from “serious, and graver matters” like religion “by delighting their fansies with such fabulous and ludicrous toys” (qtd. in Werth 39).⁴ The stakes of damming up one’s brain, then, were as serious as potential spiritual and eternal damnation. In fact, the flies also have a sinister association. Phantastes, “which wonned there” in this chamber filled with flies, may be a sort of “Lord of the Flies,” which is the English translation of the Hebrew word for the pagan god and demon, Beelzebub. In fact, Beelzebub himself can also appear in the form of a fly. Thus, the flies that buzz around Phantastes, and Phantastes as a potential Lord of the Flies, both conjure possible devilish associations and, by extension, the iconoclastic fear of one’s *phantasia* being seized by the wrong kind of images. Buzzing flies, with their habit of hovering over carrion, might therefore also warn against the potential for a kind of spiritual death. At this point, Spenser’s portrait of the imaginative faculty does not seem too favorable.

And yet, a closer analysis of the chamber’s flies further complicates the picture. The flies introduce a simile, which opens up space in an otherwise crowded chamber in multiple ways. To begin with, by comparing the flies to something else—that is, to something that is not within the chamber—the simile acts like a window into another world, invigorating the chamber with its fresh air. The allegorical chamber that is full of “all,” it turns out, still has the generative capacity to include another imaginative layer—something thought up for a comparison but which, within the plot of the poem, is not strictly found within Phantastes’ chamber. At first, it

⁴ See Werth, *The Fabulous Dark Cloister: Romance in England After the Reformation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). Werth quotes this passage from Harvey’s text, *A Discursive Probleme Concerninge Prophetes*, K2v-3r. Werth notes that Harvey, although not a reformer, was invested in distinguishing between his astrological practice and the supernatural prophetes associated with papistry and also plotlines in Catholic continental romances. Similarly, in *The Schoolmaster* (1570), Roger Ascham worried that romance would “soon displace all books of godly learning” and lead readers to think poorly of “all true religion” (qtd. in Werth 34). As Werth points out, Ascham influentially established a binary between “godly learning” and “true religion” on the one hand, and “merry books,” papistry, and wrong religion on the other hand. As Werth writes, “Ascham’s analogy suggests that ... romance fills the memory, leading one to forget what should properly occupy it” (34).

seems like the simile is only comparing one buzzing insect to another one: the flies are “Like many swarms of Bees assembled round” (2.9.51). The next line, however, situates these bees in a particular temporal moment that paints a favorable image: “After their hives with honny do abound” (2.9.51). The bees are gathering together after having filled their hives with the sweet food of honey. The image of abundant food safely stored for future consumption makes the word “idle,” which appears immediately after the simile (“All those were idle Thoughts and Fantasies”), seem less deleterious. Indeed, these fantasies might be considered idle in a way that accords with the period’s faculty psychology. That is, just as the honey is stored for later use, the flies that represent thoughts and fantasies may be idle not necessarily because they will lead the person spiritually astray, but because they are waiting in a kind of antechamber before being processed by Reason, located in the brain’s second chamber. Furthermore, honey was associated with poetry. As Horace and Lucretius wrote, medicine was more effectively served when honey sweetened the edges of the cup, and, as early modern Christian poets like Spenser and Sidney later espoused, so, too, was moral teaching more effectively communicated through pleasing poetry. Disguising bitter instruction through honeyed words, then, can be a good form of “all that fained is.” All of these positive associations are evoked through the bee simile.

In addition to opening into an unseen but analogical world, the simile also opens into other poetic worlds. Of course, bee similes are significant in classical poetry by Homer and Virgil. As a poet who self-consciously imagined and marketed himself as their successor, Spenser cleverly nods to his classical genealogy in the chamber describing imaginative powers. Although much can be said about the subtle but significant differences between the bee similes in Homer, Virgil, and Spenser, here I will simply state that all three discuss bees gathering honey, but Spenser crucially differs from them in situating his bees temporally after their successful honey-gathering. In Book 2 of *The Iliad*, Homer compares the ships of Achaeans arriving at Agamemnon’s assembly to bees going out to gather nectar, and in Book 1 of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the men industriously building Dido’s Carthage are compared to bees either being led away from the hives to gather honey or returning to the hives in order to load them.⁵ In other

⁵ Homer’s lines read: “Like the swarms of clustering bees that issue forever / in fresh bursts from the hollow in the stone, and hang like / bunched grapes as they hover beneath the flowers in springtime / fluttering in swarms together this way and that way, so the many nations of men from the ships and the shelters / along the front of the deep sea marched in order / by companies to the assembly” (Homer II.87-93). As Denis Feeney describes the simile, “the movement of the Achaeans to Agamemnon’s assembly is compared to the movement of bees going out to gather nectar” (see Feeney, “First Similes in Epic,” 2014). In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Aeneas observes the Tyrians

words, Homer describes bees going out, and Virgil describes bees both going out and returning with honey. In both classical examples, the bees are in motion, not idle. But Spenser's bees have already assembled "After," which may have a few symbolic meanings. From a literary historical standpoint, Spenser is writing after Homer and Virgil, and from his perspective in 1590, his epic-romance is yet to be judged. I suggest that there is another important interpretation of this temporal choice, which I will return to at the end of the paper.

The flies that introduce their own simile and thereby recall important classical epic similes also recall the significant pair of opening similes in *The Faerie Queene* itself. In Book 1, just after the narrator compares Error's vomit to the fertility of the Nile River, the narrator relates that Error's children gather around the legs of Redcrosse Knight: "Her fruitfull cursed spawnne ... Which swarming all about his legs did crall, / And him encombred sore, but could not hurt at all" (1.1.22). The nuisance that they cause is then compared to gnats that molest a shepherd, and the simile transports the reader from the battle scene of chivalric romance into a pastoral setting:

As gentle Shepheard in sweete euentide,
When ruddy *Phebus* gins to welke in west,
High on an hill, his flocke to vewen wide,
Markes which do byte their hasty supper best,
A cloud of combrous gnattes do him molest,
All striuing to infixe their feeble stinges,
That from their noyance he no where can rest,
But with his clownish hands their tender wings
He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings. (1.1.23)

Redcrosse swats at the Errorettes just like a shepherd might "brusheth oft" "combrous gnattes." The adjective "cumbrous" to describe the gnats, plus the description before the simile that the Errorettes "him encombred sore," parallel this Book 1 episode with the flies in 2.9.51 that "encombred all mens eares and eyes." However, this comparison to gnats somewhat mitigates the vehemence of the flies' threat. The gnats molest but do not actually harm the shepherd, and, even before the gnats simile, the narrator explicitly states that the Errorettes "could not hurt at all" (1.1.22). And yet, as the rest of Book 1 goes on to show, it would be a mistake to think, as

building Carthage as being like bees "busy beneath the sun, leading their offspring, / Full grown now, from the hive, or loading cells / Until they swell with honey and sweet nectar" (1.430-6).

Redcrosse does after he supposedly defeats the monster Error, that Error will not further plague him.

What danger, then, do Phantastes' flies pose? I suggest that their potential threat is tied to the simile, and particularly to the "after" that distinguishes Spenser's bee simile. As Aristotle suggested, *phantasia* has the power to combine, and it seems fitting that Spenser celebrates and warns against this imaginative faculty through the simile, a combinatory mode that puts possibly unlike things into a relationship of likeness. By contrast, Spenser's subsequent two chambers of Reason and Memory, which make up the rest of Canto 9, do not feature any similes. The ability to imagine the relationship between worlds, or to imagine an alternative world to better understand the current one being described, suggests the important relationship between the imagination and Canto 10, which relates the prior histories of Britain and of Fairy Land ("Briton monuments" and "Antiquitee of Faery lond"). The temporal detail of the simile reminds us, in fact, that each of Spenser's three allegorical figures representing mental faculties governs a kind of time. While Memory deals with the past and Reason deals with the present, Phantastes, who has "foresight," deals with the future. As the narrator explains, "The first of them could things to come foresee / The next could of things present best aduize; / The third things past could keepe in memoree" (2.9.49). In *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, as E. Ruth Harvey points out, "Since all knowledge enters the soul through the senses, according to medieval Aristotelianism, ... ideas about the future can be expressed only in terms of imaginary projections of what is known now" (see the entry on "psychology," 565-68). Although the chronicles that comprise Canto 10 are the books that Arthur and Guyon read in Memory's chamber, Spenser suggests that the ability to imagine the successors to these histories partially depends upon the faculty allegorized in the figure of Phantastes. Indeed, Phantastes' chamber, "dispaigned all with in," features "Infinite shapes of thinges dispersed thin; / Some such as in the world were neuer yit" (2.9.50). The word "yet" emphasizes the possibility that things that seem fantastical in the present may come to fruition at a future time, and Spenser invites his readers, particularly the dedicatee of his poem, Queen Elizabeth, to imagine what "were never yit" in Britain.

Indeed, from the beginning of Book 2, the poem's narrator has been comparing fantastical stories to contemporary history. In the Proem, the narrator self-consciously worries that some might consider the cantos that follow to be "painted forgery ... th'abundance of an ydle braine," rather than "matter of just memory" (2.Proem.1). As the narrator admits, nobody

knows where the land of Faery is, so it might be difficult to regard the narrative as truthful. To combat this argument, the very next stanza points to contemporary history. The narrator justifies tales of unknown places such as Faery Land by asking:

Who ever heard of th'Indian Peru? ...
Or fruitfulest Virginia who did ever vew? ...
Yet all these were when no man did them know
yet have from wisest ages hidden beene
And later times things more unknown shall show. (2.Proem.2-3)

Although self-serving in that the Proem aims to convince the reader to keep reading the fabulous tale, the stanza makes the important point that Peru and Virginia have existed before Spenser's audience has heard of or seen either (using the "eares and eyes" that receive sensory input in 2.9.51), and also that this newfound awareness should humble Spenser's readers into realizing that they might not know or accurately judge "all that fained is" (2.9.51). It turns out that it is difficult to distinguish between "th'aboundance of an ydle braine" and "matter of just memory." Still, the expansion of knowledge that is fit for "just memory" is partially a function of time: as the narrator suggests, "later times things more unknown shall show." The reader who understands that there is still so much more to learn about the world—that is, the reader with the worldview that "of the world least part to us is red"—will be the reader "with better sence" (2.Proem.2). As "sence" falls within the province of Reason, after Canto 9, we can interpret that the poem's ideal reader will combine the powers of the rational faculty in the second chamber of Alma's tower with an openness to the fantastical ideas that swirl about in the first.

Imagination and Reason can help to move forward from what is learned in Memory's chamber. In Book 2, Canto 10, the outline of "Britain's moniments" stops mid-line in Stanza 68, when, as A. C. Hamilton notes, "the past yields to the present" (2.10.68n). This abrupt, "untimely breach," formally emphasized by its placement in the poetic line's caesura, prompts readers' critical reflection on the extent to which there is continuity between the history just related, Britain under Queen Elizabeth, and what the "mighty empire" may look like in the future (2.10.68, 2.10.5). As the narrator had said, not so subtly, before Arthur reads the chronicles, "Thy name O soueraine Queene, thy realme and race, / From this renowned Prince deriued arre" (2.10.4). Now, near the end of Canto 10, we can more clearly understand that Phantastes' "foresight" expresses two kinds of futures: one that is imagined but never comes to pass (at least,

as far as is known); and another future that does come to pass (as, according to the poem, shown by the “Many great Regions . . . discovered”). The flies that buzz about Phantastes’ chamber must be paid attention to, as these “thoughtes and fantasies” can help to shape what comes “after.” Not caring for Phantastes’ chamber, and the ideas that early modern courtiers and artists express in veiled terms, Spenser suggests, may result in the dangerous consequence of “Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies” that, for better or worse, remain “idle thoughts and fantasies.” Such stasis can apply at the level of an individual reader’s life, but also at the level of the nation of which Arthur, the reader of the story in the canto, is an emblem. Through the chronicles that Arthur reads, Spenser presents one narrative of Britain as a “mighty empire.” The narrator’s reminder of “the famous auncestryes / Of my most dreaded Soueraigne” is also Spenser’s warning to Queen Elizabeth and to other readers to take care of the realm’s future and thereby also how the British nation will continue to imagine itself (2.10.1).

Section II

Women, Textual Knowledge, and Caregiving

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Re-gendering Care in Early Modern Medical Treatises

During the early modern period, revisions to books' title pages and prefatory matter over the course of their publication histories could reveal the changing ways publishers imagined and attempted to attract potential audiences. In this paper, I will examine how two early modern medical treatises were redesigned by publishers in ways that target women readers as medical caregivers. Historians have long noted that the early modern "medical marketplace" was a site of intense competition, not just among licensed medical professionals, but also among these practitioners and a wide range of unlicensed empirics.⁶ Due to their traditional roles as physical caretakers of the other members of their households, women were among the most common unlicensed medical practitioners.⁷ Elizabeth Lane Furdell notes that "as Englishwomen doggedly persevered in their attempts to glean more knowledge about medicine and science and to discuss what they learned, entrepreneurs began to recognize a reading market."⁸ This essay

⁶ On the history of the term "medical marketplace," as well as its limitations, see Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis, "The Medical Marketplace," *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450-c. 1850*, ed. Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-23.

⁷ See Lucinda McCray Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 211-41; Deborah E. Harkness, "A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1 (Spring 2008): 52-85; Doreen Evenden Nagy, *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 54-76; Margaret Pelling (with Frances White), *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), chapter 6; Linda A. Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), 93-94; and Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 163-76.

⁸ Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine*, 101. As numerous studies have shown, women's medical practices often combined forms of oral and textual knowledge. Women recorded medical recipes from oral, manuscript, and print sources in household ledgers to which men also contributed, and some of these recipes (and even entire receipt books) found their way into print. Women and men exchanged knowledge through conversations and correspondence within family, social, and/or professional networks, and women as well as men could gain medical knowledge by reading printed treatises. The literature on early modern women's medical sources, exchanges, and writings is broad, but I have found the following particularly helpful: Beier, *Sufferers and Healers*, chapter 8; Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), chapter 5; Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620," *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997), 89-107; Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household," *Centaurus* 55.2 (May 2013): 81-103; Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*

will demonstrate how early modern publishers turned women's association with household medicine into a marketing opportunity, repositioning medical texts to appeal specifically to women readers.⁹

When Thomas Vicary's *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* was first published in 1577, its prefatory material constructed it as a male-authored text intended for a male readership. It begins with an "Epistle Dedicatorie" addressed to "the worshipful Masters and Governours" of "little Saint Bartolomewes in West Smithfeelde," the hospital where Vicary was chief surgeon (§iii). The epistle explains that Vicary's treatise on anatomy was published posthumously by his colleagues at the hospital, presenting the book as being by surgeons, for surgeons: "heere is to be remembred *Master Vicary* Esquire, Serjaunt Chirurgion to Kinges and Queenes of famous memorie: Whose learned worke of the Anatomie is by us the forenamed Surgions of Sainct Bartholomewes in Smithfeelde, newly revived, corrected & published abroad to the commoditie of others, who be Studentes in Chirurgerie" (§ivv-§v). Similarly, the general preface "To the Reader" begins "Deare Brethren" (§viv), and a third preface is titled "Thomas Vycarie to his Brethren practising Chirurgerie" (§viii). *Profitable Treatise* is thus presented as a text for a professional male readership—namely, surgeons and those studying surgery.

82.1 (Spring 2008): 145-68; Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, "Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace,'" *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450-c. 1850*, ed. Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 133-52; Nagy, *Popular Medicine*, chapter 5; Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, chapter 6; and Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, chapter 5. The Wellcome Library has digitized many of the domestic medicine and receipt books in its collection and made them available online; "Domestic Medicine and Receipt Books - 16th and 17th Century," Wellcome Library, <http://wellcomelibrary.org/using-the-library/subject-guides/food-and-medicine/domestic-medicine-and-receipt-books-16th-17th-century/> (accessed 22 August 2014).

⁹ The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw general increases in published books by women and in books that targeted a female audience, suggesting that the "book trade, eager for new markets, responded increasingly to the tastes and interests of women"; Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982), 9. See also Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient*, 6-13; and Lynette McGrath, *Subjectivity and Women's Poetry in Early Modern England: "Why on the ridge should she desire to go?"* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 80-81. As has been frequently noted, attempts to quantify early modern literacy by determining the number of people who could sign their names on official documents tends to underrepresent the amount of people who could read during this period, since reading was taught earlier than and separately from writing; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 17-19; and Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 7. Moreover, even non-readers could be indirect consumers of printed texts through the common practice of reading aloud; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, 36-50; Caroline Lucas, *Writing for Women: The Example of Woman as Reader in Elizabethan Romance* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), 13; and Watt, *Cheap Print*, 7-8. Although early modern women's literacy is difficult to measure, evidence suggests that it "increased slowly and somewhat erratically" in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries before spiking more dramatically between 1640-1690; McGrath, *Subjectivity and Women's Poetry*, 80.

The book's front matter reinforces this idea of professionalization by suggesting that its presumably male readers might use the knowledge in the book for financial gain. The title identifies Vicary's work as a "*profitable* treatise," and the address "To the Reader" argues that "albeit this Treatise be small in Volume, yet in *commoditie* it is great and *profitable*" (emphasis mine; ¶iviv).¹⁰ When a new edition of Vicary's treatise was published in 1586, its revised title made the gender of its imagined readership clear to the point of redundancy: *The Englishemens Treasure, or Treasor for Englishmen*. The double use of the word "treasure" also perpetuates the emphasis on profit noted above. However, the 1586 edition also moves beyond the anatomical focus of the original to include medical recipes. This move from anatomical theory to medicinal remedy suggests that the book might prove useful to an audience beyond aspiring surgeons, and changes to the treatise in 1613 make this explicit.

