

➔ PERSPECTIVES ➔

Tracts on Women and Gender

What is the nature of woman? Is she meant to be subordinate to man or an equal partner? What virtues is she capable of? Does she have intellectual ability, and if so, is it appropriate for her to write? How should she behave toward her husband? What are his responsibilities to her? What is the difference between a good woman and a bad one? What is the difference between manly behavior and womanly behavior? These are some of the questions that early modern English tracts on women and gender ask. Although we would not ask all of these questions in precisely the same way today, they are still of burning interest. The debate over these questions in early modern tracts on women sheds light on the representation of sex and gender in the poetry and drama of the period. By *sex* is meant the representation of biological difference; by *gender* is meant the representation of sex difference as it is socially constructed.

In the Middle Ages there were both attacks on women and defenses of them by both women and men, but intellectual and social changes modified the debate in the early modern period. One of the prominent medieval genres that continued to be imitated in the early modern period was the praise of exemplary women, such as Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* ("concerning famous women"), Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, and Christine de Pisan's *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* (translated into English in 1521 as *The Book of the City of Ladies*). Renaissance humanism brought a new intellectual rigor to the genre. The German humanist Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) stands out in the early Tudor controversy of the 1540s. Agrippa's *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Foemenet Sexus* (translated in 1542 as *A Treatise of the Nobilitie and Excellencye of Woman Kynde*) not only lists biblical and classical heroines but also examines how the place of women in society is determined by culture rather than nature: "And thus by these lawes, the women being subdued as it were by force of arms, are constrained to give place to men, and to obey their subduers, not by natural, nor divine necessity or reason, but by custom, education, fortune, and a certain tyrannical occasion." However, even a humanist author such as Erasmus, who had enlightened views on other social issues, had very strict views about the absolute subordination of wife to husband. Indeed, this subordination seems to have increased in intensity in the early modern period as the nuclear family headed by the father superseded the extended family, in which power was more dispersed throughout the network of kinship.

Among the learned, the new classical humanist education was still largely reserved for young men. Such changes moved the historian Joan Kelly Gadol to ask, "Did women have a Renaissance?" At the same time, some early modern women were educated enough to represent themselves in the debate on the nature of women, and they brought new perspectives to it. Margaret Tyler was one of the first English women to speak in defense of women as writers. Rachel Speght, the first polemical or argumentative woman writer in English, wrote her defense of women in response to a controversy set in motion by the publication of Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615). Swetnam was a misogynist, but his tract had the virtue of eliciting defenses of women. Among these responses were *A Muzzle for Melastomus*, written from the theological perspective of Rachel Speght, and *Ester Hath Hanged Haman*, written from the more secular outlook of "Ester Sowernam" (a pen-name adopted to counter the "sweet" in the name Swetnam). Two other tracts of the 1620s, *Hic Mulier* ("the mannish woman") and *Haec-Vir* ("the womanish man") humorously raised the problem of the blurring of genders and carried on a debate about the style of dress and behavior that men and women should adopt.

Whether these tracts take the form of an oration, a speech by one person, or a dialogue between two people (as in *Haec-Vir*), they are all in lively conversation with each other, either directly or indirectly. They are also in a lively conversation with other texts in this period.

Women (1620), possibly by Thomas Heywood, dramatized the debate as a court trial with Swetnam prosecuting his case against women and the Amazon Atlanta (a soldier disguised as a woman) defending them. Swetnam is finally turned over to a court of women, who find him guilty and muzzle him (an obvious reference to Speght's *Muzzle for Melastomus*).

from **The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward,
and Unconstant Women**

from *Chapter 2. The Second Chapter showeth the manner of such women as live upon evil report: it also showeth that the beauty of women has been the bane of many a man, for it hath overcome valiant and strong men, eloquent and subtle men. And in a word it hath overcome all men, as by examples following shall appear.*

First, that of Solomon unto whom God gave singular wit and wisdom, yet he loved so many women that he quite forgot his God which always did guide his steps, so long as he lived godly and ruled justly, but after he had glutted himself with women, then he could say, vanity of vanity all is but vanity. He also in many places of his book of Proverbs exclaims most bitterly against lewd women calling them all that naught is, and also displayeth their properties, and yet I cannot let men go blameless although women go shameless; but I will touch them both, for if there were not receivers then there would not be so many stealers: if there were not some knaves there would not be so many whores, for they both hold together to bolster each other's villainy, for always birds of a feather will flock together hand in hand to bolster each other's villainy.

Men, I say, may live without women, but women cannot live without men. For Venus, whose beauty was excellent fair, yet when she needeth man's help she took Vulcan, a clubfooted smith. And therefore if a woman's face glister,¹ and her gesture pierce the marble wall, or if her tongue be as smooth as oil or as soft as silk, and her words so sweet as honey, or if she were a very ape for wit, or a bag of gold for wealth, or if her personage have stolen away all that nature can afford, and if she be decked up in gorgeous apparel, then a thousand to one but she will love to walk where she may get acquaintance, and acquaintance bringeth familiarity, and familiarity setteth all follies abroad,² and twenty to one that if a woman love gadding but that she will pawn her honor to please her fantasy.

Man must be at all the cost and yet live by the loss. A man must take all the pains and women will spend all the gains. A man must watch and ward, fight and defend, till the ground, labor in the vineyard, and look what he getteth in seven years; a woman will spread it abroad with a fork in one year, and yet little enough to serve her turn but a great deal too little to get her good will. Nay, if thou give her ever so much and yet if thy person please not her humor, then will I not give a halfpenny for her honesty at the year's end.

For then her breast will be the harbinger of an envious heart, and her heart the storehouse of poisoned hatred; her head will devise villainy, and her hands are ready to practice that which their heart desireth. Then who can but say that women are sprung from the devil, whose heads, hands and hearts, minds and souls are evil, for women are called the hook of all evil, because men are taken by them as a fish is taken in with the hook.

1. Glitter, shine.

2. Flowing abroad.

For women have a thousand ways to entice thee, and ten thousand ways to deceive thee, and all such fools as are suitors unto them; some they keep in hand with promises, and some they feed with flattery, and some they delay with dalliances, and some they please with kisses. They lay out the folds of their hair to entangle men into their love; berwixt their breasts is the vale of destruction, and in their beds there is hell, sorrow and repentance. Eagles do not eat men till they are dead, but women devour them alive, for a woman will pick thy pocket and empty thy purse, laugh in thy face and cut thy throat. They are ungrateful, perjured, full of fraud, flouting and deceit, unconstant, waspish,³ toyish,⁴ light, sullen, proud, discourteous and cruel, and yet they were by God created, and by nature formed, and therefore by policy and wisdom to be avoided, for good things abused are to be refused. Or else for a month's pleasure, she may make thee go stark naked. She will give thee roast meat, but she will beat thee with the spit. If thou hast crowns in thy purse, she will be thy heart's gold until she leave thee not a whit of white money. They are like summer birds, for they will abide no storm, but flock about thee in the pride of thy glory, and fly from thee in the storms of affliction; for they aim more at thy wealth than at thy person, and esteem more thy money than any man's virtuous qualities; for they esteem of a man without money as a horse does a fair stable without meat. They are like eagles which will always fly where the carrion is.

They will play the horse-leech to suck away thy wealth, but in the winter of thy misery, she will fly away from thee. Not unlike the swallow, which in the summer harboreth herself under the eaves of a house, and against winter flieth away, leaving nothing but dirt behind her.

Solomon saith, he that will suffer himself to be led away or to take delight in such women's company is like a fool which rejoiceth when he is led to the stocks. *Proverbs* 7.

Hosea, by marrying a lewd woman of light behavior was brought unto idolatry, *Hosea* 1. Saint Paul accounteth fornicators so odious, that we ought not to eat meat with them. He also showeth that fornicators shall not inherit the kingdom of Heaven, *1 Corinthians* the 9th and 11th verse.

And in the same chapter Saint Paul excommunicateth fornicators, but upon amendment he receiveth them again. Whoredom punished with death, *Deuteronomy* 22.21 and *Genesis* 38.24. Phineas a priest thrust two adulterers, both the man and the woman, through the belly with a spear, *Numbers* 25.

God detests the money or goods gotten by whoredom, *Deuteronomy* 23.17, 18. Whores called by diverse names, and the properties of whores, *Proverbs* 7.6 and 21. A whore envieth an honest woman, *Esdra*s 16 and 24. Whoremongers God will judge, *Hebrews* 13 and 42. They shall have their portions with the wicked in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, *Revelation* 21.8.

Only for the sin of whoredom God was sorry at heart, and repented that he ever made man, *Genesis* 6.67.

Saint Paul saith, to avoid fornication every man may take a wife, *1 Corinthians* 6.9.

Therefore he which hath a wife of his own and yet goeth to another woman is like a rich thief which will steal when he has no need.

There are three ways to know a whore: by her wanton looks, by her speech, and by her gait. *Ecclesiasticus* 26.⁵ And in the same chapter he saith, that we must not give our strength unto harlots, for whores are the evil of all evils, and the vanity of all

vanities, they weaken the strength of his brows and make the gait of his feet heavy; and at a word they will bring down his eyes; and at a word they will bring down his eyes; and at a word they will bring down his eyes.

For although they see some as sour sauce. They hate it if they hate it is deadly.

Plato saith, that women are dearly or hate bitterly, for they have no pity in revenge, nor patience in the world which both women most delighteth a more sweet to a man than odious than the angry countenance.

Solomon in his 20th chapter at the mouth like a boar. If one hour in the praise of woman such a maid, another will be yond all the women in the cunningly smooth⁷ women's company to persuade them. strings, who wrest them so and reason.

Again, there are many with women, and yet they with a song thou wouldst fair woman is fit for thy desire thou are hard by⁸ God's service.

The daughter of the rector of was only about nineteen years of age, and *Foul-Mouthed Barker Illiterate Pamphlet made by Interpret Swetnam's Arraign pinning misogyny*. Her title is misinterpreted Scripture, and flawed. She argues for a view of sexes as one of greater equality. Barbara Lewalski has called her a female polemicist in England. Her work can be considered as a contribution to gender studies agree, however the participants in the Jacobean

3. Spiteful.

4. Frivolous, wanton.

5. Apocryphal book of the Old Testament.

6. A faulty citation: in *Ecclesiasticus* 26.5 is compared to a bear.

vanities, they weaken the strength of a man and deprive the body of his beauty, it furroweth his brows and maketh the eyes dim, and a whorish woman causeth the fever and the gout; and at a word, they are a great shortening to a man's life.

For although they seem to be as dainty as sweet meat, yet in trial not so wholesome as sour sauce. They have wit, but it is all in craft; if they love it is vehement, but if they hate it is deadly.

Plato saith, that women are either angels or devils, and that they either love dearly or hate bitterly, for a woman hath no mean in her love, nor mercy in her hate, no pity in revenge, nor patience in her anger; therefore it is said, that there is nothing in the world which both pleases and displeases a man more than a woman, for a woman most delighteth a man and yet most deceiveth him, for as there is nothing more sweet to a man than a woman when she smiles, even so there is nothing more odious than the angry countenance of a woman.

Solomon in his 20th chapter of *Ecclesiastes*⁶ saith, that an angry woman will foam at the mouth like a boar. If all this be true as most true it is, why shouldst thou spend one hour in the praise of women as some fools do, for some will brag of the beauty of such a maid, another will vaunt of the bravery of such a woman, that she goeth beyond all the women in the parish. Again, some study their fine wits how they may cunningly swooth⁷ women, and with logic how to reason with them, and with eloquence to persuade them. They are always tempering their wits as fiddlers do their strings, who wrest them so high, that many times they stretch them beyond time, tune and reason.

Again, there are many that weary themselves with dallying, playing, and sporting with women, and yet they are never satisfied with the unsatiable desire of them; if with a song thou wouldst be brought asleep, or with a dance be led to delight, then a fair woman is fit for thy diet. If thy head be in her lap she will make thee believe that thou are hard by⁸ God's seat, when indeed thou are just at hell gate.

—◆◆◆—

Rachel Speght
1597?—?

The daughter of the rector of two London churches and the wife of a minister, Rachel Speght was only about nineteen years old when she wrote *A Muzzle for Melastomus, the Cynical Baiter of, and Foul-Mouthed Barker Against Evah's Sex, or an Apologetical Answer to the Irreligious and Illiterate Pamphlet made by Io. Swu. and by him Intituled The Arraignement of Women*. Speght interpreted Swetnam's *Arraignement* as a serious attack on women to show the faulty logic underpinning misogyny. Her title indicates the dual thrust of her analysis: the *irreligious* Swetnam has misinterpreted Scripture, and the *illiterate* pamphlet is logically confused and rhetorically flawed. She argues for a view of marriage as a mutual partnership and the relation between the sexes as one of greater equality. Modern critics have debated the implications of Speght's work: Barbara Lewalski has called Rachel Speght "the first self-proclaimed and positively identified female polemicist in England," while Ann Rosalind Jones has questioned whether Speght's work can be considered as feminist in the twentieth-century sense. All critics of early modern gender studies agree, however, that Speght was a learned and committed author. She alone of the participants in the Jacobean controversy about women affixed her own name to the title

6. A faulty citation: in *Ecclesiasticus* 25, an angry woman is compared to a bear.

7. Sway, woo.

8. Close to.

page. And she reiterated her authorship with the publication of her poetic dream-vision *Mortalities Memorandum* (1621), in which she defends women's education.

from A Muzzle for Melastomus
Of Woman's Excellency, with the causes of her creation, and of the sympathy which ought to be in man and wife each toward other

The work of creation being finished, this approbation thereof was given by God himself, that "All was very good."¹ If all, then woman, who—except man—is the most excellent creature under the canopy of heaven. But if it be objected by any:

First, that woman, though created good, yet by giving ear to Satan's temptations brought death and misery upon all her posterity.

Secondly, that "Adam was not deceived, but that the woman was deceived and was in the transgression."²

Thirdly, that St. Paul says "It were good for a man not to touch a woman."³

Fourthly and lastly, that of Solomon, who seems to speak against all of our sex: "I have found one man of a thousand, but a woman among them all I have not found,"⁴ whereof in its due place.