The 1613 edition boasts even more recipes, and its title page asserts that the book is not meant to aid or train surgeons and physicians, but to replace them. It is advertised as a guide "for all Captaines and Souldiers, that travel either by Water or by Land," as well as for "the poorer sort of people, who are not able to goe to the Physitions" (title page). In other words, the book is meant to serve populations that are on the move and/or lack financial resources, and thus do not have access to a surgeon or physician. The notion of "profit" therefore shifts from the practitioners who can charge a fee to the patients who can avoid that fee by treating themselves. The book's expanding size, however, belied this notion of economic accessibility. In 1577, Vicary's treatise was published as a relatively modest 120-page octavo. By 1613, however, the additions had ballooned it to a 240-page quarto.¹¹ While its content may have been growing more broadly useful, it was becoming less and less affordable, particularly for the kinds of people who could not pay a physician. How, then, could this book be of help to "the poorer sort"? What kinds of buyers/users were publishers imagining for it?

Changes to the book's front matter may provide some answers to these questions, demonstrating the ways in which this book was gradually repositioned to more explicitly appeal to a different group of medical caregivers than it had in its first edition. In 1651, the book was

¹⁰ The word "commodity" (like the word "profit") could be used generally to mean any kind of advantage or benefit, but it could also refer specifically to material gain (OED, noun, 2a & c).

¹¹ By 1641, the treatise (still in quarto) had reached 320 pages. In its final incarnation of 1651, the book had returned to octavo format, but it was now a robust 344 pages—nearly three times as long as its first edition.

published with yet another new title: *The surgions directorie, for young practitioners, in anatomie, wounds, and cures, &c. shewing, the excellence of divers secrets belonging to that noble art and mysterie. Very usefull in these times upon any sodaine accidents. And may well serve, as a noble exercise for gentle-women, and others; who desire science in medicine and surgery, for a generall good.* For the first time in the book's publication history, women are mentioned as potential readers/practitioners, although on the title page they are secondary to young surgeons. The prefatory material, however, complicates this implied hierarchy. The original prefatory addresses to male readers, which appeared in all previous editions, have disappeared in the 1651 edition. In their place is a single preface addressed exclusively to women:

To all the virtuous Ladyes and Gentlewomen, of this Common-wealth of England, whose Goodnesse surpassing greatnesse, and desires to Exercise themselves (as nursing Mothers) in the Art of Medicine and Surgery, (especially in the remote parts of this Kingdome) where is neyther Physitian nor Surgion to bee had when sodaine Accidents happen; whereby the poorer sort of People many times perish for want of Advice. (A3)

Again, we find reference to the "poorer sort," but they are not using the book to treat themselves. Instead, they are turning to "virtuous Ladyes and Gentlewomen," upper-class women who can afford the book and who will treat their poorer neighbors for charity, not profit.

Even as this dedication suggests that such women can and should take the place of male medical practitioners, it defines and delimits their practice. Women, the dedication implies, should only be consulted in the case of "sodaine Accidents" in "remote parts of this Kingdome," when a surgeon or physician would not be able to reach the patient quickly enough. Moreover, women's access to the role of medical practitioner is circumscribed by their more traditional domestic role of "nursing Mothers."¹² However, the use of the word "science" suggests more of an equivalence between female caregivers and their male counterparts, implying a kind of professionalization denied elsewhere in the front matter. When the title page solicits female readers "who desire science in medicine and surgery," the word "science" suggests knowledge obtained through an organized, formal program of education. Women "who desire science in

¹² Rebecca Laroche notes a similar focus on the maternal practitioner in early modern herbals' invocation of Queen Elizabeth I; see Laroche, *Medical Authority*, 56.

medicine and surgery,” and who use the book to obtain it, are therefore aligned with formally-educated male practitioners in opposition to empirics, whose acquisition of medical knowledge is supposedly more informal and haphazard.

When Vicary’s treatise was first published in 1577, it was firmly positioned within the realm of licensed male medical practice. It was attributed to a respected surgeon of very high status, compiled and expanded by other male physicians and surgeons, and dedicated to the leadership of St. Bartholomew’s specifically and to surgeons-in-training generally. The readership conjured by the original peritext is explicitly professional and male. By 1651, however, the text had been repurposed to attract a new (or, at least, previously unacknowledged) readership. In the process, the book places limitations on its imagined female readers, but lingering connections to licensed male medical practice (being titled *The Surgion’s Directorie*, references to “science”) might also have encouraged women to think beyond prescribed roles in their own practice of medical care.¹³

Owen Wood’s *An Alphabetical Book of Physicall Secrets* shows a similar evolution in its publication history toward a focus on women readers/caregivers. First published in 1639, the original title page advertises the book as “Collected for the benefit, most especially of House-holders in the Country, who are either farre remote, or else not able to entertaine a learned Physician: as likewise for the help of such Ladies and Gentlewomen, who of charity labour to doe good.” While female caregivers are mentioned here, they are secondary to the presumably male “House-holders”; moreover, as in Vicary’s treatise, the book’s female readership is circumscribed by status (“Ladies and Gentlewomen”) and the notion of “charity.” The preface title (“To the courteous Reader”) is not gender-specific, but the preface does present a counterpoint to the title page’s representation of a “good” (because upper-class and charitable) female caregiver. The preface complains that poor quality medical texts “emboldeneth no small number of bold Knaves, and impudent Queanes to meddle with the Practise of Physick” (A2v). The meddling, impudent “quean” is obviously not of high status, and given the connection

¹³ The limitations placed on women readers by the 1651 edition of Vicary’s treatise are similar to those identified by Rebecca Laroche in her study of herbal texts. Laroche argues that early modern herbals depict a “positive textual version of the gentlewoman practitioner, whose knowledge is textually based and whose practice is charitable and thus circumscribed” (52). However, Laroche also notes that “even though an herbal itself may attempt to paint one ‘Gentlewoman Reader,’ a woman’s engagement with herbal language is in no way predetermined by that authoritative text” (19). I believe the same can be said for women’s engagement with the information contained in Vicary’s treatise.

between the word “quean” and prostitution, it seems unlikely that she is practicing medicine out of charity. Her low status and her financial incentive place the “impudent Queane” in direct opposition to the charitable gentlewoman on the spectrum of female caregivers.

The 1652 edition, re-titled *An Epitomie of Most Experienced, Excellent, and Profitable Secrets Appertaining to Physicke and Chirurgery*, exhibits a much more explicit focus on women as a primary audience, while also maintaining some of the barriers to entry for women described above. The title page drops the reference to “House-holders” and advertises the book as being “For the benefit of such discreet Ladies, Gentlewomen and others which labour to doe good in that Art, Mystery and Profession.” The prefatory “Epistle to the Reader” now begins with a direct address to “Discreet Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others” (A2). While the continued emphasis on social class is clear (women readers are *always* ladies and gentlewomen), the reference to “charity” on the original title page has been dropped. The gentlewoman practitioner is assumed to desire “to doe good,” but she is also placed within the “professions” of physic and surgery—just like licensed male practitioners.

In addition to references to women readers, later editions of the book also emphasize women’s authorization, and even production, of its content. The 1653 edition notes at the end of the preface that the book has been approved by three male “Doctors of Physick” (Owen Wood, Alexander Read, and John Johnson) and “Also by a skilfull Gentlewoman” (identified by the initials J. S.) (A4v). A new title for the 1656 edition frames the book’s contents as not only approved by a gentlewoman, but originating from one as well: *Choice and profitable Secrets both Physical, and Chirurgical: Formerly concealed by the deceased Dutchesse of Lenox, and now published for the use and benefit of such as live farr from Physicians and Chirurgions: being approved of by eminent Doctors, and published by their charitable advice for the publique good*. An elaborate full-page portrait of Frances Stuart, duchess of Lennox and Richmond, faces the new title page, as though symbolically overseeing the information attributed to her. The place of “eminent Doctors” here is a tricky one (and it is notable that now *they* are the ones acting out of charity). The male practitioners must “approve” the book’s contents, which allegedly originated with a woman, but the book is ultimately meant to replace male practitioners like themselves. Indeed, an addition to the original “Epistle to the Reader” declares that using the book will make the reader “thy own Doctor, thy own Apothecary, and thy own Chirurgeon.” Moreover, whereas the book’s front matter advertises it as “approved,” “recommended,”

“perused,” “methodized,” “gathered,” and “commended” by male practitioners, only women are represented as actually practicing medicine. A new preface “To the Reader” notes the “rare and excellent cures the Dutchesse in her life-time performed,” and another addition to the “Epistle to the Reader” describes “a skillfull Gentlewoman [who] hath with Gods blessing, preserved and recovered many a sick and diseased Body.” The formal training of male practitioners like Wood, Read, and Johnson may legitimate the book’s contents, but it is presumably women who will, like Frances Stuart and the “skillfull Gentlewoman,” use the book to “cure,” “preserve,” and “recover” the sick bodies of their family and neighbors.

In their earliest publications, both of the texts discussed in this paper are presented as texts for male readers, including surgeons, medical students, and householders. By the 1650s these texts have shifted to appeal more directly to women readers. Part of this shift involves attempting to fashion an “acceptable” version of the female caregivers who might purchase, read, and/or use these books: upper-class, charitable, maternal, and acting under the professional guidance of the male practitioners who authorize the books’ contents.¹⁴ However, I would argue these books also blur the lines between male and female readers. Peritextual traces of different implied readerships linger and overlap as title pages and front matter are replaced and revised; similarly, gentlewomen readers/practitioners overlap with male physicians and surgeons in these books, even as they threaten to replace them. The shared epistemological space of these books, with publication histories that recognize both men and women as primary audiences, works to undermine the limitations placed on their female readers, encouraging women to think beyond the role of charitable gentlewoman when it comes to their own practice of medical care.

¹⁴ As critics like Rebecca Laroche have noted, such attempts at interpellation would not necessarily have succeeded, since a reader’s understanding or use of a book can’t be contained or predetermined by the book itself. In fact, although the books examined here attempt to place limits on women’s medical authority, owning/reading/using the books could actually work to expand this authority; see Laroche, *Medical Authority*, 63.

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"Here begins the good": Women on the Edge of Medical Practice

In each of the seventeenth-century moments that center this analysis, a young woman decides to begin medical practice. In her decision, each woman breaks with her previous life path, figuring the time before it as distinct from the time to come. In looking to the past, each young woman must recognize her intergenerational inheritance, and in imagining the future, the three women variously consider the question of marriage. As a result, each of these moments taken from three distinct genres – one in an autobiography, one in a work of dramatic fiction, and the third from a recipe book – differently captures a dynamic sense of the roles of women in seventeenth-century England.

As space in this seminar paper is limited and the first instance I have considered at length elsewhere and the second is widely known, the bulk of my analysis will focus on the last instance, that of the recipe book. Through this emphasis, I hope to reverse the trend that puts recipe books in the service of literature as they are seen to provide a material/practical/intellectual backdrop for more "literary" texts. Rather I aim to engage the more artistically fashioned texts – Elizabeth Isham's *Booke of Rememberance* [*sic*] and Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* – toward better understanding a particular collection of recipes, that held by Dorothy Shirley from 1693/4 to her death in 1721. That is, while *All's Well* is illuminated by the existence of recipe books generally, only a handful of recipes books may be in dialogue with Helena's most famous soliloquy. While Elizabeth Isham implies and declares several motivations for her decision, only a couple of these drives align with Dorothy Shirley's. Both collective and individual, recipe collections record both the dynamism and continuities of the human lives at their intersections.

Written in 1638/9, when she was in her late twenties, Isham's *Rememberance* records a moment in her mid-twenties when, having chosen not to marry in order to care for her ailing sister and to run her father's household, Isham abjures further study in Latin to pursue the medicinal study of herbs:

Now I had a mind to learn latin, which because I could . . . not so well compasse (by reason of [. . .] other accations) Therefore I rather took holde of S. pauls words \ I cor. 8./1. Knowledge puffeth [. . .] up. but love edifieth. I therefore proposed to read of the vertue of those hearbs & flowres which I had wrought, which as they are different in there shapes & coullers so are there vertues: which made me often call to mind ye 24 verse of ye 104 psalme. O lord how manifold are thy workes: in wisdome hast though made them all: I found this way might be very beneficiall to my Sister & others. & that I might make ye best use of those things which [. . .] our garden afforded. which abounded in those things which was cordial for her | as rosmary, roses \ & borage which I made conserues of &c /^{m15}

While her reasons for the decision bear extended analysis (again, which I have conducted elsewhere),¹⁶ a sufficient summary of a few of the reasons can be found in this passage in the form of 1) infrequent opportunity and resources for the pursuit of Latin (dependent as she was on the presence of her male cousins), 2). Christian doctrine, 3). More immediate need in the household in the illness of her sister and others, 4). Botanical knowledge rooted in aesthetic and meditative endeavors in needlework, and 5) A trust in cordial medicines in relieving pain.

What is not captured in this passage but recorded in the previous pages is the presence of two female medical practitioners (her great-grandmother and her aunt) in her paternal line. Also relevant from her early history is her mother's ongoing illness, which precipitated a distrust of physicians and their invasive – sometimes violent – regimens of physic.

Significant in understanding Isham's decision, moreover, is the crafting of it. It is important to acknowledge that in writing her autobiographical account, Isham can make this decision seem inevitable. Thus her resolution becomes co-extensive with her decision to remain unmarried in her father's gentry household, caring for her sister, and subsequently her brother's children after the death of his wife. Exhibiting good health in contrast to the ailments of sister and her mother, her lifeline becomes an extension of her paternal inheritance, and as such

¹⁵ Elizabeth Isham, "Autobiography, ca. 1640s," Robert H. Taylor Collection, Princeton University Library, RTC01 no. 62, fol. 29r. Edition followed Constructing Elizabeth Isham Project, Alice Eardley transcription, <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/researchcurrent/isham/>. See also Isaac Stephens, *The Gentlewoman's Remembrance: Patriarchy, Piety, and Singlehood in Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2016).

¹⁶ Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 121–35.

becomes essential to her writing itself, to be left with her brother's children as a record of what and whom they could not otherwise know. Her place in the family as caregiver is made one with her position as witness.

In our second example taken from Shakespeare's *All's Well*, left without family and with meager inheritance, Helena cuts a different example in embracing the role of female practitioner. In deciding to leave the Countess's household to cure the king, she resolves to leave behind a disempowered past in order to elevate her social ranking:

Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie
Which we ascribe to heaven. The fated sky
Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull
Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull.
What power is it which mounts my love so high,
That makes me see, and cannot feed mine eye?
The mightiest space in fortune nature brings
To join like likes and kiss like native things.
Impossible be strange attempts to those
That weigh their pains in sense and do suppose
What hath been cannot be. Who ever strove
To show her merit that did miss her love?
The King's disease—my project may deceive me,
But my intents are fixed and will not leave me. (1.1.222–35)¹⁷

Unlike the crafting of Isham's memoir, Shakespeare's text dramatically captures the moment of breaking through its progression of pronouns, starting with a philosophical "we," then inserting the interrogative "I" of her imagined assent, subsequently answering in the "they" of "those / that weigh their pains in sense and do suppose / What hath been cannot be," a "they" that in breaking with "what hath been" becomes the singular female "her," and ultimately progressing to the full ownership of "my project" and "my intents." In imagining her future with Bertram, Helena's speech scripts a different story than what society would have written for her.

¹⁷ Edition used, William Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well*, edited by Barbara A Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 2001)

It is significant then that the knowledge of remedies she inherits is not from a mother but rather from a physician father. Whereas Elizabeth Isham embraces the female models from her patrilineal line, Helena's project is only made possible through what she inherits directly from her father (an inheritance made impossible for Isham in the existence of her brother). In this gendered disjunct, Helena's decision reflects a more dramatic break with the past than rather a congruent dependency on it. A mother's recipe collection, a record of maternal past practice, could also signify to a future self, but not one that would break so radically from her current trajectory as Helena's desires do. In juxtaposing Helena to Isham, we can see that while medical practice can come to a woman through either patrilineal or matrilineal inheritance, the playwright's depiction make Helena's choices discordantly gendered and therefore revolutionary.

A less radical break but one equally dramatic can be seen in a late seventeenth-century collection newly acquired at the Folger Shakespeare library. The collection, with ownership inscriptions of four women, is mostly written in the hand of Dorothy Shirley, fourth daughter of Robert Shirley, Lord Ferrers (1650–1717).¹⁸ The page of interest (pictured below) occurs forty leaves from the back of the tête-bêche volume. Around the title of a recipe for "A Better Draft," Dorothy has written "here begins thee good Receipts the other of most of them not good for any thing" (see image pasted in below).¹⁹ Both the recipe title (no recipe for a draft appears on the previous page) and the commentary would seem to point to a discontinuity with the earlier entries and the significance of this new direction is uncovered upon further examination. In this moment, the teenage Dorothy turns away from her childhood endeavors (having acquired the book when ten), begins a series of medical recipes following the culinary recipes she acquired from previous generations, records a new focus in a household beset with tragic loss due to contagion, and, on the verge of her own marriage, looks toward the maintenance of the health of her future family.

A series of names at the front of the book – "E. Cotes," "E.Ferrers her Book," "Anne Shirley," and "Dorothy Shirley her Book / 1693/4" record the transmission of the book as it moved from the hands of Elizabeth (Piggot) Ferrers mother of Anne, who would wed Robert Shirley, eldest son of Lord Robert Shirley. Anne gave the book to her young sister-in-law upon the death of Dorothy's mother, Elizabeth Washington Shirley, in 1693 when Dorothy was only

¹⁸ I have shared the background I examine below in a blogpost for the Folger site: <https://collation.folger.edu/2019/04/three-households/>, April 23, 2019.

¹⁹ "Recipe Book," Folger Manuscript V.a.681.

ten, perhaps as a sign of Anne's new female head-of-household role. "E. Cotes" is likely the signature of one of Dorothy's daughters, as Dorothy Shirley was to marry Thomas Cotes.