To the first of these objections, I answer: that Satan first assailed the woman because where the hedge is lowest, most easy it is to get over, and she being the weaker vessel⁵ was with more facility to be seduced—like as a crystal glass sooner receives a crack than a strong stone pot. Yet we shall find the offense of Adam and Eve almost to parallel; for as an ambitious desire to be made like God was the motive which caused her to eat, so likewise was it his, as may plainly appear by that *ironia*: "Behold, man is become as one of us"⁶—not that he was so indeed, but hereby his desire to attain a greater perfection than God had given him was reprov'd. Woman sinned, it is true, by her infidelity in not believing the word of God but giving credit to Satan's fair promises that "she should not die";⁷ but so did the man, too. And if Adam had not approved of that deed which Eve had done, and been willing to tread the steps where she had gone, he—being her head—would have reprov'd her and have made the commandment a bit to restrain him from breaking his Maker's injunction. For if a man burn his hand in the fire, the bellows that blew the fire is not to be blamed, but himself rather for not being careful to avoid the danger. Yet if the bellows had not blown, the fire had not burned; no more is woman simply to be condemned for man's transgression. For by the free will which before his fall he enjoyed, he might have avoided and been free from being burned or singed with that fire which was kindled by Satan and blown by Eve. It therefore served not his turn a whit afterwards to say: "The woman which thou gavest me gave me of the tree, and I did eat."⁸ For a penalty was inflicted upon him as well as on the woman, the punishment of her transgression being particular to her own sex and to none but the female kind, but for the sin of man the whole earth was cursed.⁹ And he being better able than the woman to have

1. Genesis 1.31. References to the Bible are indicated in the margins of Speght's text.

2. 1 Timothy 2.14.

3. 1 Corinthians 7.1.

4. Ecclesiastes 7.28.

5. "The weaker vessel," a phrase taken from 1 Peter 3.7, is frequently used in early modern English sermons to describe woman.

6. Genesis 3.22. "Ironia," or irony, is a figure of speech in which the meaning is the opposite of that of the words used and the tone of which is often mocking.

7. Genesis 3.4.

8. Genesis 3.12.

9. Genesis 3.17.

resisted temptation, because that to whom much is given

ereign of all creatures visible
True it is (as is already
tion of spiritual nakedness
opened,"¹ the eyes of their
naked, that is, not only her
rebellion and disobedience
corrupt nature, which made
afore) it is said that they
vation of a blessing receive
tive power of generation) I
is by St. Austin² thus disti
woman against God, hersel
she no malicious intent to
band partaker of that happ
have enjoyed. This her giv
whose sourness, afore he h
to exceed his. Wherefore,
horred,³ the first promise
her seed should the serpen
Life, that as the woman he
the Savior from sin, which
manifested that he is a Sa
blame of sin may not be i
which Eve sinned; and yet
his mercy was equivalent
affirms, it is brought to pa

To the second objecti
from sin, but only giveth t
and not the man; but that
afterwards expressly saith t

For the third objectiv
tle makes it not a positive
present necessity,⁸ who w
cause, and no other, he sa
whilst the time of these p
bound, seek not to be lo
care: "for the married ca
without care that ye migl
maineth, that they which
shall deprive you of the
manifest it is, that the A
Corinth[ian]s to forbear

1. Genesis 3.7.

2. St. Augustine; this commonpl
sermon on Adam and Eve.

3. 1 Peter 3.7.

4. Genesis 3.15.

resisted temptation, because the stronger vessel, was first called to account, to show that to whom much is given, of them much is required; and that he who was the sovereign of all creatures visible should have yielded greatest obedience to God.

True it is (as is already confessed) that woman first sinned, yet find we no mention of spiritual nakedness till man had sinned. Then it is said "Their eyes were opened,"¹ the eyes of their mind and conscience; and then perceived they themselves naked, that is, not only bereft of that integrity which they originally had, but felt the rebellion and disobedience of their members in the disordered motions of their now corrupt nature, which made them for shame to cover their nakedness. Then (and not afore) it is said that they saw it, as if sin were imperfect and unable to bring a deprivation of a blessing received, or death on all mankind, till man (in whom lay the active power of generation) had transgressed. The offense, therefore, of Adam and Eve is by St. Austin² thus distinguished: "the man sinned against God and himself, the woman against God, herself and her husband"; yet in her giving of the fruit to eat had she no malicious intent towards him, but did therein show a desire to make her husband partaker of that happiness, which she thought by their eating they should both have enjoyed. This her giving Adam of that sauce, wherewith Satan had served her, whose sourness, afore he had eaten, she did not perceive, was that which made her sin to exceed his. Wherefore, that she might not of him who ought to honor her be abhorred,³ the first promise that was made in Paradise, God makes to woman, that by her seed should the serpent's head be broken.⁴ Whereupon Adam calls her *Hevah*, Life, that as the woman had been an occasion of his sin so should woman bring forth the Savior from sin, which was in the fullness of time accomplished.⁵ By which was manifested that he is a Savior of believing women no less than of men, that so the blame of sin may not be imputed to his creature, which is good, but to the will by which Eve sinned; and yet by Christ's assuming the shape of man was it declared that his mercy was equivalent to both sexes. So that by Hevah's blessed seed, as St. Paul affirms, it is brought to pass that "male and female are all one in Christ Jesus."⁶

To the second objection I answer: that the Apostle does not hereby exempt man from sin, but only giveth to understand that the woman was the primary transgressor, and not the man; but that man was not at all deceived was far from his meaning. For he afterwards expressly saith that "in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive."⁷

For the third objection, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman": the Apostle makes it not a positive prohibition but speaks it only because of the Corinth[ian]s' present necessity,⁸ who were then persecuted by the enemies of the church. For which cause, and no other, he saith: "Art thou loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife"—meaning whilst the time of these perturbations should continue in their heat; "but if thou are bound, seek not to be loosed; if thou marriest, thou sinnest not," only increase thy care: "for the married careth for the things of this world. And I wish that you were without care that ye might cleave fast to the Lord without separation: for the time remaineth, that they which have wives be as though they had none, for the persecutors shall deprive you of them either by imprisonment, banishment or death." So that manifest it is, that the Apostle does not hereby forbid marriage, but only adviseth the Corinth[ian]s to forbear a while, till God in mercy should curb the fury of their

1. Genesis 3.7.

2. St. Augustine; this commonplace echoes parts of his sermon on Adam and Eve.

3. 1 Peter 3.7.

4. Genesis 3.15.

5. Galatians 4.4.

6. Galatians 3.28.

7. 1 Corinthians 15.22.

8. 1 Corinthians 7.

adversaries. For (as Eusebius⁹ writeth) Paul was afterward married himself, the which is very probable, being that interrogatively he saith: "Have we not power to lead about a wife being a sister, as well as the rest of the Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?"¹

The fourth and last objection is that of Solomon: "I have found one man among a thousand, but a woman among them all have I not found."² For answer of which, if we look into the story of his life, we shall find therein a commentary upon this enigmatical³ sentence included. For it is there said that Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, which number connected make one thousand. These women turning away his heart from being perfect with the Lord his God,⁴ sufficient cause had he to say, that among the said thousand women found he not one upright. He saith not, that among a thousand women never any man found one worthy of commendation, but speaks in the first person singularly "I have not found," meaning in his own experience. For this assertion is to be held a part of the confession of his former follies, and no otherwise, his repentance being the intended drift of *Ecclesiastes*.

Thus having (by God's assistance) removed those stones whereat some have stumbled, others broken their shins, I will proceed toward the period of my intended task, which is to decipher the excellency of women. Of whose creation I will, for order's sake, observe: first, the efficient cause,⁵ which was God; secondly, the material cause, or whereof she was made; thirdly, the formal cause, or fashion and proportion of her feature; fourthly and lastly, the final cause, the end or purpose for which she was made. To begin with the first.

The efficient cause of woman's creation was Jehovah the Eternal, the truth of which is manifest in Moses his narration of the six days' works, where he says, "God created them male and female."⁶ And David, exhorting all "the earth to sing to the Lord" (meaning, by a metonymy,⁷ "earth": all creatures that live on the earth, of whatever sex or nation) gives this reason: "For the Lord has made us."⁸ That work then cannot choose but be good, yea very good, which is wrought by so excellent a workman as the Lord; for he, being a glorious Creator, must effect a worthy creature. Bitter water cannot proceed from a pleasant sweet fountain, nor bad work from that workman which is perfectly good—and, in propriety, none but he.⁹

Secondly, the material cause, or matter whereof woman was made, was of a refined mold, if I may so speak. For man was created of the dust of the earth,¹ but woman was made of a part of man after that he was a living soul. Yet she was not produced from Adam's foot, to be his too low inferior; nor from his head to be his superior; but from his side, near his heart, to be his equal: that where he is lord, she may be lady. And therefore saith God concerning man and woman jointly: "Let them rule over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the heaven, and over every beast that moves upon the earth."² By which words he makes their authority equal, and all creatures to be in subjection to them both. This, being rightly considered, doth teach men to make such

account of their wives a flesh."³ As also, that th their own bodies. For n loves his wife loves hims unless a monster in natu

Thirdly, the forma she was neither like the other inferior creature; God gave man a lofty c likewise give unto worr woman's. For whereas c ments for their habit— man and woman only l image of God were they both external and inter

Fourthly and lastly rify God, and to be a c and all the parts, powe her voice to sound fort her tongue not to utter which he must not des Pilate was willed by his a sin it was in him that according to the word harboring the prophet contributing towards C who cast two mites int the wife of Herod's ste unto Christ.³ Her hear sured the sayings of Cl Lord in his sanctuary, c Finally, no power exte some service of God, t

The other end for man; and if she must blamed, which lay th shoulders of their wiv cares, griefs and calam ger than the other, th vessel, is to bear a gree "In the sweat of your St. Paul says that "he

9. Eusebius (A.D. 260-340) was Bishop of Caesarea and a church historian. See *Ecclesiastical History* 3.30.

1. 1 Corinthians 9.5.

2. *Ecclesiastes* 7.30.

3. Mysterious.

4. 1 Kings 11.3.

5. The agent who makes something; see Aristotle's *Physics* 2.3.

6. *Genesis* 1.28 [27].

7. A figure of speech that substitutes one term for another to which it is closely related.

8. *Psalms* 100.3.

9. *Psalms* 100.5; *Matthew* 19.7.

1. *Genesis* 2.7.

2. *Genesis* 1.26.

3. *Genesis* 2.23.

4. *Ephesians* 5.28.

5. *Genesis* 1.26.

6. *Exodus* 15.20.

7. *Genesis* 21.12.

8. *Matthew* 27.19.

9. *Genesis* 31.16.

account of their wives as Adam did of Eve: "This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh."³ As also, that they neither do or wish any more hurt unto them, than unto their own bodies. For men ought to love their wives as themselves, because he that loves his wife loves himself;⁴ and never did man hate his own flesh (which the woman is) unless a monster in nature.

Thirdly, the formal cause, fashion and proportion, of woman was excellent. For she was neither like the beasts of the earth, fowls of the air, fishes of the sea, or any other inferior creature; but man was the only object which she did resemble. For as God gave man a lofty countenance that he might look up toward Heaven, so did he likewise give unto woman. And as the temperature of man's body is excellent, so is woman's. For whereas other creatures, by reason of their gross humors, have excrements for their habit—as fowls their feathers, beasts their hair, fishes their scales—man and woman only have their skin clear and smooth.⁵ And (that more is) in the image of God were they both created; yea and to be brief, all the parts of their bodies, both external and internal, were correspondent and meet each for other.

Fourthly and lastly, the final cause or end for which woman was made was to glorify God, and to be a collateral companion for man to glory God, in using her body and all the parts, powers and faculties thereof as instruments for his honor. As with her voice to sound forth his praises, like Miriam, and the rest of her company;⁶ with her tongue not to utter words of strife, but to give good counsel unto her husband, the which he must not despise. For Abraham was bidden to give ear to Sarah his wife.⁷ Pilate was willed by his wife not to have any hand in the condemning of Christ;⁸ and a sin it was in him that he listened not to her; Leah and Rachel counseled Jacob to do according to the word of the Lord;⁹ and the Shunamite put her husband in mind of harboring the prophet Elisha.¹ Her hands should be open, according to her ability, in contributing towards God's service and distressed servants, like to that poor widow who cast two mites into the treasury;² and as Mary Magdalene, Susanna and Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward, with many others which of their substance ministered unto Christ.³ Her heart should be a receptacle for God's word, like Mary that treasured the sayings of Christ in her heart.⁴ Her feet should be swift in going to seek the Lord in his sanctuary, as Mary Magdalene made haste to seek Christ at his sepulcher.⁵ Finally, no power external or internal ought woman to keep idle, but to employ it in some service of God, to the glory of her creator and comfort of her own soul.

The other end for which woman was made was to be a companion and helper for man; and if she must be a *helper*, and but a *helper*, then are those husbands to be blamed, which lay the whole burden of domestical affairs and maintenance on the shoulders of their wives. For, as yoke-fellows they are to sustain part of each other's cares, griefs and calamities. But as if two oxen be put into one yoke, the one being bigger than the other, the greater bears most weight; so the husband, being the stronger vessel, is to bear a greater burden than his wife. And therefore the Lord said to Adam: "In the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread, till you return to the dust."⁶ And St. Paul says that "he that provideth not for his household is worse than an infidel."⁷

3. Genesis 2.23.
4. Ephesians 5.28.
5. Genesis 1.26.
6. Exodus 15.20.
7. Genesis 21.12.
8. Matthew 27.19.
9. Genesis 31.16.

1. 2 Kings 4.9.
2. Mark 12.43.
3. Luke 8.
4. Luke 1.45.
5. John 20.1.
6. Genesis 3.19.
7. 1 Timothy 5.8.