Yet missing from this timeline is the critical event that precipitates the turn to "the good receipts," that is, medicinal recipes, as the starter book inherited from Elizabeth Ferrers contains largely recipes for pies and meat preparations and the early recipes in childish scrawl added to it are more of the same. In 1697, Anne Shirley, the oldest woman in the Shirley household dies of the small pox. In 1698, her husband Robert and heir apparent to the family title would die of the same disease. While it remains a surmise to posit that Dorothy's decision to start to collect medical recipes was precipitated by these deaths, the language that marks the shift implies dramatic causes. Moreover, within the book, Dorothy has placed one other date besides the one denoting its gifting: eleven pages after the stated change, she has placed the date 1699, indicating that the shift from culinary to medicinal was made around that year minus eleven pages of recipe acquisition. And in between "The Better Draft" and this date, Dorothy has copied two recipes used against the small pox and other "pestilential diseases."

Thus Dorothy revises her family inheritance due to current circumstances. Even then, however, given her mother's death in childbirth, she may also be preparing for her future life. After the younger Robert's death, in 1699, Dorothy's father would marry a young woman not much older than Dorothy. And while this remarriage may have been reason for the date of record, it may have also marked Dorothy's betrothal, as she would wed at the age of seventeen in 1700. The recipe collection records this transition to married life as well, as she signs her name "DoCotes" sixteen leaves after the 1699 date. Having witnessed untimely deaths, including those of many infants, Dorothy seems to have made a concerted effort in collecting remedies before her marriage, looking to break from the past as she moved to a different household. Given her own twelve children and the lesser affluence of her husband, Dorothy would have much caregiving in the years ahead of her.

The juxtaposition of these three instances surround the decision to pursue medical caregiving with a range of circumstances having to do with economic aspirations and exigencies, trust (or mistrust) of physicians, religious belief, material and intellectual inheritance, and familial health. Any one of these moments taken in isolation would provide a limited view of the such a decision. For example, if we were to examine only the fictional example provided through Helena, we would conceive the main motivation as being one of material gain and social

ascendance. In contrast, Elizabeth Isham's social position remains the same after her shift in focus, and Dorothy Shirley moves from an aristocratic to middling household. If we are to consider women's lives only by these social markers, however, we lose a sense of the inner dynamism recorded in both of the nonfictional accounts. Elizabeth Isham records a moment in which her life gains a new intellectual focus, one that informs her daily reading and gardening practices and pries her away from the aesthetic attainments she pursued in her embroidery. Dorothy Shirley's entry in her recipe book marks the occasion when she ceased to be a mere mimic of the women overseeing grand households before her and expressed a more immediate, better purpose for her recipe collecting and continued with an eye to the household she would come to run. All three young women, however, see the decision as a significant one in their path toward adulthood, choosing from their inheritance and carrying it forward with them.

Year begins y^e Better Draught
The good Receipts the other of
most of them not good. for any thing

† Take Cardus Genstuary camille mint
peneryol sage rue of each a good hand-fulle
2 penworth of gension rote 2 pen worth of
grans 2 penworth of long peper slice y^e gen-
-shion & brake the peper with your hands boyle
it in a galon of spring water an hour & let it
stand all night so bottill it up & stoppe it fast
to take 5 spanfulls in the morning and at
4 o'clock in y^e none

The Eye Water

Take Rose-water Plantain Water
of each 2 ounces white-wine one ounce
Sutia prepared one Dram white Sugar Candy
2 drams, Aloes two scruples.

Section III

Complex Caregivers: Paulina and Mistress Quickly

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Mistress Quickly's Quickening Care

1. "Preserving Life" with Mistress Quickly

Mistress Quickly, innkeeper of the Boarshead Tavern where much of *1* and *2 Henry IV* as well as poignant scenes of *Henry V* unfold, might well be described as a look-alike of those critical readers who, fascinated by Falstaff's body, interrogate what lies behind his symptoms, beneath his clothes, and below his belt. The kind of forensic prying with which scholars persistently investigate Falstaff's venereal diseases, his alcoholism, his age, his diet, and the stage prostheses with which actors perform his legendary obesity, reminds us that Quickly's combination of fondness and curiosity, concern and prurient intrigue, is intimately our own.²⁰ An obsessive recorder of Falstaff's physical movements, she teaches us not only where Sir John has been and on what day of the week but also how much he has spent, what injuries he has sustained, what foods he has or has not eaten, and who else was in the room to corroborate her testimony:

Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin chamber at the round table by a seacoal fire upon Wednesday in Wheeson week, when the Prince broke thy head for liking his father to a singing man of Windsor – thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound, to marry me and make me 'my lady', thy wife. ... Did not goodwife Keech the butcher's wife come in then and call me gossip Quickly, coming in

²⁰ Scholarship examining Falstaff's body is as vast as, well, Falstaff's body. The following footnote only captures elements of the varied response: Benjamin Bertram, "Falstaff's Body, the Body Politic, and the Body of Trade." *Exemplaria* 21, no. 3 (July 1, 2009): 296–318; Paul M. Cubeta, "Falstaff and the Art of Dying." *SEL* 27, no. 2 (1987): 197–211; Robert F. Fleissner, "Falstaff's Green Sickness unto Death," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1961): 47–55; Donald Hedrick, "Entertaining Friends: Falstaff's Parasitology," in *Go Figure: Energies, Forms, and Institutions in the Early Modern World*, edited by Judith H. Anderson and Joan Pong Linton, (Fordham UP, 2011) 132–48, Fordham UP, 2011. Giorgio Melchiori, "Dying of a Sweat: Falstaff and Oldcastle," *Notes and Queries* 34, no. 2 (1987): 210–211; D. Salkeld, "Falstaff's Nose (Shakespeare, 'Henry V')." *Notes And Queries* 51, no. 3 (2004): 284–285. Robert Shaughnessy, "Falstaff's Belly: Pathos, Prosthetics and Performance," *Shakespeare Survey* 63 (January 1, 2010): 63–77; Michael Shurgot, "Falstaff's Table," *Shakespeare Newsletter* 66, no. 1 [297] (2016): 41–43; Ruth E. Sims, "The Green Old Age of Falstaff," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 13 (1943): 144–57. John S. Sullivan, "The Medical History of Shakespeare's Sir John Falstaff," *Medical Heritage* 2, no. 6 (1986): 391–401. Valerie Traub, "Prince Hal's Falstaff: Positioning Psychoanalysis and the Female Reproductive Body," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no. 1/4 (January 1, 1989): 456–456. David Womersley, "Why Is Falstaff Fat?" *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language* 47, no. 185 (1996): 1–22.

to borrow a mess of vinegar, telling us she had a good dish of prawns, whereby thou didst desire to eat some, whereby I told thee they were ill for a green wound? (citation).

Her tracking eye is likewise set on Falstaff's prostitute, Doll Tearsheet, whose physical well-being is one of Quickly's abiding, perhaps even professional concerns.²¹ In the tavern's supercharged atmosphere of sex, gluttony, and excess, she is remarkably the only character able to dissuade Falstaff from gorging on prawns lest it worsen a fresh wound and to chide Doll for drinking "too much canaries," a wine she describes learnedly as "marvellous searching" and able to "perfume[] the blood ere one can say 'What's this?'"

The idea that Quickly tends to her disreputable guests with more than a modicum of medical knowledge and therapeutic experience might have struck previous generations of scholars as surprising, perhaps even risible, especially given Quickly's tendency to speak in malapropisms that put in question her adroitness. But the expanding historiography on women's medicine in the early modern period has done much to recuperate the notion that health-care began in women's domestic circles where literacy as well as therapy, as Wendy Wall has shown, emerged in its own hands-on way.²² Mistress Quickly has yet to benefit from this changing tide of opinion on women's medicine, but her ship should rise with it all the same, at least to a point. We are better poised today to see why her opinion of what is or isn't "ill for a green wound" earns Falstaff's respect. We might even value her notion of alcohol "perfuming" blood for being of a piece with the period's learned but soon-to-be-dismantled conception of "spirituous blood"; it certainly agrees with our modern notion of blood-alcohol content.²³

So great is Quickly's medical impact, in fact, that it is arguably by her example that, as scholars and as fans of the play, readers have grown to be concerned for Falstaff's well-being

²¹ Despite a persistent scholarly interest in Quickly's concern for Doll's health often seems to go beyond that of a brothel-keeper for a prostitute: "I'faith, sweetheart, methinks now you are in an excellent good temporality. Your pulsidge beats as extraordinarily as heart would desire, and your colour, I warrant you, is as red as any rose, in good truth, la! But, i'faith, you have drunk too much canaries, and that's a marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood ere one can say, 'What's this?' How do you now?"

²² Much excellent work could be cited here; two good recent surveys and primers include Leigh Ann Whaley, *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 2015). For Wall's argument on literacy in women's manuals and manuscripts, see "Literacy and the Domestic Arts," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 3, 2010, pp. 383-412.

²³ William Harvey, known for compellingly arguing the case for the circulation of the blood, disapproved of colleagues who, like Quickly, believed in "spirituous" or "spiritual" blood. C.f. *An Anatomical Disquisition on the Heart and the Blood* in *The Works of William Harvey*, edited by Robert Willis, vol. 7 (The Sydenham Society, 1847), p. 16.

more compassionately than Falstaff perhaps deserves. Who among us has not been moved by Quickly's charity when she tends at Falstaff's bedside in *Henry V*, lays more covers on his feet, puts a hand under the sheets, and mourns the fact that his feet, knees, and all the rest of him "upward and upward" have turned "as cold as any stone"? She, more than any other figure of the play, upholds that part of the Hippocratic oath that enjoins physicians to practice generously on anyone with whom they share a roof, irrespective of status, nobleman or bondsman, lord or debtor. By the same token, of course, she, more than any other character, infringes on the very next part of the same oath, which enforces confidentiality and patient-secrecy.²⁴ We know Falstaff as well as we do because she has known him "these twenty-nine years, come peascod time" and we continue to favor him despite his grave shortcomings because she does so despite the grave debts he owes her. "[A]n honest and truer-hearted man..." or so she calls him at their parting in *2 Henry IV*, leaving the sentence unfinished that we might provide the rest. Though she shares little of the propriety, let alone the aristocratic status of those early modern noblewomen whose medical works appeared in print like Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel or Marie Fouquet, vicomtesse de Vaux, Quickly's own charitable medicine has made its way to the stage, and thence to the press, and calls for reappraisal.

Yet in considering scholarly responses to Quickly, I continue to be surprised by two tendencies that need redress. One tendency is to take Quickly as naïvely benign because of her linguistic mishandlings and malapropisms. The other is to take Quickly's tendency towards malapropism as a rule rather than an exception, and thus to take her otherwise than at her word whenever her language, especially medical and bodily language, wanders away from decorum or convention. Editors of the play have been scrupulous in noting Quickly's many sexual innuendos and *double entendres*, particularly as they expose her potential role as a brothel-keeper or bedmate of Falstaff's.²⁵ In so doing, they periodically go too far in thinking that Quickly blunders her lines or means the reverse of what she says. I am interested here in attending to the

²⁴ C.f. Hippocrates of Cos, "The Oath," translated by James Loeb, Loeb Classical Library, 147, 1923, pp. 298–299. "Into whatsoever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrongdoing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, bond or free. And whatsoever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession, as well as outside my profession in my intercourse with men, if it be what should not be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets."

²⁵ See James C. Bulman's introductory note on Hostess Quickly in the Arden III edition of *2 Henry IV*: "A middle-aged woman whose tavern runs the risk of becoming known as a brothel, she yearns for the respectability that marriage to a knight – Sir John – would bring her; yet her idiosyncratic speech, full of comic malapropisms and inadvertent double entendres, reveals much of what she tries to keep hidden, including her moral laxity as a business woman and her sexual history with Falstaff." (List of Roles, n.42, p. 159)

impact of such editorial assumptions as they shape our picture of Quickly as a care-taker, particularly in the domain of midwifery. My point is simply that in over-indulging in their readings of Quickly's malapropisms, editors are likely to resurrect old prejudices against female caretakers, whose access to learned medicine's elaborate jargon was necessarily second-hand but whose comprehension of the body, its wounds, and its diseases was decidedly hands-on. If we take Quickly's medical language more seriously, a complex portrait of the tavern host appears, one that toggles between the linguistically stumbling housewife, the savvy brothel keeper, and the competent care-taker. Just as much as Prince Hal or Falstaff, Mistress Quickly is a generator of caricatures and misconceptions; she too contains multitudes. A figure of charity as much as bawdiness, she is, on the one hand and as the name Quickly implies, an embodiment of the living, fated as though by the liturgical formula common in Shakespeare's time ("the quick and the dead") to contend with forces of decay; she is on the other hand and as the obsolete meaning of the verb 'to quicken' suggests, a figure tightly bound up in reproduction and midwifery, in a play taught with procreative frustrations.²⁶

2. Miscarriage and Malaprop

Quickly's malapropisms are well-known and well-discussed in Shakespeare scholarship; I shall not bother readers of the SAA with a bevy of examples. I find it important for my purposes to highlight, however, that the most careful editors find it difficult to pin down when Quickly's wit is unintended, or as it were *malgré elle*, and when she is in fact in on the game. For instance when James C. Bulman glosses Falstaff's "pistol-proof" pun in the Arden III edition of *2 Henry 4*, 2.4.116n, he suggests that "The Hostess seems to mistake *bullets* for a term like *proofs*, meaning, in context, small measure of distilled spirits; but the sexual innuendo suggests that she is unwilling to swallow Pistol's semen. That she realizes the banter is bawdy becomes clear when she protests, 'For no man's pleasure, I' (119-20)." Such a reading is plausible linguistically, but tenuous psychologically, as it seems to imply that Quickly knows when she's complicit with bawdiness and when she's not – a point more so to the editor's convenience than to the composition of Quickly's character. Her motives and interests are regularly made to serve or foil the motives and interests of the male-male comedy between Falstaff and Pistol rather than

²⁶ OED, 'quicken, v. 1', definition 4: intransitive. Of a woman (or other female mammal): to reach the stage of pregnancy when movements of the fetus are perceptible. Also †transitive (in passive) (obsolete). Later also (of a fetus): to begin to move. Also figurative.

her own. The part of her response that Bulman fails to gloss – “I’ll drink no proofs, nor no bullets; *I’ll drink no more than will do me good*. For no man’s pleasure, I” (emphasis mine) – suggests on the contrary a character compelled by health and by preservation, whether of herself or of those under her own roof, whose brawls she aims to quell, whose cholers she seeks to mollify, whose wounds and excesses she tends to tend. The question becomes, as I suggested above, whether readers can accommodate a Quickly who is not singularly a caricature, or even merely two-faced in her bourgeois aspirations, as Bulman’s reading suggests, but kaleidoscopic and fractal in her representation/misrepresentation of early modern care-giving women.

One place where such accommodation proves particularly challenging and rewarding lies in Quickly’s final scene in *2 Henry IV* (Act 5 Scene 4). As scraggly, macabre guards come to arrest Quickly and a newly big-bellied Doll on charges of homicide, the prostitute claims to be pregnant with Sir John Falstaff’s child in a rather desperate bid to avoid prison and rough-handling. In a moment of meta-theatrical farce, one of the guards reveals that Doll (that is, the boy-actor playing Doll) is using one of Quickly’s cushions to feign pregnancy. That cushion makes for an apt replica of the prosthetic stomach Falstaff’s actor might be wearing, and thus Doll’s “child” is kin to Falstaff’s belly humorously in that sense.²⁷ But though the scene may be padded with slapstick humor (depending on how violently it is executed!), editors have been quick to preserve that aura of humor by presuming that Mistress Quickly does not actually wish what she says when, in the wake of this unveiling, she prays: “O the Lord, that Sir John were come! I would make this a bloody day to somebody. But I pray God the fruit of her womb miscarry”(5.4.11-13). James C. Bulman, again in *Arden 3*, follows precedent by labelling this prayer another “typical blunder for Quickly,”²⁸ disclaiming as malapropism what otherwise verges on a plea for miscarriage. If we follow that reading, we risk artificially redressing Quickly’s character in favor of our own desire for an appreciable, benign, and consistently comic character, depriving her not only of a medical vocabulary she may in fact master well but also of the darker, more mercenary edges with which Shakespeare has endowed effectively all the characters in *2 Henry IV*.

²⁷ See Robert Shaughnessy, “Falstaff’s Belly: Pathos, Prosthetics and Performance,” *Shakespeare Survey* 63 (January 1, 2010): 63–77.

²⁸ 5.4.13n13.

Is it imaginable that Quickly really means what she says here? From a technical standpoint, yes, and prior readings that label Quickly a misguided user of medical discourse have been known to err. A case in point would be Quickly's famous reference to a "burning quotidian tertian ague" in *Henry V*. Scholars continue to label it a malapropism and explicate that fevers cannot repeat both daily (quotidian) and every third day (tertian) even though physicians of Shakespeare's era were known to dread when "the tertian and quotidian interpolate be joined in one."²⁹ In her recent dictionary of *Shakespeare's Medical Language*, Sujata Iyengar calls Quickly's 'burning quotidian tertian' "non-existent" and "a typical malapropism." On the contrary, T. W. Craik, in his Arden 3 edition of *Henry V* (2.1.119n), reports with more even-handedness: 'The quotidian and the tertian were intermittent fevers, the paroxysm of the one recurring every day, of the other every other day' citing John Jones, *A Dial for all Agues*, (1568) in order to show that 'compound agues' could exist and were especially dangerous. Craik concludes "the Hostess' diagnosis may be quite correct. But her habit is to misuse words that she has picked up, so earlier editors may be right in regarding 'quotidian tertian' as a contradiction in terms, and Shakespeare may have so regarded it even if he knew Jones' work." My point is not to redeem Quickly as unerring in her medical jargon, but to provide a reading that considers the implications of her words when they are taken at face value, a project Craik leaves open for his readers in ways few editors do.