Nature hath taught senseless creatures to help one another: as the male pigeon, when his hen is weary with sitting on her eggs and comes off from them, supplies her place, that in her absence they may receive no harm, until such time as she is fully refreshed. Of small birds, the cock always helps his hen to build her nest; and while she sits upon her eggs he flies abroad to get meat for her, who cannot then provide any for herself. The crowing cockerel helps his hen to defend her chickens from peril, and will endanger himself to save her and them from harm. Seeing then, that these unreasonable creatures by the instinct of nature bear such affection to each other, that without any grudge they willingly according to their kind help one another, I may reason, *a minore ad maius*,⁸ that much more should man and woman, which are reasonable creatures, be helpers to each other in all things lawful, they having the law of God to guide them, his word to be a lantern to their feet and a light unto their paths, by which they are excited to a far more mutual participation of each other's burden than other creatures. So that neither the wife may say to her husband nor the husband to his wife: "I have no need of thee,"⁹ no more than the members of the body may say to each other, between whom there is such a sympathy that if one member suffer, all suffer with it. Therefore though God bade Abraham forsake his country and kindred, yet he bade him not forsake his wife who, being "Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone," was to be copartner with him of whatsoever did betide him, whether joy or sorrow. Wherefore Solomon says "woe to him that is alone";¹ for when thoughts of discomfort, troubles of this world and fear of dangers do possess him, he wants a companion to lift him up from the pit of perplexity into which he is fallen.² For a good wife, saith Plautus, is the wealth of the mind and the welfare of the heart; and therefore a meet associate for her husband. And "woman," saith Paul, "is the glory of the man."³

Marriage is a merri-age, and this world's paradise, where there is mutual love. Our blessed Savior vouchsafed to honor a marriage with the first miracle that he wrought,⁴ unto which miracle matrimonial estate may not unfitly be resembled. For as Christ turned water into wine, a far more excellent liquor (which, as the Psalmist saith, "Makes glad the hearts of man"⁵) so the single man is changed by marriage from a bachelor to a husband, a far more excellent title: from a solitary life to a joyful union and conjunction with such a creature as God had made meet for man, for whom none was fit till she was made. The enjoying of this great blessing made Pericles more unwilling to part from his wife than to die for his country; and Antonius Pius to pour forth that pathetic exclamation against death for depriving him of his dearly beloved wife: "O cruel hard-hearted death in bereaving me of her whom I esteemed more than my own life!"⁶ "A virtuous woman," saith Solomon, "is the crown of her husband";⁷ by which metaphor he shows both the excellency of such a wife and what account her husband is to make of her. For a king does not trample his crown under his feet, but highly esteems it, gently handles it and carefully lays it up as the evidence of his kingdom; and therefore when David destroyed Rabbah⁸ he took off the crown from their king's head. So husbands should not account their wives as their vassals but as those that are "heirs together of the grace of life,"⁹ and with all lenity and mild persuasions

8. From the lesser to the greater.

9. 1 Corinthians 12.21.

1. Ecclesiastes 4.10.

2. Ecclesiastes 4.10.

3. 1 Corinthians 11.7.

4. John 2.

5. Psalms 104.15.

6. Antonius Pius (86-161 C.E.) Roman emperor, founded

a charity for orphaned girls in honor of his wife. Plutarch writes about how Pericles (495-429 B.C.E.), ruler of Athens, greatly loved Aspasia.

7. Proverbs 7.4.

8. 1 Chronicles 20.2. Joab destroyed Rabbah, while David took the king's crown.

9. 1 Peter 3.7.

set their feet in the right v
ties, as Elkanah did with h

The kingdom of God
the conjunction of Christ
does our blessed Savior in
church under the title of
call her his sister a spou
persons," nations, or sexe
"believe in the lord Jesus
beginning, had not been
preserved from the deluge
after his resurrection have
declare thereby, that the b
lief, for women as for men

The pen name Ester Sower
her people against Haman, a
full title of her text also par
*Pamphlet, Entitled The Arraig
Unconstant Men, and Husban
self in a more secular light
more psychological and soci
and a keen observer, Ester S
is the source of the statemen
in Euripides's *Medea*. The o
nam's book and Speght's res
because he "damns all wom
rather charge and condemn
cused for what women are ju
that women are judged more
place. The second half of he
entire controversy, *Swetnam**

fr
from Chapter 7. The

As for that crookedness
whence they have it. For
which is proved directly
you say: "A young wom

1. 1 Samuel 1.17.

2. Matthew 22.

3. Revelation 19.7.

4. The Song of Songs.

set their feet in the right way if they happen to tread awry, bearing with their infirmities, as Elkanah did with his wife's barrenness.¹

The kingdom of God is compared to the marriage of a king's son;² John calleth the conjunction of Christ and his chosen a marriage;³ and not few but many times does our blessed Savior in the Canticles⁴ set forth his unspeakable love towards his church under the title of a husband rejoicing with his wife, and often vouchsafeth to call her his sister a spouse—by which is showed that with God "is no respect of persons," nations, or sexes.⁵ For whosoever, whether it be man or woman, that doth "believe in the lord Jesus, such shall be saved."⁶ And if God's love, even from the beginning, had not been as great toward woman as to man, then he would not have preserved from the deluge of the old world as many women as men. Nor would Christ after his resurrection have appeared to a woman first of all other, had it not been to declare thereby, that the benefits of his death and resurrection are as available, by belief, for women as for men; for he indifferently died for the one sex as well as the other.



Ester Sowernam

The pen name Ester Sowernam comes from the Old Testament heroine Esther, who defended her people against Haman, and the antithesis of Joseph Swetnam's last name (sweet/sour). The full title of her text also parodies Swetnam's: *Ester Hath Hanged Haman; or An Answer to a Lewd Pamphlet, Entitled The Arraignment of Women. With the Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Men, and Husbands* (1617). On the whole, the author of this pamphlet presents herself in a more secular light than Rachel Speght does. Sowernam's criticisms of misogyny are more psychological and social than moral and logical. Trained in classics as well as Scripture and a keen observer, Ester Sowernam finds that Swetnam has incorrectly stated that the Bible is the source of the statement that women are a necessary evil and finds that the true source is in Euripides's *Medea*. The occasion for Sowernam's writing is a dinner party at which Swetnam's book and Speght's response were discussed. Sowernam finds fault with both—Swetnam because he "damns all women" and Speght because she "undertaking to defend women doth rather charge and condemn them." Sowernam cites the double standard by which men are excused for what women are judged harshly for in order to assert women's superiority. She argues that women are judged more severely because they are thought to be more virtuous in the first place. The second half of her pamphlet may have helped to inspire the comedy that spoofed the entire controversy, *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women* (1620).

from Ester Hath Hanged Haman

from Chapter 7. The answer to all objections which are material made against women

As for that crookedness and frowardness¹ with which you charge women, look from whence they have it. For of themselves and their own disposition it doth not proceed, which is proved directly by your own testimony. For in your 46[th] page, line 15[16], you say: "A young woman of tender years is flexible, obedient, and subject to do

1. 1 Samuel 1.17.

2. Matthew 22.

3. Revelation 19.7.

4. The Song of Songs.

5. Romans 2.11.

6. John 3.18.

1. Perversity, unreasonableness.

anything, according to the will and pleasure of her husband." How cometh it then that this gentle and mild disposition is afterwards altered? Yourself doth give the true reason, for you give a great charge not to marry a widow. But why? Because, say you in the same page, "A widow is framed to the conditions² of another man." Why then, if a woman have froward conditions, they be none of her own, she was framed to them. Is not our adversary ashamed of himself to rail against women for those faults which do all come from men? Doth not he most grievously charge men to learn³ their wives bad and corrupt behavior? For he saith plainly: "Thou must unlearn a widow, and make her forget and forego her former corrupt and disordered behavior." Thou must unlearn her; ergo, what fault she hath learned: her corruptness comes not from her own disposition but from her husband's destruction.