Certainly if there are any medical terms Mistress Quickly would know well it would be those surrounding childbirth, her own name deriving from the verb "quicken," which physicians used to describe the act of conception as well as the instant when the fetus first stirs.³⁰ As a middle-aged woman, and according to some the potential owner of a brothel, she has cause and motive to have been around women in labor and to understand the basic terms of midwifery. Is there then, in her earlier frustration at having "borne, and borne, and borne" and having been "fubbed off, and fubbed off, and fubbed off" (*2H4*, 2.1.32-33) a genuine wish to have procured Falstaff a child, and herself a marriage, which Doll's pregnancy at play's end (whether fictional or real) would newly threaten? Is it possible she wants Doll to miscarry because Doll's womb,

²⁹ *Henry V* 2.1.119.

³⁰ The verb is both commonplace in the vernacular and in medical writings. The university-trained physician John Cotta, for instance, notes a gruesome tale about "a woman carrying one dead child in her womb, notwithstanding to conceive and quicken of another, the dead child in the mean season rotting and falling away by parcels at several times" (*True Discoverie*, opus cit., 93).

when empty, represents a pecuniary asset? Both, I would argue, are plausible, and all the more so because those “malapropisms” that Bulman *et alia* identify in this scene as supporting their reading of Quickly’s “miscarry” as a blunder simply do not go one way. Calling the thin beadle an “atomy,” for instance, (rather than an “anatomy,” as Bulman suggests Quickly ought) still makes sense, given the derisive humor Doll and Quickly lavish upon the beadle’s diminutive size. Similarly, Quickly’s lament and surprise as the guards manhandle Doll – “O God, that right should thus overcome might” – which editors claim is a misspoken proverbialism, doubles as real wit; Doll is almost certainly mightier than the beadle, and officers of justice throughout the play (including even the Chief Justice, who visits Quickly and admonishes Falstaff periodically) have seldom checked, and certainly never vanquished the law of might that reins in her tavern. Again, the propensity to read Quickly as caring but incompetent, incompetent and therefore harmless, harmless and therefore affable simply does not hold to scrutiny. Quickly, as much as Falstaff or Hal, offers a fractal portrait of herself for the audience; it reveals that, like all of the major political characters of the *Henriad*, she is capable of dark thoughts and adept at putting on archetypal disguises, according to the needs defined by her own self-preservation and that of those she cares for. Given how carefully she and Prince Hal are juxtaposed in the plays as figures who tend at old men’s besides, mourn their deaths, and hope to earn their successions – Falstaff’s in Quickly’s case, the King’s in Hal’s – I hope scholarship may grow more accustomed to seeing Quickly as one of Shakespeare’s most nuanced, complex, and compelling portraits of caretakers.

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Paulina's willful care and narratives of wellbeing in *The Winter's Tale*

When Paulina famously pauses in the final scene of *The Winter's Tale* before she reveals that the statue of Hermione is Hermione herself, she tells her on-stage and off-stage audience, "It is required / You do awake your faith" (5.3.94-5).³¹ In this emotive speech act, Paulina, the supposed commissioner of the statue and the stage manager of this moment, draws attention to the play's affective work and its dependence on acts of imaginative and narrative generosity. The onstage and offstage audience are obliged through Paulina's willful demand to embrace the effect that viewing the metamorphic statue will have on them, and to exercise their faith—a feeling that is part emotion, part transaction, and that implies a transcendence of reason by an act of belief. The King, Leontes, who believes himself guilty of Hermione's death, and her lost daughter, Perdita, have already threatened to embrace and kiss the statue, so overwhelmed are they with the desire for what they think is just an artful representation, a copy of Hermione the wife and mother. They are restrained by Paulina's willful care.

The primary meaning of "faith" in the period was "the quality of fulfilling one's trust or promise; faithfulness, loyalty, fidelity, trustworthiness."³² Faith, therefore, was (and in fact, still is) primarily contractual. When Paulina asks her audience to awake their faith, she is preparing them for the destabilizing social experience of awe that will be facilitated by the metamorphosis of Hermione's statue from stone to flesh, an intertextually overdetermined moment of Ovidianism that recalls the Pygmalion myth (as well as Euripides' *Alcestis*). She insists that they must have faith both in her as the commissioner of the statue and by extension the playwright as creator of this unexpected narrative closure. This moment of artistic self-consciousness and what I term "emotive intertextuality" is an answer to the play's pervasive questioning of the nature and value of art and its dilation on the contingency of wellbeing and the necessity for a feminized, willful care.

³¹ All quotations from *The Winter's Tale* are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, 2nd edition. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. 2008.

³² "faith, n. and int." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2015. Web. 1 February 2016.

The play's primary mythic source is the Proserpina tale of the abducted daughter who must reside with Pluto during the winter until she is reunited with her mother, Ceres, in the spring. Northrup Frye calls it a "solstitial" play (117), and Jonathan Bate points out that "*The Winter's Tale* is Shakespeare's most overtly mythic play title. It announces a link between characters and their emotions on the one hand, and the seasons on the other" (220).³³ The play is both shadowed and structured by the Ovidian myth, which features Ceres (the maternal goddess of earthly abundance and the harvest), but also Arethusa (the nymph who reveals Pluto's rape to Ceres, so that the lost daughter can be found).³⁴ The lost daughter in Shakespeare's revision of the myth is Perdita, who is not raped and abducted, but who is sent to die as an infant and whose absence signals the dearth and suffering of the human community led by Leontes. The revision of the myth adds Paulina as a carer for Perdita's mother, matching the three women of the myth who survive through the ministrations of a feminine community.

In many critical discussions of this most "mythic" of Shakespeare's plays, the definition of a myth as a narrative structuring of human experience is assumed, but in fact there is theoretical disagreement about what a myth is. It is useful to return to Rene Girard's insistence that all myths are generated by a communal act of violence. In the case of *The Winter's Tale*, this mythic violence is directed primarily at Hermione and her children, and the exposure of Perdita to death that is ordered by Leontes and performed by Antigonus stands in for Hades' abduction of Proserpina in the underlying myth. The myth that structures the play, then, also structures its violence, and this explains in part the bizarre development of Leontes' unfounded jealousy and rage at the beginning of the play. As it is deployed here, the Proserpina myth is not

³³ Frye, Northrup. "Recognition in *The Winter's Tale*." *The Winter's Tale: Critical Essays*. Ed. Maurice Hunt. New York: Garland (1995): 106-118. Bate, Jonathan. *Shakespeare and Ovid*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993.

³⁴ This scene has been brilliantly explicated by many scholars attentive to its Renaissance Ovidianism, including Martin Mueller ["Hermione's Wrinkles or Ovid Transformed: An Essay on *The Winter's Tale*" *Comparative Drama* 5.3 (Fall 1971): 226-239], Leonard Barkan (*The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), Tom Bishop (*Shakespeare and the Theater of Wonder*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), Lynn Enterline (*The Rhetoric of the Body from Ovid to Shakespeare*. Cambridge: Cambridge, 2000), and Lori Humphrey Newcomb ["If that which is lost be not found": Monumental Bodies, Spectacular Bodies in *The Winter's Tale*." *Ovid and the Renaissance Body*. Ed. Goran Stanivukovic. Toronto: U of Toronto P (2001): 239-259]. In a reading particularly compatible with my own, Tom Bishop comments on the way the final scene's overdetermined Ovidianism serves to highlight the relation between psychological complexity of character and poetic invention: "There is therefore no question of a final, workable distinction between art and life. Where Ovid declares Pygmalion's artistry in creating Galatea one in which 'ars adeo latet arte sua'—a formulation that had become a Renaissance touchstone—Shakespeare's scene of vivification insists on deliberately displaying its intimate investment in and by works of art" (173).

just about the death and regeneration that accompany the seasons, but the violence to women that is generative of that myth itself and the grief and care that are its feminized response

The play is also negotiating a Christian notion of feminine care and grace, and this is emphasized in Paulina's very name, as the Pauline scriptures support notions of female domestic economy and carework. This association, however, is troubled by the threatening religious language surrounding Paulina, as Leontes calls her a "mankind witch" (2.3.68), potentially a heretic (2.3.115), and then she assures us that she will not be performing the transformation with "wicked powers" (5.3.91). A syncretic figure of feminine care, Paulina might be a threat to the patriarchal authority she usurps for most of the play, but instead the play accommodates her willfulness and her insistent carework through the final spectacle of Hermione's statue. The awe demanded at the end of the play requires the accommodation of a new perspective on the misogynistic narrative of adultery that resulted in Hermione's sixteen-year death, but it also focuses attention on Paulina's care. It exposes the violence at the heart of the play's intertexts, and then explores the consequences for the community of such narratives, and the possibility of shifting those mythic stories toward a reconsideration of willful women.

According to social psychologists Michelle Shiota et al., awe is usually defined by the experience of "perceptual vastness" and the need for cognitive accommodation. The experience of awe, unlike the experience of most other positive emotions, moves the individual toward changes in their cognitive schema.³⁵ Awe is an affective state that encourages thinking and produces rational reflection, and in the play this moment of awe allows the fictional world to critique itself, forcing the audience to accommodate new understandings of the constructed community that is broken and partially amended by Paulina. In this scene, the vastness of time as a period of care is emphasized, as well as perhaps the recognition of the limitations of the human lifespan in the reunion of Perdita with her mother. The intensity of awe as an emotion is ultimately replaced by reconciliation and emphases on joy and comfort, but the scene is characteristically tragicomic, highlighting both pain and pleasure. Leontes says "this affliction has a taste as sweet / as any cordial comfort" (5.3.75). In its final moments, it also returns to the

³⁵ Shiota, Michelle, Dachur Kelner and Amanda Mossman. "The Nature of Awe: Elicitors, Appraisals and Effects on Self-Concept." *Cognition and Emotion* 21 (2007): 944-63. Kelner and Haidt comment on the fact that while awe is a particularly notable human emotion, it has not been the focus on emotion researchers and is rarely included in taxonomies of positive emotions. Kelner, Dachur and Jonathan Haidt. "Approaching Awe: A Moral, Spiritual and Aesthetic Emotion." *Cognition and Emotion* 17 (2003): 297.

melancholy that characterizes the play even in its “happy” resolution, as Paulina announces that she will “wing me to some withered bough, and there / My mate, that’s never to be found again, lament till I am lost” (5.3.134-6). Although she is married off in the final decree by Leontes, Paulina’s actual silence resonates more than this forced social silencing, and so it is her lament, her grief, that brings the play to a close.

From the start, Hermione’s character is defined by her resistance to the cuckold narrative that has been set loose in the play to incriminate her. At her trial, Hermione challenges Leontes to compare her true behavior before his accusation to her present unhappiness as the target of his spectacular jealousy:

You, my lord, best know—
Who least will seem to do so—my past life
Hath been as continent, as chaste, as true
As I am now unhappy; which is more
Than history can pattern, though devised
And played to take spectators (3.2.30-35).

In this moment of crisis in the play, Hermione has been brought forth to trial shortly after giving birth (and against all cultural health practices), had her infant sent to death, and seems destined to be tortured and killed for treason for an adultery that she has not committed. She is unhappy indeed, as “unhappy” in this period meant primarily “unfortunate” or “unlucky” rather than sad, and her present misery is defined in contrast to her happy past. In Shakespeare’s primary and closely contemporary source for the play, Robert Greene’s *Pandosto or The Triumph of Time* (1588), the happiness of the characters is framed as a function of Fortune’s fickle influence on human affairs. At the start, the king and queen of Bohemia, Pandosto and Bellaria, are happy because fortune allows them to be so:

They had not been married long, but Fortune (willing to increase their happiness) lent them a son, so adorned with the gifts of nature, as the perfection of the child greatly augmented the love of the parents and the joys of their commons; in so much that the Bohemians to show their inward joys by outward actions made

bonfires and triumphs throughout all the kingdom, appointing jousts and tourneys for the honor of their young prince.³⁶

Fortune first allows such a multiplication of joys, but quickly the romance plot is set in motion when “Fortune, envious of such happy success, willing to show some sign of her inconstancy, turned her wheel and darkened their bright sun of prosperity with the misty clouds of mishap and misery.” The personified Fortune in this romance is envious and it is her fickle will that generates joy or sorrow.

Revising *Pandosto* (in which the queen dies and is not reborn and her daughter narrowly escapes the incestuous advances of her father), Shakespeare also redefines happiness. Rather than focusing on the difficult journey that is the main matter of Green’s romance, the play elaborates on the intense emotional interactions that are produced by Leontes’ jealousy and dilates on this pivotal trial scene. Hermione’s description of her present state as unhappy both points to *Pandosto*’s characterization of happiness as dependent on fortune, but also suggests a more modern notion of happiness as a state of joy or contentedness. Hermione articulates happiness as an emotional category under strain: happiness is an emotion transitioning from one primary structure of feeling to another. Her unhappiness is not just a lack of fortune, it is also contrasted to the continence, chastity and truth of her life so far, and all of these are conditions not determined by fate, but by her own agency, her choice to be restrained, sexually delimited, and honest (monogamous). Her unhappy state is set in contrast to her happier past, a past that she defines as one marked by the exercise of her will to restrain her choices and desires. That restraint, it is implied, is also happiness itself. To be happy is to be fortunate, but it is also to be careful, restrained, and pure, if that purity is read in terms of bodily or even humoral containment. This is care as happiness, or what we now label as “wellbeing.” Not joy or merriness, wellbeing as a species of positive emotion is defined by its lack of action and its reserve. It is the kind of happiness that can coexist with the sad (meaning mainly “serious”) tale, and it is remarkable in that it is moving away from a residual understanding of happiness as dependent on fortune and toward a modern sense of it as defined by will.

³⁶ Greene, Robert. *Pandosto*. Ed. Hardin Aasand. Internet Shakespeare Editions. University of Victoria. 1588. Web. February 1, 2016. <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/m/works/Pandosto/M/default/>.

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Caring for a King: Paulina's Royal Tending Practices in The Winter's Tale

In Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, King Leontes quickly accuses his wife's attendant, Paulina, with having an illusory connection to witchcraft and suggests that her care is easily a masked attempt to harm him.³⁷ Such characterizations, historically, are attributed to women like Paulina whose knowledge stems from shared, familial practice and informal, experiential learning.³⁸ This early portrayal of Paulina's care then colors his interpretation of her actions (see 2.3). However, after Leontes' familial destruction, his response is to seek care from Paulina; a woman he has disparaged and whose practices he views as dubious. This paper aims to understand Leontes' curious choice to seek Paulina's aid and develop a clearer definition of the kind of care—one steeped in counsel, reflection, and penance—Paulina performs in his service. Central to this argument is the idea that Paulina's gendered reputation provides her with the clout that interestingly affords her access to the king's care, and yet still places her “womanly” skills at odds with more formally trained caretakers.³⁹ As her suspect and heretical practice shifts toward an acceptable form of care keeping, Paulina becomes the only way to address Leontes' ailments.

Traditionally, especially in the rural, local communities of England, the care of wise women and their practice of “quasi-occult arts” is relied on for healing (Harris 121).⁴⁰ Though these women were typically more trusted, cheaper, and as educated than traditional physicians, they receive harsh treatment during Tudor regime because of their innate connection to

³⁷ Leontes claims, “A mankind witch! Hence with her, out o'door-/ A most intelligencing bawd” (2.3.67-68).

³⁸ For an extensive and informative argument on this topic, see Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*. Routledge, 2016.

³⁹ This reputation is, at its worst connected to black magic, and at its best linked to domestic care keeping. For further reading on knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*, see Walter SH Lim, “Knowledge and Belief in” *The Winter's Tale*.” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 2001, 317-334.

⁴⁰ The higher rate of wise women as practitioners is primarily due to the lack of stable healthcare outside of court, the inaccessibility of practitioners, and the expense of university-trained physicians. Wise women were also readily available because they were often your family members or neighbors who could either be called upon or contacted for help.

witchcraft.⁴¹ This trust in female practitioners comes from their social authority through their familiarity with the body, their status as either friend, neighbor, or relative, and the lack of suspicion that traditional doctors gained in reputation (Kerwin 62-65). Such suspicion stems from the use of cure-alls and potentially dangerous treatments by physicians, which meant they often held the power to heal you or kill you. This harsh treatment was capitalized on by formally trained physicians as they undertook a “war on words” and made “textual attacks” on female healers to destabilize their medical model, turn clients away from their doors, and discredit their practice (Pettigrew 17, 44-46). Ironically though, these female practitioners use their practice to ward off evil spirits and illness. However, the social reputation of these women overshadows the realistic understanding of their practice, and their ill-conceived reputations are easily drawn upon.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes attributes the association between witchcraft and wise women to Paulina, Queen Hermione's attendant, when he calls her, “A mankind witch” (2.3.67) and any actions she takes thereafter are shrouded in mystery and suspicion. In this period, women who represent the “witches maleficia” (Harris 14) are thought to have supernatural powers that stem from their tongues, and the anatomy of a woman's tongue was thought to have “innate transformative power” (Harris 108). It was also believed that witches were often seen as plaguing the air and its inhabitants with their “noise” (Enterline 29) and that evil was spread through the ambient air (Gagnon 20). Thus, Paulina's “boundless tongue” (2.3.90) challenges the authority of Leontes and requires her to use language to influence him (Harris 108).⁴² Leontes is suspicious of Paulina's powerful words and he claims, “thou art worthy to be hanged/That wilt not stay her tongue” (2.3.108-09). Paulina is mindful of this association and Leontes' suspicion, and proclaims in her own defense, “If I prove honey-mouthed, let my tongue blister” (2.2.34). Though divested of witchcraft, Paulina's verbal prowess will later sway Leontes to put faith in her practice (Enterline 32) and her potentially infectious “miasma” is reinterpreted as helpful guidance.⁴³

⁴¹ In terms of education and qualification, many female practitioners, especially midwives, go through an apprenticeship. In addition, these women attend lectures and demonstrations, read from formal and informal texts, and become familiar with pharmacopeia and popular treatments.

⁴² A woman's power was also thought to be held predominantly in her verbal and sexual mouths (genitals). These mouths are often thought to spread “poison” that opposes the traditional, Christian, patriarchal social structure (Harris 119-20).

⁴³ *OED*, s.v. “miasma” is defined as “noxious vapour rising from putrescent organic matter, marshland, etc., which pollutes the atmosphere; a cloud of such vapour.”

Aside from occult language, the audience can also see Shakespeare connecting Paulina to the world of healing through her use of medical language. Paulina's speech is laden with medicinal words that mark out the body from the mind and draw attention to Shakespeare's preoccupation with somatic symptoms that can easily be found throughout his corpus of plays (see Heaton 303). For example, Paulina uses terms like "remedy" (5.3.77), "purge" (2.3.37), "rotten" (2.3.88), and "poisoned" (3.2.185). The stark contrast, then, between Paulina and Leontes' language suggests the distinct cure-cured relationship between these characters. This is particularly evident in Leontes' language that reflects restoration, health, and cure. He uses phrases like, "cordial comfort" (5.3.77), "The blessed gods/Purge all infection from our air" (5.1.167-68), and "she will recover./...tenderly apply to her/Some remedies for life" (3.2.151-54). Paulina's language reflects the preoccupations of a healer, whilst Leontes' language reflects the focus of someone who is being healed. However, these linguistic markers are grounded in the same medical discourse, which shows the period's preoccupation with health and illness, and the concern over "medicine's ambiguous potential for harm as well as healing" (Pollard 31).

Paulina's use of language also demonstrates her maternal caretaking skills. As she arrives in Act Two, Paulina states,

Not so hot, good sir. I come to bring him sleep.
'Tis such as you, That creep like shadows by him and do sigh
At each his needless heavings- such as you
Nourish the cause of his awaking. I
Do come with words, as medicinal as true,
Honest as either, to purge him of that humor
That press him from sleep. (2.3.33-39)

By claiming that her words are, "honest" and "true," and that they alone can ease the restlessness of the king, Paulina claims authority in this traditionally male space. In addition to substantiating her own curative power, Paulina goes so far in this moment as to scold the king's confidants for creeping like "shadows" and sighing at his condition. Their apathy spurs Paulina to actively restore the king to a balanced, normal state and she sees their reaction and inaction to his condition as lamentable. Like a mother soothing a sleepless child, Paulina plans to cure the

king's "needless" suffering.⁴⁴ In the Early Modern period, this motherly role is associated with aging women, especially attendants and nurses (Vanita 316).⁴⁵ Peter Erickson argues that it is Leontes' child-like obedience that substantiates Paulina's motherly care.⁴⁶ Erickson also suggests that Paulina embodies home for Leontes and that she takes on the female enabler role instead of the earlier female disabler role (822-25).⁴⁷ Paulina as the "matriarchal agent" shifts away from her previous heretical reputation, and instead embraces a normative caretaker role (Porter 71).

The matriarchal role in this period also gave older women a moral authority, which reaffirms Paulina's care of Leontes counselor, and serves as evidence that his moral quandary prompts him to turn to a source of moral authority.⁴⁸ Though the Early Modern period saw an evolution of spiritual healing into the realm of medicine, the morality of the affliction and its relative treatment remained intact (Kerwin 219-20). This interpretation appears substantiated in the text because of the religious and moral overtones of Paulina's counsel. Ruth Vanita suggests that a sociopolitical reading of this play demonstrates the "church as female" idea, which establishes Paulina as the figure of the church and gives her the religious right to counsel the king (318). This religious authority is reflected in Paulina's liturgical diction and her focus on penance (Lim 320). Such authority makes Leontes' self-subordination to Paulina's advice more understandable and her previous connection to witchcraft forgotten by the king. Some scholars view Paulina's practice in a slightly different lens; Paulina is an artist that uses art-specific care to cure Leontes. For example, Ann Reed suggests that Leontes is plied with a kind of poetic therapy, where his innocence is released through Paulina's speech to restore the powers of his

⁴⁴ Presumably his physicians are consulted about his condition and cannot provide him with relief. Barbara Howard Traister argues that Shakespeare's works are rife with either "passive doctors" and "active healers," where the active healers are often the least assuming, non-medical practitioners in the play (48-50).

⁴⁵ Though not entirely constrained to a biblical reading in the argument, Ruth Vanita draws on the caretaking model of Mary to suggest ways that Paulina cares for those around her like a mother.

⁴⁶ Paulina is also seen providing motherly care to Hermione. In the Act Five, the audience of *The Winter's Tale* is filled in on the action of the past sixteen years and the recent developments in Sicilia. The Second Gentleman notes that Paulina, "privately twice or thrice a day/ ever since the death of Hermione visited that removed/house" (5.2.98-100). Mary Ellen Lamb suggests this is evidence that Paulina is caring for Hermione, and that the two to three visits each day are to feed the queen (536). Like a mother, she is providing sustenance to Hermione, and her level of care far exceeds that of a typical servant. In this argument, it suggests that part of Paulina's care for the king relies on her care for the queen; by caring for Hermione's body, she is caring for Leontes' body and his redemption later in the play (her final act of curing him).

⁴⁷ Leontes' obedience can be seen when he turns to Paulina and asks, "True?" (5.1.12) to demonstrate his reliance on her input. He also is seen heeding her guidance ("till thou bidd'st us" (5.1.82)) and making oaths to her ("Never, Paulina, so be blest my spirit" (5.1.7)).

⁴⁸ The connection between the moral and medical can be understood through Todd H.J. Pettigrew's argument that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, apothecaries and priests often serve the same function in that they offer both counsel and curative medicines (92-122).

psyche and treat his jealousy (103-05). Though not entirely related, this interpretation still suggests a connection between the counseling/talking type of care that Paulina uses and the kind of affliction that Leontes faces.

Though the moral situation Leontes faces is clear, the illness afflicting Leontes is never entirely evident. He only identifies that he has an, “infection of my brains” (1.2.145) and that this infection appears to stem from jealousy and melancholy.⁴⁹ Leontes’ melancholy seems apropos to the utility of Paulina’s care, since it was thought that witchcraft stems from an excess of melancholy in the body and that the devil’s actions are associated with melancholic madness (Closson 68-69). The melancholic link between Paulina’s treatment and Leontes’ condition is explained best through the burgeoning medical thought of Paracelsus (Koizumi 126). Paracelsus posits that, unlike Galenic practice that balances the humors through a condition’s opposite, curing a melancholic state requires a treatment of “likeness” or “poison with poison” (Pollard 31).⁵⁰ As Paracelsus’ iatrochemical treatments often include the ingestion of mercury, a poison to the body, a similar “mercury” would need to be found to cure Leontes. Therefore, the connection between witchcraft and melancholy and Paulina’s reputation of witchcraft represent the poison that can draw out the melancholy from Leontes.⁵¹ Melancholy, in *The Winter’s Tale*, then becomes an exemplary moment of Jacques Derrida’s *pharmakon*, where the illness is treated with its own root cause.⁵² Paulina’s poison, as it takes the form of language and counsel, is a discursive one that draws on motherly tending and verbal curatives that warrant a “caustic healing” process (Gourlay 386).⁵³ In its application, the role of purging the infection is most apt for this play; both Todd H.J. Pettigrew and Gail Kern Paster suggest the importance of purgation

⁴⁹ The medical thought of the period suggests that Leontes is suffering from a humoral imbalance. Though all humoral imbalances were serious medical issues that need immediate care and attention, the most corrupt humor is considered burnt or adust; specifically, “melancholy adust” was the worst affliction of the humors (Tillyard 65). Preventing Leontes from becoming melancholic adust would be a priority for everyone around him at court.

⁵⁰ For exemplary arguments on Galenic and Paracelsian medical practices, see Todd Howard James Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern English Stage*. University of Delaware Press, 2007 and Lucinda McCray Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England*. Routledge, 2015.

⁵¹ Paracelsus promoted the use of toxins, alchemy, and iatrochemistry to cure illness.

⁵² For the theoretical unpacking of the *pharmakon*, see Jacques Derrida, “Plato’s Pharmacy.” In *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson, 1981. For the *pharmakon*’s application to *The Winter’s Tale*, see Yuto Koizumi, ““What? Hast Smutched Thy Nose?”: Medical Discourse in *The Winter’s Tale*.” *演劇研究*, vol. 37, 2013, 126.

⁵³ In Paracelsian terms, Paulina’s caustic healing practices are meant to draw out the illness from Leontes, thus causing him pain. This pain, however, is unclear in its mental or physical nature. Though it is hard to tell from the vague references in Act Five about Paulina’s specific care for Leontes and the subsequent pain endured, any application of the *pharmakon* or iatrochemical treatment would be excruciating, even if it were internal.

and its use in medical practice.⁵⁴ As Paulina presumably purges the infection, the devil is also departing the afflicted body (Closson 69). This aggressive treatment is not lost on other characters; Cleomenes scolds Paulina for her continuous chastisement of the king (“Not at all, good lady./You might have spoken a thousand things that would/ Have done the time more benefit and graced/Your kindness better” (5.1.22-23)).⁵⁵ At this point, Dion states that her treatment causes Leontes to suffer, and in turn, makes the kingdom suffer.⁵⁶ This moment demonstrates the connectedness of the king’s two bodies and the possible neglect of the body politic by Paulina’s care.⁵⁷ As Nicole Greenspan describes, “like the biological body, the collective body politic was subject to infection and disease which required identification and treatment” (212).⁵⁸ Though not directly treating Sicilia, Paulina’s rebuttal suggests that she relies on Apollo’s oracle to effectively care for both king and kingdom.⁵⁹

The use of the oracle also informs the regimentation of Paulina’s care like her own prayer and fasting rituals and the constant practice of penance that she has Leontes follow for the

⁵⁴ See Todd H.J. Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern English Stage*, University of Delaware Press, 2007 and Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*, Cornell University Press, 1993.

⁵⁵ Paulina, aside from being his caretaker, also represents his keeper of memory. She acts as the moral historian and reminds him of his indiscretions, which in turn services her treatment plan.

⁵⁶ Dion claims,
 If you would not so,
 You pity not the state nor the remembrance
 Of his most sovereign name, consider little
 What dangers by his highness’ fail of issue
 May drop upon his kingdom and devour
 Incertain lookers-on. (5.1.25-29)

⁵⁷ The king’s corporeal body and the public body of God and the people that he represents.

⁵⁸ For further discussion of the body politic, see J. G. Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

⁵⁹ Paulina claims,
 There is none worthy,
 Respecting her that’s gone. Besides, the gods
 Will have fulfilled their secret purposes.
 For has not the divine Apollo said—
 Is’t not the tenor of his oracle?—
 That King Leontes shall not have an heir
 Till his lost child be found? Which that it shall
 Is all as monstrous to our human reason
 As my Antigonus to break his grave
 And came again to me, who, on my life,
 Did perish with the infant. ‘Tis your counsel
 My lord should to the heavens be contrary,
 Oppose against their wills. (5.1.34-46)

sixteen years that his wife and daughter are gone.⁶⁰ Such regimentation further shifts Paulina's care away from witchcraft and toward an acceptable religious healing practice. Since she bases her process on the blending of oracle and divine inspiration, her methodologies cannot be so easily cast in the evil shadow of heresy and witchcraft. Thus, her source of medical knowledge, aside from her practical experience, appears as a derivative from the gods. This connection to a higher power makes her access and care to the king warranted, since she appears the most worthy and skilled to do so. Further, Paulina's response to Dion and Cleomenes in Act Five ("Tis your counsel/My lord should to the heavens be contrary,/Oppose against their will" (5.1.44-46)) suggests that she is clearly privy to the larger scope of care necessary to cure Leontes and that she is knowledgeable of the larger stakes of the king(dom)'s health and should be trusted in how she cares for both. She is acutely aware of her traditional neglect to the body politic, but she is using a far more localized treatment of curing the king. However, Paulina's connection to the gods— especially Apollo— allows her cure to function simultaneously on a grand scale to heal all of Sicilia. This is evidenced in Leontes' claim, "The blessed gods/Purge all infection from our air" (5.1.167-68); by purging the infection from Leontes, Paulina has purged the entirety of the kingdom's infection. There is a distinct parallel drawn between Paulina's capacity to heal the king's body and her ability to heal the larger body politic as she brings together the two epistemologies that she subscribes to so that she can completely cure Leontes by the end of the play.⁶¹

The final act demands that the characters and audience revisit Paulina's relationship to witchcraft and the evolution of how her practice is perceived in this play (Rosenfield 107). Before revealing the statue of Hermione, Paulina explains her actions by saying, "But then you'll

⁶⁰ Such external penitence is embodied in Paulina through her continuous kneeling and fasting and she is likened to the figure of despair (Erickson 189). Though not entirely clear, this may be a nod toward the Lutheran model of repenting, which involves self-deprecating behavior and shame with no salvation in sight (Erickson 190-91). Aside from the figure of despair, some scholars have drawn parallels between Paulina and the biblical figure of Paul because of their shared theological preaching and their similar names and some have even interpreted Paulina as Paul on the road to Damascus, who represents the role of the subconscious or guilt in this play (Goldman). No matter which interpretation of Paulina that is taken, it is evident that her advice is steeped in religious discourse and her advice concerns itself with the moral nature of Leontes. Further, this kind of discourse and moral advice actively distances Paulina from the previous accusations of witchcraft and condones Leontes' reliance on her advice.

⁶¹ Though Paulina does the heavy lifting in curing Leontes in this play, it should also be noted that Camillo is treated by characters and scholars as another form of cure, medicine, and personified doctoring (Koizumi 131-32). It seems apt, then, for Shakespeare to end the play by marrying Camillo and Paulina together and suggesting a continuous, doubly strong pillar of care for Leontes and his offspring. Such a fast union often puzzles audiences of *The Winter's Tale* and seeing these two characters as harmonious cures enlightens Shakespeare's and Leontes' decision to wed these characters together.

think think-/Which I protest against-I am assisted/By wicked powers” (5.3.89-91). Paulina’s care in Act Five is fraught with conflicting interpretations; her actions are either a miracle, medical revivification, theatrical staging, or necromancy. In response, Leontes claims, “If this be magic, let it be an art/Lawful as eating” (5.3.110-11) immediately releases Paulina from any heretical implications, and suggests that her possible magical actions are lawful and should be appreciated. Unlike his earlier charge of witchcraft, Leontes is acquitting Paulina of any illegal action, and praises her work as art. Leontes’ mitigates his earlier accusations and demonstrates that he and the audience have successfully reduced their own cognitive dissonance as they normalize Paulina’s practice.⁶²

The crisis Leontes produces in the beginning of *The Winter’s Tale* stems from a deep-rooted anxiety and requires an equally deep-rooted curative. As Lindsay Kaplan and Katherine Eggert suggest, this male anxiety, by the end of the play, is tempered by female authority (110). Paulina’s association with medicinal, witchcraft, and motherly healing requires her to supply Leontes with moral and physical care (Gourlay 382-83) that purges him using an iatrochemical or *pharmakon*-driven approach.⁶³ Though difficult to overcome, Paulina’s suspected ties to witchcraft afford her the necessary toxicity to treat Leontes’ melancholic condition. As Barbara Howard Traister argues, Shakespeare typically creates this kind of narrative “for his genuine cures, his difficult cases, he calls not on the accepted medical profession but on empirics who operate alone and with secret remedies” (51). For Paulina, her exceptional authority grants her access to the king’s body and the subsequent body politic of Sicilia, and the compendium of her knowledge exemplifies the secret remedy necessary to cure king and country.

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⁶² This might also shed some light on how society reframes the reliance on wise women for care in this period and distances the female practitioner’s daily work from associations with witchcraft and the Devil.

⁶³ We might also frame this argument with the idea that the iatrochemical poison that is necessary to curing Leontes’ melancholy requires a cure of despair, longing, and drastic melancholic behavior that can only be delivered by Paulina’s specific set of skills that is grounded in both moral and practical knowledge.

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Section IV

Caring for Others: Wards, Mad Girls, and Foreigners

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Affect, Requit, and Care in *All's Well's* Court of Wards

In early modern Europe, parental affection and care conferred obligations on children. For Michel de Montaigne, this becomes apparent in a number of subtle ways. In an early essay, Montaigne praises the "constancy and firmness" of the widowed Madame d'Estissac in looking after her children's interests, before declaring that "we have in our time no clearer example of maternal affection than yours... when [your child] comes of age you will draw from him the obedience and gratitude of a very good son."⁶⁴ In other words, for Montaigne, a parent's direct actions on behalf of a child over time not only signal, but help to constitute, affection. This affection in turn demands emotional recompense, and even service obligations, as the child grows up to exhibit "obedience and gratitude" toward the parent. Moreover, Montaigne goes on, while children never quite love their parents as much as their parents love them, this idea in itself confers an implicit sense of ongoing obligation: "he to whom something is owed [a parent, in this case] loves better than he who owes [i.e., a child]."⁶⁵ This fascinating idea holds not only that children owe something to their parents, but that a parent's superior love is linked to a transactional inequality embedded within the relationship itself. Parents are perpetually owed something that a child cannot repay, and this debt is both conditioned and reinforced by a parent's stronger sense of affection. No amount of obedience or gratitude can fully compensate the parent, or fully requite the child's affective debt--which puts the child into a permanent state of subordination.