Is it not a wonder that your pamphlets are so dispersed? Are they not wise men to cast away time and money upon a book which cutteth their own throats? 'Tis pity but that men should reward you for your writing (if it be but as the Roman Sertorius⁴ did the idle poet: he gave him a reward, but not for his writing—but because he should never write more). As for women, they laugh that men have no more able a champion. This author cometh to bait women or, as he foolishly saith, the "Bearbaiting of Women," and he bringeth but a mongrel cur who doth his kind⁵ to brawl and bark, but cannot bite. The mild and flexible disposition of a woman is in philosophy proved in the composition of her body, for it is a maxim: *Mores animi sequuntur temperaturam corporis* (the disposition of the mind is answerable to the temper of the body). A woman in the temperature of her body is tender, soft and beautiful, so doth her disposition in mind correspond accordingly: she is mild, yielding and virtuous. What disposition accidentally happeneth unto her is by the contagion of a froward husband, as Joseph Swetnam affirmeth.

And experience proveth. It is a shame for a man to complain of a froward woman—in many respects all concerning himself. It is a shame he hath no more government over the weaker vessel.⁶ It is a shame he hath hardened her tender sides and gentle heart with his boisterous and Northern blasts. It is a shame for a man to publish and proclaim household secrets—which is a common practice amongst men, especially drunkards, lechers, and prodigal spendthrifts. These when they come home drunk, or are called in question for their riotous misdemeanors, they presently show themselves the right children of Adam. They will excuse themselves by their wives and say that their unquietness and frowardness at home is the cause that they run abroad: an excuse more fitter for a beast than a man. If thou wert a man thou wouldst take away the cause which urgeth a woman to grief and discontent, and not by thy frowardness increase her distemperature.⁷ Forbear thy drinking, thy luxurious riot, thy gaming and spending, and thou shalt have thy wife give thee as little cause at home as thou givest her great cause of disquiet abroad. Men which are men, if they chance to be matched with froward wives—either of their own making or others' marring⁸—they would make a benefit of the discommodity:⁹ either try his skill to make her mild or exercise his patience to endure her cursedness; for all crosses are inflicted either for punishment of sins or for exercise of virtues. But humorous¹ men will sooner mar a thousand women than out of a hundred make one good.

2. Circumstances, character traits.

3. Teach.

4. Quintus Sertorius, Roman general, appointed governor of Farther Spain in 83 B.C.E.

5. Nature.

6. From 1 Peter 3.7.

7. Disorder in mind and body.

8. Spoiling.

9. Inconvenience, disadvantageousness.

1. Moody.

And this shall appear sex: to be lascivious, want men." How rare a thing is mon a practice is it for m they spare? What travail c spend to make them dish with damnations and exe They know the flexible di will pretend they are so pl seem to drown, hang, sta What motives are these t offer continual maintena a woman find?—just tha herself the unhappy subj tongue. Men may with fc committed, if she had no with vows, oaths and pro damnable sins do they cc tion of sundry men doth what shall they want?²— How much will they ma many pounds will they s upon an honest maid or

Our adversary bring women. It is answered be living, to show any wom licited by a man.

Helen was the cause knaves and fools of the bring their city to confus

When you bring ir stained by women, you mention Judith,⁴ for cut

You challenge won woman was ever noted yourself in this base and ation, you abuse and sla is it which you do not e

Hitherto I have so a defended the wickednes Eve did not offend with it is by provocation of r charge our sex hereafter ers. I have, in my discou with bitter speeches; y

2. Target.

3. Lack, need.

4. A wealthy, attractive widow from Holofernes, an Assyrian gen

And this shall appear in the imputation which our adversary chargeth upon our sex: to be lascivious, wanton and lustful. He saith: "Women tempt, allure and provoke men." How rare a thing is it for women to prostitute and offer themselves? How common a practice is it for men to seek and solicit women to lewdness? What charge do they spare? What travail do they bestow? What vows, oaths and protestations do they spend to make them dishonest? They hire panders, they write letters, they seal them with damnations and execrations to assure them of love when the end proves but lust. They know the flexible disposition of women, and the sooner to overreach them some will pretend they are so plunged in love that, except they obtain their desire, they will seem to drown, hang, stab, poison, or banish themselves from friends and country. What motives are these to tender dispositions? Some will pretend marriage, another offer continual maintenance; but when they have obtained their purpose, what shall a woman find?—just that which is her everlasting shame and grief: she hath made herself the unhappy subject to a lustful body and the shameful stall² of a lascivious tongue. Men may with foul shame charge woman with this sin which she had never committed, if she had not trusted; nor had ever trusted, if she had not been deceived with vows, oaths and protestations. To bring a woman to offend in one sin, how many damnable sins do they commit? I appeal to their own consciences. The lewd disposition of sundry men doth appear in this: if a woman or maid will yield to lewdness, what shall they want?³—but if they would live in honesty, what help shall they have? How much will they make of the lewd? How base an account of the honest? How many pounds will they spend in bawdy houses? But when will they bestow a penny upon an honest maid or woman, except it be to corrupt them?

Our adversary bringeth many examples of men which have been overthrown by women. It is answered before: the fault is their own. But I would have him, or anyone living, to show any woman that offended in this sin of lust, but that she was first solicited by a man.

Helen was the cause of Troy's burning: first, Paris did solicit her; next, how many knaves and fools of the male kind had Troy, which to maintain whoredom would bring their city to confusion?

When you bring in examples of lewd women and of men which have been stained by women, you show yourself both frantic and a profane irreligious fool to mention Judith,⁴ for cutting off Holofernes' head, in that rank.

You challenge women for untamed and unbridled tongues; there was never woman was ever noted for so shameless, so brutish, so beastly a scold as you prove yourself in this base and odious pamphlet. Your blaspheme God, you rail at his creation, you abuse and slander his creatures; and what immodest or impudent scurrility is it which you do not express in this lewd and lying pamphlet?

Hitherto I have so answered all your objections against women that, as I have not defended the wickedness of any, so I have set down the true state of the question. As Eve did not offend without temptation of a serpent, so women do seldom offend but it is by provocation of men. Let not your impudency, nor your consorts' dishonesty, charge our sex hereafter with those sins of which you yourselves were the first procurers. I have, in my discourse, touched you, and all yours, to the quick. I have taxed you with bitter speeches; you will, perhaps, say I am a railing scold. In this objection,

2. Targer.

3. Luck, need.

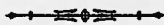
4. A wealthy, attractive widow who saved her people from Holofernes, an Assyrian general, by attracting and

then killing him. (See the Book of Judith, part of the Catholic Bible, but viewed as apocryphal by Jews and Protestants.)

Joseph Swetnam, I will teach you both wit and honesty. The difference between a railing scold and an honest accuser is this: the first rageth upon passionate fury without bringing cause or proof, the other bringeth direct proof for what she allegeth. You charge women with clamorous words, and bring no proof; I charge you with blasphemy, with impudency, scurrility, foolery and the like. I show just and direct proof for what I say. It is not my desire to speak so much; it is your dessert to provoke me upon just cause so far. It is not railing to call a crow black, or a wolf a ravenor,⁵ or a drunkard a beast; the report of the truth is never to be blamed: the deserver of such a report deserves the shame.

Now, for this time, to draw to an end. Let me ask according to the question of Cassian, *cui bono?*⁶—what have you gotten by publishing your pamphlet? Good I know you can get none. You have, perhaps, pleased the humors of some giddy, idle, conceited persons. But you have dyed yourself in the colors of shame, lying, slandering, blasphemy, ignorance, and the like.