In *All's Well, That Ends Well*, Shakespeare takes these ideas of parent-child affection and obligation to their limits. Creating parallel test cases, he asks not only about the obligations between a biological son and his mother, but those between a ward and a guardian, from two different perspectives. Like Madame d'Estissac, Shakespeare's Countess de Roussillon has been

⁶⁴ "Of the Affection of Fathers for their Children," in *The Complete Works*, tr. Donald M. Frame (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, [1943] 2003), 337-355, 338. For more on Montaigne and Shakespeare's perceptions of parent-child bonds, see Ian Frederick Moulton, "Monstrous Teardrops: The Materiality of Early Modern Affection," in *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Ronda Arab, Michelle M. Dowd, and Adam Zucker (New York: Routledge: 2015), 70-75.

⁶⁵ "Of the Affection of Fathers for their Children," 339.

widowed. Unlike Madame d'Estissac, however, she has not been allowed to retain custody of her minor son. Instead, under an imposed legal structure reminiscent of English law, the king of France has claimed young Bertram as his ward, while the Countess de Roussillon will shelter Helen, the orphaned daughter of the physician Gerard de Narbonne. By establishing these parallel test cases, Shakespeare's work demands a reappraisal of the obligations that obtain between a parental figure and a dependent minor--in particular, with regard to both affect and service. I propose that these obligations would have been figured in the early modern period as a form of requital, the social demand for behavior that returns others' feelings or actions, in order to compensate wholly or partly for a perceived debt. In this light, I argue that *All's Well* links the institution of wardship with a corrupted model of affective requital, in which the language of parent-child affection and care becomes a thinly veiled demand for the child's subordination and acquiescence, where there is little history of affectionate actions (or deep knowledge of the child) by the older generation. In this way, older parental figures in the play leverage the rhetoric of affection to consolidate their own privilege--teaching their wards that affect itself is merely a front for socioeconomic requital transactions.

The play's abrupt beginning stages Bertram's departure for the court in Paris. When the Countess grieves that she must "bury a second husband" by forfeiting her child to the crown, Bertram responds "And I in going, madam, weep o'er my father's death anew: but I must attend his majesty's command, to whom I am now in ward, evermore in subjection" (1.1.1-4).⁶⁶ Right away, the courtier Lafeu begins to superimpose the language of familial affect and obligation onto the institution of wardship, using substitution to foreclose expressions of grief: "You shall find of the King a husband, madam; you, sir, a father." (1.1.6-7). The King here becomes not a guardian of wards, but a paternal figure. He is even framed as an immediate substitute for a dead family member, obviating the need for mourning or emotional distress. While Lafeu is trying to comfort the countess and her son, his words can backfire by positioning a person Bertram has never met at the heart of their family dynamic, and eliding the mechanized, institutional dynamics of wardship that are actually in play. Further, his use of the future tense ("shall") offers the hope that the king *will* act as a reliable patriarch toward the family--but it also asks the family to accept the terms "husband" and "father" for the king before these actions have occurred, predicating familial reorganization on likelihoods alone. In the first lines of the play, in other

⁶⁶ Quotations from the play are taken from the *Norton Shakespeare*, 2nd edition and will be cited parenthetically.

words, a mother and son feel genuine emotions for their dead loved one (and for one another), but they must minimize or subordinate those feelings, prioritizing obligation and service to a new lord, whose representatives use the language of familial status as a cover for the mandated protocols of wardship.

This scene resonates with the critiques of the wardship system levied by Parliament in 1604 and 1610. Petitioners argued that the Court of Wards separated minor children from their kinship relations at the point of grief, doubly bereaving mothers, as well as treating the minor children like "horses" to be traded and relocated without regard to their current affective bonds.⁶⁷ All of this was legally enabled by the rules of feudal tenure under the knight service system, which allowed the sale of wardships to become a major source of funding for the Stuart monarchy by the early seventeenth century.⁶⁸ If the king had any hint of ownership in any of the lands owned by a family, their orphaned minor's entire estate fell under the control of the crown, and the right to administer that estate (and to profit from it financially) could be sold to the highest bidder.⁶⁹ Throughout this process, the prevailing legal priority was not the social and emotional care of the vulnerable ward, but the economically driven oversight of two things: the land, and the ward's marriage alliance, which would decide which family administered the land in the future. (Many guardians married their minor wards, during their minorities, to their own offspring for this reason.)⁷⁰ Under knight service--though, interestingly, not under an alternative form of wardship called socage--the guardian is not obligated to act in a fiduciary capacity, but can instead prioritize his own profit: "The guardian in chivalry [i.e. through knight service] hath the wardship to his own use, and the guardian in socage hath not the wardship to his own use, but to the use of the heire."⁷¹ As a guardian in the knight service system (not under socage),

⁶⁷ See Terry Reilly, "All's Well, That Ends Well and the 1604 Controversy Surrounding the Court of Wards and Liveries," in *All's Well, That Ends Well: New Critical Essays*, ed. Gary Waller (New York: Routledge, 2007), 210, and Patrick M. Murphy, "Wriothsley's Resistance: Wardship Practices and Ovidian Narratives in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*," *Venus and Adonis: Critical Essays*, ed. Philip C. Kolin (Psychology Press, 1997), 333.

⁶⁸ In 1611-14, 368 wardships were granted by the crown to new guardians. From 1600 to 1615, grants like these generated between 20,000 and 30,000 pounds for the royal treasury per annum. See H. E. Bell, *The Court of Wards and Liveries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1953), 49, 116.

⁶⁹ See Reilly, "All's Well," 210.

⁷⁰ For more on this practice, and the legal concepts of disparagement and Merton's Law that could thwart it, see Noel James Menuge, "The Wardship Romance: A New Methodology," in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 29-43, 37; Patrick M. Murphy, "Wriothsley's Resistance," 323-25.

⁷¹ *Lyttleton's Tenures*, 162, qtd. in John Seymour, "Parens Patriae and Wardship Powers: Their Nature and Origins," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 14:2 (1994): 159-88, 164.

Shakespeare's king of France is under no fiduciary obligation to pass benefits along to his minor ward, or even to consider his preferences. The king could choose to sell the wardship, passing it on to a noble family for a fee, but he does not. Bertram's lands and marriage decision are under his control, for his own gain.

It would seem, on the surface, that a guardian in this situation would not need to use the language of emotion or care, let alone family ties. Yet, when Bertram arrives at court, the king immediately claims paternal affection for him: "My son's no dearer," he remarks at the end of the scene, even though he had to be told by another courtier who Bertram was as he entered (1.2.76). Never having seen his ward before in his life, the king assesses Bertram by his physical resemblance to his father, and then recounts his father's honorable interactions with subordinates: "[those] who were below him/ He used as creatures of another place/ And bow'd his eminent top to their low ranks,/ Making them proud of his humility" (1.3.41-44). The implications are suggestive. The king finds it honorable for a high-ranking person to frame his subordinates as equals, treating them with the kind of dignity that theoretically renders them all the same, and in reality consolidates the subordinates' status as "low." If the king and Bertram's father were trained in the same generational cohort, and act in similar ways, then the king is essentially saying that his sudden familial affection toward Bertram is the kindest possible way of creating the goodwill that in turn reinforces the social hierarchy. Though he remains a minor, Bertram knows exactly how to respond to the king, in a way that resonates with Montaigne's work. "My thanks and duty are your majesty's," he says immediately upon entering the room, and "Thank your majesty" again, in direct response to "My son's no dearer" (1.3.23, 1.3.76). In other words, the king's extravagant and sudden declaration of parent-like affection is actually an implicit demand that must be met with an acknowledgement of obligation and subordinate rank. While the king is clearly in charge of Bertram's estate and marital prospects, in other words, he chooses to frame Bertram's obligations toward him not in the language of economic duty, but in the language of filial care. In this way, the king's idea of "dearness" establishes an affective requital debt between guardian and ward that replaces genuine familial affection--built over time--with the mere rhetoric of relationship, making the king seem humble while in reality cementing Bertram's duty to prove his gratitude.

While the king and Bertram are both characters in Shakespeare's source text, the Countess is not.⁷² Because of this, her words toward her ward Helen are all the more crucial, as they provide a deliberate foil for the king's affective pronouncements. Yet, even though she describes and proves her genuine fondness for Helen, the Countess still uses the language of affect within the requital economy of wardship, in ways that cause conflict and anxiety for the younger character. Ambiguously situated in the Countess' household, Helen is both a "young gentlewoman" (probably a waiting gentlewoman, in a service position), and someone "bequeathed to [the Countess'] overlooking" (1.1.16, 1.1.34-5). When the Countess has Helen summoned to her presence, Shakespeare not only repeats these descriptive terms, but ties them overtly to affection and requital dynamics:

Reynaldo: I know madam, you love your gentlewoman entirely.

Countess: Faith, I do. Her father bequeathed her to me, and she herself without other advantage may lawfully make title to as much love as she finds. There is more owing her than is paid, and more shall be paid her than she'll demand.

(1.3.87-92)

This affective rhetoric seems to invert the parent-child obligations described above by Montaigne. If the Countess is not only duty-bound to give Helen "love," but is unable to pay her fully, then the guardian has a perpetual affective debt to her ward, positioning the Countess as the obliged party within the requital transaction. At the same time, returning to Montaigne's dynamics, the Countess is vastly more willing to provide parental love than Helen is to accept her offer. "I am a mother to you," the Countess asserts firmly in 1.3.122, only for Helen to respond "Mine honorable mistress"--substituting a non-familial, class-based term. Undaunted, the Countess corrects her: "Nay, a mother"--using the word "mother" four more times over the next four lines for good measure, before concluding "I... put you in the catalogue of those/ That were enwombed mine" and "I express to you a mother's care" (1.3.123-28, 132). In this situation, Helen is powerless to resist. Legally dependent on the Countess for food and board, under the terms of her father's will, she is in a wardship with a guardian who wants to provide for her

⁷² Erin Ellerbeck, "Adoption and the Language of Horticulture in *All's Well that Ends Well*," *SEL* 51:2 (2011): 305-326, 314. Ellerbeck's overall reading shows the positive implications of the Countess' move to "adopt" Helen, which allows new kinds of female agency in family construction. I agree in part with her perspective, but I also wish to point out some of the parallels here with the king's affective strategies and their outcomes, as well.

emotional well-being--but affection *in loco parentis* is still simply being applied to her, whether or not she's willing to accept it, and with obligations that she would prefer not to accept.

Complicating the situation, for Helen, are considerations of both rank and passion. She is in love with Bertram, but obliged by the countess' "adoption" of her to view him as a brother (1.3.129). She is also painfully conscious of her non-noble status, and aware that only a promotion in rank would allow her to pursue Bertram--but that promotion is tied to the sibling status that she rejects, on the grounds of the incest taboo (1.3.139-146). To requite the Countess' parental affection, in other words, she must decide not to pursue Bertram's (potential) alternative form of requital. Moreover, to pursue affection for either of them would involve a massive shift in her perception of the service hierarchy: she sees the Countess and her son as "noble mistress" or "master" figures (1.3.142, 170), to such an extent that the Countess' invitation to daughter status causes her to reinvoké these terms. While the king's privilege allows him to generate and deploy the language of instant familial affection as a means of demanding and consolidating loyalty from subordinates, then, the Countess' enthusiastic claiming of Helen as a child--though well-intentioned and kind on the surface--has even deeper implications. Very subtly, it cites filial duty in order to overwrite Helen's self-asserted sense of class identity, and it tries to force her to prioritize an imposed parent/child (or guardian/ward) bond over the affective bond with Bertram that Helen herself wishes to create.

In Shakespeare's treatment of wardship, then, the rhetoric of paternal and maternal affection--however well-intentioned--leads to a series of fraught obligations for the wards themselves. Characterizing himself immediately as Bertram's father, and extending all the language of familial "dearness" toward him, the King extends a sudden emotional claim to his ward that mandates Bertram's gratitude and filial piety, while overwriting his relationship with his biological family and failing to acknowledge the economic circumstances of wardship itself. On the other side, the Countess welcomes Helen so repeatedly and forcefully as a daughter that she fails to allow Helen the agency, time, or input she might need to become comfortable with the new familial relationship and all of its consequences. In both of these cases, older characters are making a claim for the subordination and duty of younger ones, using parental rhetoric that tries to soften or disguise the utilitarian nature of wardship bonds. In other words, in both of these cases, the older characters successfully create a socioeconomic requital dynamic, in which children respond to parental affection with unending "obedience and gratitude"--despite the fact

that these children were only recently introduced to their guardians. By using the language of affective relationship, before (or without) cultivating that relationship in a substantive and mutually meaningful way, the King (and, to a lesser extent, the Countess) empty out the idea of parental affection, exposing the emotional strains on minor wards that are created by the wardship economy.

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“Give her good watch”: Care and Cure for Shakespeare’s Mad Girls

As Elaine Showalter, Carol Thomas Neely, and Ursula Potter have demonstrated, early modern conceptions of madness and mood disorder are inseparable from conceptions of gender and sexuality, particularly in the case of adolescent girls on the cusp of sexual maturity.⁷³ Puberty was a fraught time in early modern families for daughters and parents. Contemporary medicine pinpointed the onset of sexual maturity at fourteen; with this development came an increased desire for independence and increased sexual appetite, which could compromise a girl’s reputation if acted upon and compromise her health if left unsatisfied.⁷⁴ Chlorosis (also called “greensickness”), a gynecological disorder believed to be caused by unfulfilled sexual desire, was often identified as the root of mental or emotional distress in unmarried girls.⁷⁵ Though manual stimulation was occasionally suggested, the more popular remedy was to find a “lustful young man” to marry the girl and see her dangerous desires safely satisfied within the bonds of marriage.⁷⁶ When marriage (and manual stimulation) were unavailable, the retention of female “seed” and menstrual blood were thought to cause illness and emotional instability which could, if left untreated, metastasize into madness.⁷⁷ However, the diagnosis and treatment of

⁷³ Elaine Showalter, “Representing Ophelia: women, madness, and the responsibilities of feminist criticism,” in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, ed. Patricia A. Parker and Geoffrey H. Hartman (London: Routledge, 2003), 77-94; Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); and Ursula Potter, “Elizabethan Drama and *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* by Juan Luis Vives” in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 261-285; “Greensickness in *Romeo and Juliet*: Considerations on a Sixteenth-Century Disease of Virgins” in *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society 1150-1650*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 271-91; and “Navigating the Dangers of Female Puberty in Renaissance Drama,” *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 52.2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring 2013): 421-39.

⁷⁴ Potter, “Greensickness,” 273, 285. See also Potter, “Puberty,” 421-2.

⁷⁵ Kaara L. Peterson, “Fluid Economies: Portraying Shakespeare’s Hysterics,” *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 34.1 (March 2001): 39. See also Potter, “Greensickness,” 274-6; and Michael MacDonald, “Women and Madness in Tudor and Stuart England,” *Social Research* 53.2 (Summer 1986): 272.

⁷⁶ Nicholas Culpeper quoted in Robert Martensen, “The Transformation of Eve: Women’s Bodies, Medicine, and Culture in Early Modern England,” in *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 109.

⁷⁷ Peterson, 39-40. See also Maurice Charney and Hanna Charney, “The Language of Madwomen in Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists,” *Signs* 3.2 (Winter 1977): 452; Martensen, 109; and Potter, “Puberty,” 422-3.

greensickness is further complicated by the question of class, in the playhouse as in early modern England more broadly. The social factors influencing diagnosis and treatment are most evident in the parallel narratives of Ophelia in *Hamlet* and the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, who exhibit similar symptoms but receive dramatically different care. Madness, I will argue, invests both with a degree of agency typically denied to women and girls, but Ophelia's higher social status ironically results in fatal neglect, while the Jailer's Daughter's lower social station offers her access to better medical care and her eventual cure.

A madwoman's broken speech necessarily resists interpretation, but Ophelia's songs and flower-strewing suggest a preoccupation with the loss of virginity out of wedlock.⁷⁸ Mourning for a lost maidenhead and the evocative impulse to "symbolically [deflower] herself" have led scholars to interpret her madness as greensickness.⁷⁹ Though Ophelia's chlorosis certainly is emblematic of feminine vulnerability, is it simultaneously subversive. As Tobin Siebers has observed, Ophelia's entrance demands the attention of observers; her songs, "sung in public, where no proper lady would burst into song, recount her sad individual fate in addition to the fate of many young women" and "[emerge] from a sustained experience... living on the margins of power for a long time and observing the society that traps her there."⁸⁰ The bawdy ballads give her the undivided attention of the court and allow her to indict the society which has driven her to madness in the first place. Madness provides a further (albeit pyrrhic) victory over such oppressive social structures by offering Ophelia a socially acceptable form of suicide. Her death by drowning—the most common method of self-destruction among early modern women and the one which "made distinctions between accident and volition most difficult"—relieves her distress without dooming her to damnation (the punishment for *felo-de-se* by an individual of sound mind).⁸¹ Ophelia's distraction serves as a social and spiritual loophole, pardoning her proscribed behavior and permitting her interment in consecrated ground. Her interment is not, of course, without controversy; even the priest engaged to perform her funeral suggests "Her death

⁷⁸ The scope of this paper prohibits a protracted discussion of this evidence. For more robust treatments, see Caralyn Bialo, "Popular Performance, the Broadside Ballad, and Ophelia's Madness," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 53.2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring 2013): 293-309; Alison A. Chapman, "'Old Lauds': Madness and Hagiography in *Hamlet*," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 20 (2007): 111-35; Charney and Charney.

⁷⁹ Showalter, 80. See also Neely, 325-6.

⁸⁰ Tobin Siebers, "Shakespeare Differently Disabled," in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 447-50.

⁸¹ Neely, 327; Peterson, 45. For more on the social and religious implications of suicide, see Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 132-5.

was doubtful” (5.1.216).⁸² Madness may invite a generous interpretation of her drowning, but the Gravedigger’s companion insists that “If this had not been a gentlewoman she should have been buried out o’Christian burial” (5.1.23-5).⁸³ Ophelia’s social status ensures a favorable interpretation of her death, but the question of class and madness is considerably more complex.

Ophelia’s madness is largely regarded as an inconvenience by the people in power. Gertrude insists, “I will not speak with her,” and later remarks, “To my sick soul, as sin’s true nature is, / Each toy seems prologue to some great amiss” (4.5.1, 17-8). The word “toy” trivializes Ophelia’s condition, while the juxtaposition with “some great amiss” implies that her madness is merely a nuisance, “insignificant in a political context.”⁸⁴ The opposite is true for the play’s other mad actor, Hamlet himself. After observing Hamlet and Ophelia together in Act III, Claudius approves Polonius’s plan to sound out the source of Hamlet’s illness: “It shall be so. / Madness in great ones must not unwatched go” (3.1.186-7). He repeats himself in the following act, when it is Ophelia’s madness causing disruption: “Follow her close / Give her good watch, I pray you” (4.5.74). It is not clear to whom this order is given, but Claudius seems uninterested in confirming it is carried out, and Gertrude’s description of Ophelia’s death makes no mention of keepers, caretakers, or any attempt by anyone to intervene. Ophelia, it would seem, is not “great” enough to warrant the degree of observation attached to Hamlet—and it is no great mystery why.

Though Ophelia’s age and gender relegate her to a category of lesser importance, the failure of her friends and family to care for her is implicitly tied to the question of her chastity.⁸⁵ Laertes dismisses Hamlet’s professed affections as “a fashion and a toy in blood” and insists that she “must fear, / His greatness weighed, his will is not his own. / He may not, as unvalued persons do, / Carve for himself” (1.3.6, 16-19). The proximity of the words “toy” and “greatness” introduces the double-standard which characterizes courtly responses to Hamlet’s madness and Ophelia’s. “Unvalued” as she is, Laertes advises her to guard the one thing of value she has: “Then weigh what loss your honour may sustain / If with too credent ear you list his songs / Or lose your heart, or your chaste treasure open / To his unmastered importunity”

⁸² William Shakespeare, *Hamlet: Revised Edition*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare [Third Series], 2006). All references are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

⁸³ This sentiment is echoed by both the Gravedigger (5.1.28-9) and the Priest (5.1.216-20).

⁸⁴ See *Hamlet*, ed. Thompson and Taylor, 404, n18.

⁸⁵ Because there was no comprehensive psychiatric institution in the early modern period (Bedlam, though culturally significant, was never home to more than 40 inmates), the burden of diagnosing and caring for mad people typically fell to friends and family. See Michael MacDonald, “Women and Madness in Tudor and Stuart England,” *Social Research* 53.2 (Summer 1986): 263-4. See also MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam*, 113-4.

(1.3.28-37). Polonius repeats the warning ninety lines later, echoing the comparison of Hamlet and Ophelia's worth and the emphasis on the value of her virginity:

Be something scanter of your maiden presence;
Set your entreatments at a higher rate
Than a command to parle. For Lord Hamlet,
Believe so much in him that he is young
And with a larger tether may he walk
Than may be given you. (1.3.120-5)

This repetition makes the situation plain: Ophelia's only value is in her maidenhead.

Courtship and desire were fraught with fear and contradiction for a young woman of any social station, but because Ophelia is the object of Hamlet's affection, the value of her virginity is increased by questions of dynastic security, "for on his choice depends / The safety and the health of this whole state" (1.3.19-20). Only a chaste consort could ensure the legitimate continuation of the royal line. Hamlet's romantic interest in Ophelia places her in greater proximity to greatness, but under much greater pressure to preserve her virginity. That her symptoms seem to suggest greensickness is therefore unsurprising, as is the neglect she experiences after her madness sets on. A deranged girl was no fitter a bride for a prince than a deflowered one; when Ophelia loses her wits, her political worth is lost with it. Her death highlights the paradox of her social position: she must guard her virginity at all costs, but she may lose her mind as a result of the flood of bodily fluids for which there is no safe release. In this unwinnable position, the only consolation the court can offer her is the freedom to die without interference and be interred with "her virgin crants, / Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home / Of bell and burial" (5.1.221-3).

Shakespeare and Fletcher attack this double bind more explicitly in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. The Prologue begins with the assertion that "New plays and maidenheads are near akin: / Much followed both, for both much money gi'en, / If they stand sound and well" (1-3).⁸⁶ From the first lines virginity is figured as an index of material worth, a pattern which holds throughout the play—at least as far as characters in an elevated social position are concerned. Emilia's "blushing" modesty is prized so highly that Theseus prioritizes competing claims to her

⁸⁶ John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen: Revised Edition*, ed. Lois Potter (New York: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare [Third Series], 2015). All references are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

maidenhead over her own desire to remain a virgin.⁸⁷ The end of the play reinforces the fact that her fate is beyond her control; as Theseus explains to Palamon, “Your kinsman has confessed the right o’th’ lady / Did lie in you, for you first saw her and / Even then proclaimed your fancy. He restored her / As your stol’n jewel...” (5.4.116-19). Emilia’s high social rank and the perceived value of her virginity ironically relegate her to the category of property to be bought and sold and “stol’n,” her will subordinated to a man’s mere “fancy.” Because she resists the temptation to “run mad,” she is left no other option but obedience.⁸⁸

While Emilia exhibits little to no (heterosexual) desire, the Jailer’s Daughter obviously struggles with chlorosis. Her age is given as eighteen, well past the age of sexual maturity, as she herself opines: “Out upon’t, / What pushes are we wenches driven to / When fifteen once has found us!” (2.4.5-7).⁸⁹ Like Ophelia, her madness offers her license to sing ribald songs which allude to the gynecological origin of her malady. Unlike Ophelia, the Daughter also has access to a more meaningful kind of agency. In her second soliloquy, she confesses that she has freed Palamon from the prison:

I love him beyond love and beyond reason,
Or wit, or safety; I have made him know it;
I care not, I am desperate.
[...]

Within this hour the hubbub
Will be all o’er the prison: I am then
Kissing the man they look for. Farewell, father!

⁸⁷ This word is used to describe her and explicitly coupled with the idea of her virginity more than once, including in the prologue’s conceit characterizing “a good play, / Whose modest scenes blush on his marriage day” (lines 4-5). Emilia describes the “chaste blushes” of a rose (2.2.140) and later describes herself as a “blushing virgin” (3.6.205) and one among Diana’s “female knights” who are allowed “no more blood than will make a blush, / which is their order’s robe” (5.1.140-42). Palamon uses the same description, but ironically follows it with a violent sexual fantasy: “Were I at liberty, I would do things / Of such a virtuous greatness that this lady, / This blushing virgin, should take manhood to her / And seek to ravish me” (2.2.259-62). The use of this word is particularly interesting, as it supports the theory that Emilia has only enough blood/seed to blush, but not enough to experience greensickness.

⁸⁸ When attempting to decide between them, Emilia suggest that if Nature herself “Were here a mortal woman and had in her / The coy denials of young maids” she might “run mad” for the love of Arcite (4.2.12), but forty lines later insists she might just as easily “run mad” for Palamon (4.2.49). However, her lack of decisive affection for either one, in addition to her resistance to the greensickness which affects the Jailer’s Daughter and her professed affection for her friend Flavina further support the argument that she feels little or no sexual attraction to men.

⁸⁹ The Jailer’s Daughter’s age is given to the Doctor by the Wooer at 5.2.31.

Get many more such prisoners and such daughters

And shortly you may keep yourself. Now to him. (2.6.11-3, 35-9)

It would be difficult to overlook the implications of a character with no other name than “Jailer’s Daughter” freeing the object of her desire from a prison kept by her father. Indeed, her final apostrophe—“Farewell, father!”—might be interpreted as a catchall dismissal of an older generation which has fetishized female purity to the detriment of their daughters’ health.⁹⁰ But this dismissal proves premature; the Jailer’s decision to engage a Doctor and his willingness to follow the Doctor’s orders, even when they contradict his paternal instincts, ultimately see his Daughter restored to sanity.

At the outset of the play, she is already betrothed. The Jailer’s agreement with the Wooer mimics the language of commodity exchange in the squabbles over Emilia. But there is a significant difference:

JAILER Marry, what I have, be it what it will, I will assure upon my daughter at the day
of my death.

WOOER Sir, I demand no more than your own offer and I will estate your daughter in
what I have promised.

JAILER Well, we will talk more of this when the solemnity is past. But have you a full
promise of her? When that shall be seen, I tender my consent.

WOOER I have, Sir. (2.1.7-15)

Even before the Daughter’s madness sets in, the Jailer prioritizes her will and well-being above the monetary value of the engagement/exchange.⁹¹ So does the Wooer; when she does go mad, his first concern is for her health, not her dowry. He asks the Jailer where he saw her last and in what condition: “Was she well? Was she in health? Sir, / When did she sleep?” (4.1.34-5). When the Jailer asks, “But what of her, sir?” he answers, “Nothing but my pity. / But you must know it, and as good by me / As by another that less loves her” (4.1.42-4). Neither is his talk merely talk; later in the same scene he describes the Daughter’s attempt to drown herself, beginning with her sighs of ““Palamon, fair Palamon,”” and finishing the story with her rescue and escape:

⁹⁰ For a more protracted discussion of this “generation gap,” see Potter, “Elizabethan Drama.”

⁹¹ See also 4.3.61-68. When the Doctor asks whether she had ever “affected any man” before Palamon, the Jailer answers, “I was once, sir, in great hope she had fixed her liking on this gentleman, my friend.” The Wooer corroborates this account, insisting he would “give half my state that both she and I at this present stood unfeignedly on the same terms.”

She saw me, and straight sought the flood; I saved her,
And set her safe to land, when presently
She slipped away and to the city made
[...]

Three or four
I saw from far off cross her—one of 'em
I knew to be your brother—where she stayed
And fell, scarce to be got away. I left them with her,
And hither came to tell you. (4.1.95-103)

The Wooer's tale—which we are given no reason to doubt—is testament to his devotion. Despite her sexual obsession with another man, he not only saves the Daughter from Ophelia's watery fate, but ensures that she is in safe hands before bringing the news to her father. The Jailer too is more invested in her safety and sanity than propriety or reputation. When the Doctor diagnoses greensickness and recommends that the Wooer relieve her sexual frustration, the Jailer agrees despite his own misgivings:

DOCTOR If she entreat again, do anything.
Lie with her if she ask you.
JAILER Whoa there, Doctor!
DOCTOR Yes, in the way of cure.
JAILER But first, by your leave,
In the way of honesty.
DOCTOR That's but a niceness.
Ne'er cast your child away for honesty.
Cure her first this way; then, if she will be honest,
She has the path before her.
JAILER Thank ye, Doctor.
(5.2.17-23)

Dubious as this advice might seem to the modern reader, the Doctor's cure is in keeping with contemporary medical thought.⁹² More importantly, it is effective; after her dalliance with the Wooer, the Daughter is "well restored / And to be married shortly" (5.4.27-8).

That the wedding is to go forward confirms that the Wooer, unlike the faithless lovers in mad girls' bawdy songs, has kept his promise.⁹³ Shakespeare and Fletcher leave little doubt as to why this is when he courts her in the guise of Palamon:

DAUGHTER Are you not Palamon?

WOOER Do you not know me?

DAUGHTER Yes, but you care not for me. I have nothing

But this poor petticoat and two coarse smocks.

WOOER That's all one; I will have you.

DAUGHTER Will you surely?

WOOER Yes, by this fair hand, will I.

(5.2.82-6)

The Wooer, like the Jailer, demonstrates that he values the Daughter above her dowry or her chastity.⁹⁴ This pattern, as Potter has pointed out, repeats itself throughout Shakespeare's later plays, which "even suggest a level of resigned frustration in continuing to deal with much ado about 'nothing.'"⁹⁵ It is my contention here that these concerns are inseparable from the question of social status. By triangulating readings of Ophelia, Emilia, and the Jailer's Daughter, it is evident that gender, age, and class all influence the medical care they are likely to receive when something goes awry. Because the Jailer's Daughter's virginity is of no dynastic value and comparatively little monetary value, her friends and family are willing to sacrifice it in order to preserve her health. Emilia and Ophelia, despite their high social station, are forced to contend with not only the constraints of their age and gender, but the fetishization of their chastity by a

⁹² This is particularly significant considering the proliferation of "quacks and parasites" in the ranks of early modern stage doctors. For more see Potter, "Puberty," 432.

⁹³ See for example Ophelia's Valentine's Day ballad, at 4.5.58-66, and the Daughter's first song at 3.4.18-26 and later song at 4.3.50. See also L. Potter, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 268, n18; 324, n55; and Appendix 6, 407-10.

⁹⁴ It is worth noting that in addition to the restoration of her sanity and her impending wedding, the Jailer's Daughter has a third stroke of luck; Palamon, in recognition of the fact that the Jailer's "gentle daughter gave [him] freedom once," adds his purse—and the purses of all his knights—to her dowry (5.4.24). Thanks to the Doctor's advice and her father's (and fiancé's) valuation of her health above her "honesty," the Jailer's Daughter is the only female character to finish the play having achieved all of her desires—and then some.

⁹⁵ Potter, "Elizabethan Drama," 284.

patriarchal system of succession which depends on keeping female purity intact—even at the risk of madness.

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Reformation Imaginings of Care in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*

In the midst of her initial triage of Timias's wound, Belphoebe tells him that "wee mortal wights . . . /Are bownd with commun bond of frailtee,/To succor wretched wights, whom we captiued see."⁹⁶ This might be a good slogan for those reformers who sought to address the needs of the poor and sick after the dissolution of the Catholic church and its institutions in England. As Joshua Philips mentions in his article, "Labors Lost: The Work of Devotion in Tudor Litearture," the removal of Catholic monuments and those of the religious orders created "the negative spaces that gave shape to Tudor and Jacobean culture."⁹⁷ Spenser's, *The Faerie Queene* may be seen as one of the literary representations which works to fill the empty spaces left by the dissolution of the Catholic establishments that went into caring for the sick, the aged, and the poor. Richelle Munkhoff states that "sixteenth-century reformers were concerned about the older systems of charitable care that were devastated along with the monastaries: these needed to be reimagined both theologically and structurally."⁹⁸ One of the ways *The Faerie Queene* helps to reimagine care is through the characters of Glauce, Cymoent, and Belphoebe who appear in Books 3 and 4. All three female characters tend to others who are wounded physically, psychically or in some cases both ways. This care speaks first to the material role women played in tending the ill and secondly to the larger representation of how tending to others shaped an understanding of a Protestant England. I would like to suggest that tending to the sick for these three begins in the household and then extends to link the household to wider social obligations and institutions.

It may be difficult to see how parish structures of almshouses and hospitals fits into the landscape of woods and rolling hills which the knights of *The Faerie Queene* move through to accomplish their deeds and follow love. One way to think of community is through a smaller

⁹⁶ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (London:Routledge,2013), 3.5.36.6,8-9. All subsequent references will be given parenthetically in the text.

⁹⁷ Joshua Phillips, "Labors Lost: The Work of Devotion in Tudor Literature," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44, no.1 (2014): 46, DOI: 10.1215/10829636-2389488.

⁹⁸ Richelle Munkhoff, "Poor women and parish public health in sixteenth-century London," *The Society for Renaissance Studies* 28,no.4 (2014):582, DOI:10./1111/rest.12080.

unit, such as the household. There are multiple households and looser groups of people which dot the country of Spenser's text. The relational aspect of these households and how individuals interacted with one another has socio-cultural, as well as political implications. Many of the characters of *The Faerie Queene* suffer and find comfort and care in different types of households. Networks of care or tending were not unknown to Protestant reformers, particularly those who were imprisoned or went into exile under Queen Mary. The relational aspect of care and the making of a communal identity when alienated within a home culture or outside its national boundaries was part of the Reformation identity in England. Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, as well as collected and circulated letters by exiles or those imprisoned show how the Reformers took care of one another. Households became points of identity, such as the houses maintained abroad or the households lost to those in prison, as well as those richer households who sent monies to support the imprisoned or the exiled. Books 3 and 4 of *The Faerie Queene* reflect an understanding of the household as the initial unit of care that is relational, and one that links to larger networks.

The theological aspect of the relational nature of compassion has been explored by Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen in his book, *Pain and Compassion in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*. He argues that "early modern conceptions of pain were not only predominantly religious in nature, but also organized to a significant extent around the issue of compassion: the meaning of pain was located in part in its capacity to elicit pity in others, and therefore in its *relational* dimension."⁹⁹ Pity requires that the viewer sees the sufferer and has an emotional response. In his analysis of *The Faerie Queene*, van Dijkhuizen says the text "locates the meaning of pain to a large extent in its collective, interpersonal dimension."¹⁰⁰ The response to pain is not an intimate one-to-one response, but a communal sense of pity. This collective pity as a response to suffering becomes "one of the pillars of a national Protestant community." Thus, pity that tends to compassion binds a community together as suffering is relieved by a people who see and respond to pain. Compassion marks fellowship or friendship which is the virtue of Book 4.

To get to this community, we must first explore the material work and its implications for the three female characters who tended the ill in Books 3 and 4 of *The Faerie Queene*. All three females belong to households, either as a servant, such as Glauce, or as the head of household,

⁹⁹ Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen, *Pain and Compassion in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (New York:D.S. Brewer, 2012), 7.

¹⁰⁰ van Dijkhuizen, *Pain and Compassion* , 174.

such as Cymoent and Belphoebe. All come from households that are predominantly female, either in the absence of the King, as in Glauce's case or because men do not hold positions of power. These three female characters (Cymoent is female, but not a woman as she is an immortal Nymph) also occupy different places in a woman's life from Belphoebe who is young and of marriageable age to Cymoent who has a son of marriageable age to Glauce who is called "old," as well as "ancient."