The shortness of time and the weight of business call me away, and urge me to leave off thus abruptly; but assure yourself, where I leave now I will by God's grace supply the next term, to your small content. You have exceeded in your fury against widows, whose defense you shall hear of at the time aforesaid. In the mean space, recollect your wits; write out of deliberation, not out of fury; write out of advice, not out of idleness: forbear to charge women with faults which come from the contagion of masculine serpents.



Hic Mulier and Haec-Vir

Hic Mulier and *Haec-Vir* were published anonymously within a week of each other in February 1620. *Hic Mulier*, the first of the two pamphlets to appear, begins with the complaint that "since the days of Adam women were never so masculine." The title introduces this theme by a gender switch of its own: *Hic Mulier*, Latin for "This Woman," uses the masculine form *hic* instead of the feminine *haec*. The title page contains illustrations of two such mannish women—one wearing a man's hat, which she admires in a mirror, and another sitting in a barber's chair to get her hair cut. Structured as a "brief declamation," or oration, the text argues that such activities as hair bobbing and wearing men's clothes are immoral and unnatural for women. Furthermore, such gender crossing is also a threat to the entire political order: "most pernicious to the commonwealth for she hath power by example to do it a world of injury."

As its subtitle boasts, *Haec-Vir* was "an answer to the late book intituled *Hic Mulier*" and was represented as "a brief dialogue between *Haec-Vir* the Womanish-Man, and *Hic Mulier* the Man-Woman." The effeminate man and the hermaphroditic woman first misrecognize each other's gender. Once that is cleared up, the foppish man launches into a diatribe against the woman, who defends herself by arguing that "custom is an idiot." The first half of the dialogue reads like a proclamation of the equality of the sexes, with the bare-breasted, dagger-swinging *Hic Mulier* exclaiming, "We are as free-born as men, have as free election, and as free spirits, we are compounded of like parts and may with like liberty make benefit of our creations." Despite this bold challenge, the text as a whole makes a rather conservative case for the need for gender distinctions, the overturning of which was seen as an assault on hierarchy. The dialogue ends with both participants agreeing to exchange clothes and Latin pronouns so that men will again be manly and women subservient to them.

5. An animal who seizes in order to devour.

6. "To whose benefit," a phrase attributed by Cicero to Lucius Cassius.

These pamphlets display t
Not only did the fashionable y
anish man of *Haec-Vir*, but th
breeches on the streets. A fev
"shamefully" putting on "man":

While conforming to the
quo, these pamphlets show tha
being asked in the early seven

from Hi

So I present these masculin
them back to the modest co

The modest comeline
or rather mere-monsters,¹
upse-van-muffe, the poor r
trussed with points, to Ma
devil's poniard. Did they
walked in those paths, for
ter pieces for their foul stai
ing too much sap from the
they are the stinking vapo
gions of the air, become m
ing men's minds with thei
spent, they drop down aga
consume unpitied, and un

And questionless it is
mities, for from any pure
been some spark of virtue:
ment with goodness, nor
barbarous. Base, in the re
unnatural use: barbarous,
kind,⁴ going astray (with i
and (it is to be feared) in
more true and curious c
which fill the world with
palaces are more rich to r
to you with that severe, c
never love, never reverer

But now methinks I
deformities: What, is the
respect of honors, nor n
pass between noble and
shall we be all co-heirs o
too tyrannous, and not c

1. Pure monsters.

2. A merchant's hat. Description
follow: the *upse-van-muffe* is an e
the pate pouled by a Treene dish
shape of a wooden dish; the Fre

These pamphlets display the early modern fascination with, and loathing of, transvestism. Not only did the fashionable young male favorites of King James I's court resemble the womanish man of *Haec-Vir*, but there were more than a few documented cases of women wearing breeches on the streets. A few women were actually brought before ecclesiastical courts for "shamefully" putting on "man's apparel."

While conforming to the comic pattern of disrupting and then reestablishing the status quo, these pamphlets show that questions about custom, nature, and sex and gender roles were being asked in the early seventeenth century.

from *Hic Mulier; or, The Man-Woman*

So I present these masculine women in their deformities as they are, that I may call them back to the modest comeliness in which they were.

The modest comeliness in which they were? Why, did ever these mermaids, or rather mere-monsters,¹ that wear the Car-man's block,² the Dutchman's feather *upse-van-muffe*, the poor man's pate pouled by a Treene dish, the French doublet trussed with points, to Mary Aubries' light nether skirts, the fool's baldric, and the devil's poniard. Did they ever know comeliness or modesty? Fie, no, they never walked in those paths, for these at the best are sure but rags of gentry, torn from better pieces for their foul stains, or else the adulterate branches of rich stocks,³ that taking too much sap from the root, are cut away, and employed in base uses; or, if not so, they are the stinking vapors drawn from dunghills, which nourished in the higher regions of the air, become meteors and false fires blazing and flashing therein, and amazing men's minds with their strange proportions, till the substance of their pride being spent, they drop down again to the place from whence they came, and there rot and consume unpitied, and unremembered.

And questionless it is true, that such were the first beginners of these last deformities, for from any purer blood would have issued a purer birth; there would have been some spark of virtue: some excuse for imitation; but this deformity has no agreement with goodness, nor any difference against the weakest reason: it is all base, all barbarous. Base, in the respect it offends men in the example, and God in the most unnatural use: barbarous, in that it is exorbitant from nature, and an antithesis to kind,⁴ going astray (with ill-favored affectation) both in attire, in speech, in manners, and (it is to be feared) in the whole courses and stories of their actions. What can be more true and curious consent of the most fairest colors and the wealthy gardens which fill the world with living plants? Do but you receive virtuous inmates (as what palaces are more rich to receive heavenly messengers?) and you shall draw men's souls to you with that severe, devout, and holy adoration, that you shall never want praise, never love, never reverence.

But now methinks I hear the witty-offending great ones reply in excuse of their deformities: What, is there no difference amongst women? no distinction of places, no respect of honors, nor no regard of blood, or alliance? Must but a bare pair of shears pass between noble and ignoble, between the generous spirit and the base mechanic; shall we be all co-heirs of one honor, one estate, and one habit? O men, you are then too tyrannous, and not only injure nature, but also break the laws and customs of the

1. Pure monsters.

2. A merchant's hat. Descriptions of ridiculous fashions follow: the *upse-van-muffe* is an elaborate feathered hat; the pate pouled by a Treene dish is hair cut short to the shape of a wooden dish; the French doublet is a man's

close-fitting upper body garment tied with laces; baldric: fancy belt; poniard: dagger.

3. Trunks or stems.

4. The opposite of what is natural to the gender.

wisest princes. Are not bishops known by their miters, princes by their crowns, judges by their robes, and knights by their spurs? But poor women have nothing (how great soever they be) to divide themselves from the enticing shows or moving images which do furnish most shops in the city. What is it that either the laws have allowed to the greatest ladies, custom found convenient, or their bloods or places challenged, which hath not been engrossed into the city with as great greediness, and pretense of true title; as if the surcease⁵ from the imitation were the utter breach of their charter everlastingly.