Of the three female characters, Glauce is the only one referred to as a "nourse." Margaret Pelling in her essay, "Nurses and Nursekeepers: Problems of Identification," discusses how the term nurse pre-17th century "had no specific reference to sickness, but was instead dominated by the idea of upbringing—the nourishment or tending necessary at the earliest stages of life, and especially where upbringing was by proxy, or at least non-parental."¹⁰¹ She then identifies the 17th century as when the term was "enlarged" to refer to those who tended the sick.¹⁰² Even though Spenser writes his text before the 17th century, Glauce's position in Book 3 takes on the double sense of nurse as parental proxy and as one who tends to an ill Britomart. Her status as a servant also shows how important nursing might become to job security. Even though Glauce is a much-loved servant, she is still worried about how Britomart's failing condition might reflect upon her. She takes even greater care in tending to Britomart because she is afraid "least that it should her turne to fowle repriefe,/And sore reproach, when so her father deare/Should of his dearest daughters hard misfortune heare" (3.3.5.6-9). No matter Glauce's personal care and affection for Belphoebe, part of her sick nursing has its origins in service.

Glauce in her occupation as sicknurse tries to discern what is wrong with Britomart, to diagnose and care for whatever is ailing her charge. Canto 2 of Book 3 recounts Britomart's distress and what Glauce does to address it. At one point, Glauce has to take Britomart "Betwixt her feeble armes her quickly keight,/And downe againe her in her warme bed dight;"(3.2.30.4-5). This image has an interesting juxtaposition of the feebleness and strength of Glauce. After finally drawing the cause of Britomart's illness from her, Glauce is able to get her to rest through "chearefull words." Along with words, Glauce douses Britomart with chrmes and herbs. Finally, she takes Britomart to Merlin who tells her that "leach-craft" won't cure Britomart. She needs to

¹⁰¹ Margaret Pelling, "Nurses and Nursekeepers: Problems of Identification," in *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London & New York: Longman, 1998), 184.

¹⁰² Pelling, "Nurses and Nursekeepers," 184.

find Artegall who it is her “heavenly destiny” to marry and from their union will grow a line of Briton sovereigns.

The community that arises from Britomart’s suffering is bound together by their compassion to cure her. Her cure will also be a cure for Briton in that it is from her that a line of succession will arise, the end result being “a royall Virgin”(3.3.49.6) who brings peace to the land. Despite being a servant and old, Glauce does not accrue any of the negative connotations that surround the poor women who are hired to take care of others.¹⁰³ She also isn’t called a witch for her charms and herbal solutions. It is also Glauce who conceives of the plan to disguise Britomart and herself as a knight and squire to find Artegall who will be the final cure for Britomart’s lovesickness. Despite her status as a servant, Glauce in her compassion moves beyond the boundaries of what Britomart’s father might want to what Britomart needs—to find Artegall and make the way for the reign of the Virgin Queene.

Another caretaker who also has a medical network which includes two surgeons is Cymoent. She is an immortal river nymph who is mother to a half mortal son named Marinell. Due to a prophecy by Proteus who said Marinell would die by a woman’s hand, she has asked her son to shun all women. He, unfortunately, meets Britomart who dressed as a knight wounds him almost mortally with her spear. Book 3 Canto 4 tells of Cymoent’s care for her son which seems to be giving directions and having others of her household prepare his body, wipe the blood, and then have *Liagore* apply salves. In this sense we have the portrayal of a female character having studied under a master of medicine. Cymoent then sits with her son after Tryphon, “of sea gods [he] the soueraine leach is hight”(3.4.43.9) has visited and applied further medicines. In this case, she is very much the woman who doesn’t work in tending to her ill son, even though she does supervise those who do and does sit with her son while he is recovering.

This description of her care differs from Book 4 Canto XI where Cymoent is much more hands-on. She seeks “many saules” and “many herbes” to “ease his rankling maladie” (4.XI.6.2-4). Cymoent in this description physically works to care for her son, while also spending the time trying to find cures. Finally, she goes to Tryphon for help after her own remedies will not do anything. In Book 3, the description does not show her tending to her son, though it does show her caring about him and cursing Britomart. The description in Book 4 has her actually tending

¹⁰³ See Deborah E. Harkness, “A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82 (2008), especially the section on women practitioners as disorderly; Pelling, “Nurses and Nursekeeping,” 197 about stereotypes of the “predatory nurse.”

to her son's wound and trying to find remedies herself. Another addition to Tryphon's visit is that Cymoent pays him: "And for his paines a whistle him behight/That of a fishes shell was rought with rare delight" (4.XI.6.8-9). The more detailed version of Marinell's care and cure shows that it does cost. Interestingly, she does not bring in Tryphon until her own remedies do not work, then she is willing and able to purchase Tryphon's consultation. He cures Marinell who then because kept by Cymoent, "like her thrall;" (4.XI.7.6).

As in the example of Glauce and Britomart, the care of Marinell by Cymoent is based on a familial relationship. The obligation of Cymoent, even though she is immortal, is that of a mother to her son. She may have others who tend him under her supervision in Book 3's description or she tends him herself, as in Book 4. Both descriptions, though, speak to a household which has the monies and options to procure outside help from well-known and vetted medical practitioners, such as Tryphon, the seagods surgeon and Apollo. However, a different relational aspect of Cymoent's household arises when Marinell falls ill again, this time by love. Released by his mother to attend the wedding of Medway and Thames, Marinell falls in love with Florimel who laments her captive condition and love of him. When he returns back to Cymoent's home, Marinell shortly returns to his bed brought low by love. Cymoent tries to diagnose what might be wrong with him, but she cannot and thus cannot apply any medicine (see Book IV, Canto XII, stanza 23). Therefore, Cymoent decides that the fault must lie with Tryphone and that the initial wound still has something wrong with it. He returns and "searching euey part, her well assured,/That it was no old sore, which his new pain procured." With the means and the way, Cymoent then leaves the water and asks Apollo, the "King of Leaches" to diagnose her son. He tells her that it is probably love. In order to cure her son's lovesickness, Cymoent relies upon her social networks to obtain Florimell from Proteus's dungeon. She goes to Neptune and requests her son's life from a tyrant. Because Proteus had wronged Neptune by taking Florimel captive, Cymoent receives a warrant from Neptune that frees Florimell from Proteus. She brings the mortal girl to her son's bedside and he immediately begins to show signs of healing. Cymoent uses her political clout and understanding of the law to help cure her son's lovesickness. His suffering evokes the pity in her to find and free the woman he loves, even though she thinks that it is a woman who will kill him as per the prophecy of Proteus.

If Glauce and Cymoent show how the early modern household took care of its obligation to sick family members, whether through the use of servants or the female head of household,

Belphoebe's care of Timias shows the care of a stranger in a strange land. There are no household obligations binding Belphoebe to take care of Timias whom she finds in the forest while hunting. He is actually an alien in Faerie Land, as he is the squire to Prince Arthur. When Belphoebe discovers him bleeding from his wound, she is moved to pity by the sight: ". . . she grew/Full of soft passion and vnwonted smart:The point of pittie perced through her tender hart"(3.5.30.7-9). She tends to his wound, brings him to her pavilion, applies restoratives and "costly Cordialles" (3.5.50.3), but Timias has fallen in love with her, so even though his physical wound may heal, his wounded heart causes him to not get well. van Dijkhuizen reads the episode of Belphoebe and Timias as one where "pity represents a universalistic ethic that wreaks havoc with social differences, while love is associated with hierarchy as the principle of human relations."¹⁰⁴ Timias cannot reconcile his lowly status with his love for Belphoebe and settles for being her loyal follower and unrequited lover. When he asks if he can repay her for her care of him, she replies that we "Are bownd with commun bond of frailtee,/To succor wretched wights, whom we captiued see."

Pity becomes a shared sentiment and one that binds them together as frail humans. He owes her nothing, but she according to her espoused principle is obligated to take care of him and to see that he gets the best care she can give him. Although Belphoebe's care for Timias may be seen as perhaps the most selfless, the care of Glauce for Britomart and Cymoent for her son Marinell also arise from compassion. Their tending of an ill daughter and son do take both Glauce and Cymoent beyond their regular lives. They must sacrifice to help their patients get better. Glauce who is old has to travel as a squire, while Cymoent must overcome her own fear of a prophecy to give her lovelorn son the cure of Florimel.

¹⁰⁴van Dijkhuizen, *Pain and Compassion* ,203.

Keeping Care in Early Modern England

Shakespeare Association of America Seminar 20

Darryl Chalk, Susan Staub, Rebecca Totaro, Mary Trull – May 11, 2020

Through lines and future directions, drawn from your responses to each other

If chapters in an edited volume, our essays would warrant an Introduction to include some of the following through lines and an Afterword to identify these and other points for future research:

- Etymologically, what is it to “keep care,” “to take care” or “caretake,” and to “give care” or “caregive”? What other terms are on the table? Guardianship, wardship, stewardship, to “give good watch.” What else?
- What “needs” or “deserves” care is itself subject to change over time, by culture, by social norms, by personal choice, and by political expediencies. What are some of the parameters we’d place on what constitutes caregiving? (e.g. Can caregiving extend to how one imagines the future or the past?; To what extent does caregiving need to be practical?).
- In what ways do we promote, market/export, or assume ownership of caregiving as a practice? When is caregiving a willed/voluntary vs. obligatory act? How does the discourse of caregiving interpellate certain groups to assume these roles, or exclude other groups?
- Where are the other caregivers: male? perhaps non-human? In Shakespeare, Spenser, Wroth, and in recipes maybe too, Earth, the weather/elements, art (especially performative art) and the sea can be care-giving, curative, etc.
- Is there a rhetoric of caregiving? How does that rhetoric interact with its associated emotions and practices? To what extent does any early modern rhetoric of caregiving participate in that associated with herbal medicinal practices, even when it does not do so overtly? When is there stigma associated with this rhetoric?
- To what extent does the medium of caregiving’s representation matter? This is a genre question that might extend beyond that as well, even to realms of the fictitious (e.g. romantic poem) vs. the real (recipe book).

- How does a transition into a caregiving role shape the life trajectory of a person? What factors into the decision to become a caregiver, and what are its consequences? What are the consequences of a lack of choice about whether to make the transition?

These section overviews might serve likewise to identify major themes.

Section I: Focusing on Spenser

These papers invite us to consider anew our currently facile approaches to forming an opinion. Culturally ingrained now, it seems, is a need to form strong and oppositional opinions about issues and people. Jean traces the biographical fallout of that need for Spenser studies, and Tanya too reminds us of the warning Dante's Paolo and Francesca needed, to read to the end of the story. Both of you are reminding us of the beauty of reading Spenser, part of which is due to complexity that allows us to turn figures over and over without a solution, unless forcing one.

This willingness to dwell in complex, worthwhile spaces without pinning them down extends to interpreting Spenser the man, particularly if trying to do so through Spenser, writer of *A View*, and to interpreting any image in *The Faerie Queene*. Jean takes us beautifully to those *Mutability Canto* lines about Ireland, and Tanya takes us back and forth in time through the poem chronologically and through England's histories (past, present, potential). Both also illustrate the fact that we can only know so much about Spenser's thoughts on Ireland, on England, or on the imagination (and flies)—in part because Spenser kept no journal (not that either of you says this) but also because time changes our readings—of issues and people, of concepts and our own nation's history. These papers also prompt us to think about scale and meaning. From the flies of the imagination to the needs of nations, the imperative to read with care—for complexity, for what would be wrong to assume, and with eyes wide open—matters.

The flies and scorched earth policies are also related in these papers to a nation's self-conception along the lines of Anderson's *Imagined Communities* as well as to seventeenth century Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World*. It features insects and earth-scorching tied to the protagonists developing view on government.

These papers open up for us the option to consider caregiving as a practice needed for national, historical, biographical, and personal memories. What "needs" or "deserves" care, this section

reminds us, is itself subject to change over time, by culture, by social norms, by personal choice, and by political expediencies.

Section II: Women, Textual Knowledge, and Caregiving

These papers provoke a lot of thought about transmission of knowledge. Both writers explore how women derived medical knowledge both from the book market and from personal lines of conveyance through family and friends, personalized knowledge that was often also written down in manuscript recipe books circulated within social networks. Rebecca's paper asks us to think about how these chains of influence were shaped by biographical context. She explores how decisions to give care were incited by suffering illness or seeing one's loved ones suffer, by emulating another caregiver, or by seeking renown or reward.

Sara's paper shows that the rewards of caregiving were gendered in the discourse of medical books; while medical knowledge would be "profitable" to a male medical professional by expanding his practice, the "profit" for a female medical expert would be gained by the family and community for whom she gives care. Yet Rebecca's study of Helena in Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* shows that, in fiction at least, a woman's medical knowledge could be seen as an avenue to personal advancement rather than a capacity to nurture or do good for others.

One question is whether the increasing acknowledgement of women as a public sphere of medical practitioners and potential book-buyers that Sara demonstrates in 16th-17th century medical books is a sign that women's medicinal labors were changing. Did this new imagined public of medical women reflect a new social role, or perhaps a new view of medicine as a practice distinct from cookery? Or was this just a slow recognition in the book industry that female medical practitioners could be a profitable consumer demographic?

Knowing that the practice of medicine was so commonly part of women's domestic tasks, we could easily forget the extensive labor involved, first in learning the lore and then in fulfilling in this role. Both these papers highlight the ways in which the decision to take on the role of medical practitioner, even if only within one's family, was a significant life choice.

Section III: Complex Caregivers: Pauline and Mistress Quickly

Taken together, these papers offer an interesting cross-section of female caregivers from lower/working class to royal attendant to queen (and perhaps art/play and times as caregivers). They suggest the malleability and complexity of caregiving and healing and suggest many directions of inquiry. For example, the potential for healing to come of tragedy links all of the papers. *Winter's Tale* is a play about sickness (individual and of a nation) and the potential for healing. It provides hope for the joy of recovery but not without a recognition of loss and sadness too. And Arnaud, there is a similar complexity in the figure of Mistress Quickly, who supplies a poignant reflection on loss but also the joy of good turns of fortune and, more simply, of participating in community.

It is also of interest that both characters are working women, whose caregiving is partly a practice that is required in return for pay and partly a practice of freely given and/or maternal compassion. The papers work nicely together to interrogate these caregiving and healing aspects of the play. The fact that Shakespeare refers to Quickly as "nurse" several times in *Merry Wives of Windsor* further supports the assessment, though "nurse" in the period would likely have been a woman who wet-nursed or cared for children in particular. Since in a way, we can read her care of Falstaff as maternal and infantilizing (certainly as effeminizing), reading her as a nurse makes sense.

Also intriguing is to place together both women as attendants at and narrators of scenes of death and/or rebirth. Both women create situations of potential reverence, witnessing to others and calling others as witnesses. Similarly, in these plays we also have juxtaposed the evocation of awe and promise of new life and the presence or at least threat of violence and loss. And in each case, these women are key players in the scenes most representative of these extreme states of experience.

This set of papers prompts as well the consideration of difference that genre makes in the way these female caregivers are presented. Certainly, the purpose and effect of history and romance are different (and it's striking to have a woman caregiver in the 3 history plays—even if not a big part, it expands significantly from Part 1 to 2). Does genre matter?

Section IV: Caring for Others: Wards, Mad Girls, and Foreigners

These papers foreground the importance of class relations. We might think, then, about how the class relations laid bare in the wardship structures of *All's Well* examined by Nancy intersect with those highlighted in Melanie and Susan's papers, especially in relation to notions of filial and parental obligations, as well as those between servant and master, in the circumstances of caregiving. While gender is also certainly at stake in many of the relationships examined by these papers, it seems to me that class boundaries and hierarchies are most intriguingly implicated and up for negotiation, subversion, and (just as often) emphatic confirmation in these texts. I'm also fascinated by that Montaigne quote—"he to whom something is owed loves better than he who owes"—and its implications for the relationships presented in the other two papers, and indeed elsewhere in Shakespearean drama and beyond.

Also fascinating in this subgroup is that all chosen texts feature the related medical conditions of lovesickness and greensickness in some way. *All's Well* explicitly highlights Helena's overt lovesickness (perhaps even greensickness?) symptoms in her desire for Bertram (not to mention Bertram's own "fancy" for Diana) and Britomart's affliction in *The Faerie Queen* has variously been diagnosed by scholars as either lovesickness or greensickness. Despite being diseases with important distinctions they shared common symptoms and are often confused for one another in period medical writing. Either way, it is crucial to take these particular maladies, so often glossed by editors and treated by scholars as residing mostly in the realm of metaphor, in their early modern understanding as serious and potentially fatal illnesses. In *Two Noble Kinsmen* we get a fairly accurate rendition of the kind of physic recommended for such conditions via the otherwise unnamed Doctor, and thus an invaluable representation of contemporary medical caregiving practice on the playhouse stage. Her cure has often been dismissed by critics as absurd but fairly closely follows the kind of instruction given by Andre Du Laurens in his treatise on melancholy (appended to *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, 1599) as a means of curing disorders of fancy.

In addition, as Melanie suggests, with greensickness, finding a "lusty young man" to cure the patient's "dangerous desires ... within the bonds of marriage" was a popular cure. For lovesickness it was similar but, ideally, that person wouldn't be a substitute but the object of affection themselves. As Andre Du Laurens recommended in 1599, the patient should attempt "the injoying of the thing beloved" and only if that wasn't possible would a suitable alternative suffice (*A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, 199). In *The Faerie Queen*, particularly in the case of Britomart, the cure relies on union with the beloved, particularly given how much is at stake with the future products of such a union. Similarly with Cymoent's bringing of Florimel to Marinell as a cure for her ailment, *The Faerie Queen* is consistent with real medical practices

in the treatment of lovesickness, which only adds to this text's value for its representation of household and community caregiving by women.

Also interesting is the fact that medical science is privileged over parental/patriarchal authority in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*--where the Jailer relinquishes such powers in favour of simply following the Doctor's advice. This is especially interesting given the relative stricture over marriage choice as it is represented in Shakespeare's earlier plays, including the wardship structures of *All's Well*.