For this cause, these apes of the city have enticed foreign nations to the cells, and there committing gross adultery with their gewgaws,⁶ have brought out such unnatural conceptions, that the whole world is not able to make a *Democritus* big enough to laugh at their foolish ambitions.⁷ Nay, the very art of painting (which to the last age shall ever be held in detestation) they have so cunningly stolen and hidden amongst their husbands' hoards of treasure, that the decayed stock of prostitution (having little other revenues) are hourly in bringing their action of *detinue*⁸ against them. Hence (being thus troubled with these *Popeniars*,⁹ and loath still to march in one rank with fools and *zanies*¹) have proceeded these disguised deformities, not to offend the eyes of goodness, but to tire with ridiculous contempt the never to be satisfied appetites of these gross and unmannerly intruders. Nay, look if this very last edition of disguise, this which is so full of faults, corruptions, and false quotations, this bait which the devil had laid to catch the souls of wanton women, be not as frequent in the demi-palaces of burghers and citizens as it is either at masque, triumph, tilt-yard, or play-house. Call but to account the tailors that are contained within the circumference of the walls of the city, and let but their heels and their hard reckonings be justly summed together, and it will be found they have raised more new foundations of this new disguise, and metamorphosed more modest old garments, to this new manner of short base and French doublet (only for the use of freemen's wives² and their children) in one month, than has been worn in court, suburbs, or country, since the unfortunate beginning of the first devilish invention.

Let therefore the powerful Statute of Apparel³ but lift his battle-axe, and crush the offenders in pieces, so as every one may be known by the true badge of their blood, or fortune; and then these *Chimeras* of deformity will be sent back to hell, and there burn to cinders in the flames of their own malice.

Thus, methinks, I hear the best offenders argue, nor can I blame a high blood to swell when it is coupled and counter-checked with baseness and corruption; yet this shows an anger passing near akin to envy, and alludes much to the saying of an excellent poet:

Women never
Love beauty in their sex, but envy ever.

They have Caesar's ambition, and desire to be one and one alone, but yet to offend themselves, to grieve others, is a revenge dissonant to reason, and as *Euripides* says, a woman of that malicious nature is a fierce beast, and most pernicious to the

5. Cessation, stop.

6. Showy decorations.

7. Seneca recounts how Democritus laughed rather than cried at human life (*De tranquillitate animi* 15.2).

8. Legal action to recover personal property.

9. Popinjays, vain and empty people.

1. Parasites, those who play the fool for amusement.

2. Women married to men possessing the freedom of a city, borough, or corporation.

3. Laws governing dress that were intended to differentiate the aristocracy from the common people had been enacted from the Middle Ages through to the early modern period.

commonwealth, for she he
such cruelty from the softn
the poet saith:

Fram'd with the s
Nay Nature triumm
And women mad
The life of beauty
(As in her fair loc
Whose towering
Do make their fai

But when they thrust
loose passion, that either
tongues can charm into th
pick-lock of flattering anc
nay monsters in their disg
run away with their ruler
fortunes or reputations, th
private families, accordin

Such is the cruel
When they have
With which wise
T'obey the hests
That then all rul
To purchase a li
But virtuous wo
That they were l
Unless the heav

To you therefore the
rodites, belongs the cure
their wild indiscretion. Y
whole house with filthy
both dear and unreasona
account of the employm
and these excesses will
trunks for want of redem

from]

Hic-Mulier: Well, then t
elty. What flattery can th
delights with those plea
slavery is a restraint from
willingly desire: to perfo

4. Description of the tyranny of
Raidigund in Spenser's *Faerie Quee*

commonwealth, for she has power by example to do it a world of injury. But far be such cruelty from the softness of their gentle dispositions: O let them remember what the poet saith:

Women be
 Fram'd with the same parts of the mind as men
 Nay Nature triumph'd in their beauty's birth,
 And women made the glory of the earth,
 The life of beauty, in whose simple breast,
 (As in her fair lodging) Virtue rests:
 Whose towering thoughts attended with remorse,
 Do make their fairness be of greater force.

But when they thrust virtue out of doors, and give a shameless liberty to every loose passion, that either their weak thoughts engender, or the discourse of wicked tongues can charm into their yielding bosoms (much too apt to be opened with any pick-lock of flattering and deceitful insinuation) then they turn maskers, mummers, nay monsters in their disguises, and so they may catch the bridle in their teeth, and run away with their rulers, they care not into what dangers they plunge either their fortunes or reputations, the disgrace of the whole sex, or the blot and obloquy of their private families, according to the saying of the poets

Such is the cruelty of women-kind,
 When they have shaken off the shamefac'd band
 With which wise nature did them strongly bind,
 T'obey the hests of man's well-ruling hand
 That then all rule and reason they withstand
 To purchase a licentious liberty;
 But virtuous women wisely understand,
 That they were born to mild humility,
 Unless the heavens them lift to lawful sovereignty.⁴

To you therefore that are fathers, husbands, of sustainers of these new hermaphrodites, belongs the cure of this impostume;⁵ it is you that give fuel to the flames of their wild indiscretion. You add the oil which makes their stinking lamps defile the whole house with filthy smoke, and your purses purchase these deformities at rates both dear and unreasonable. Do you but hold close your liberal hands, or take a strict account of the employment of the treasure you give to their necessary maintenance, and these excesses will either cease, or else die smothered in prison in the tailors' trunks for want of redemption.

from Haec-Vir; or, The Womanish-Man

Hic-Mulier: Well, then to the purpose: first, you say, I am base in being a slave to novelty. What flattery can there be in freedom of election? Or what baseness to crown my delights with those pleasures which are most suitable to mine affections? Bondage or slavery is a restraint from those actions, which the mind (of its own accord) doth most willingly desire: to perform the intents and purposes of another's disposition, and that

4. Description of the tyranny of the Amazonian ruler Radigund in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* 5.5.25.

5. Abscess.

not but by mansuetude¹ or sweetness of entreaty; but by the force of authority and strength of compulsion. Now for me to follow change, according to the limitation of my own will and pleasure, there cannot be a greater freedom. Nor do I in my delight of change otherwise than as the whole world doth, or as becometh a daughter of the world to do. For what is the world, but a very shop or warehouse of change? Sometimes winter, sometimes summer; day and night: they hold sometimes riches, sometimes poverty, sometimes health, sometimes sickness: now pleasure; presently anguish; now honor; then contempt: and to conclude, there is nothing but change, which doth surround and mix with all our fortunes. And will you have poor woman such a fixed star, that she shall not so much as move or twinkle in her own sphere? That would be true slavery indeed, and a baseness beyond the chains of the worst servitude. Nature to everything she hath created hath given a singular delight in change, as to herbs, plants, and trees a time to wither and shed their leaves, a time to bud and bring forth their leaves, and a time for their fruits and flowers; to worms and creeping things a time to hide themselves in the pores and hollows of the earth, and a time to come abroad and suck the dew; to beasts liberty to choose their food, liberty to delight in their food, and liberty to feed and grow fat with their food. The birds have the air to fly in, the waters to bathe in, and the earth to feed on. But to man, both these and all things else, to alter, frame, and fashion, according to his will and delight shall rule him. Again, who will rob the eye of the variety of objects, the ear of the delight of sounds, the nose of smells, the tongue of taste, and the hand of feeling? And shall only woman, excellent woman, so much better in that she is something purer, be only deprived of this benefit? Shall she be the bondslave of time, the handmaid of opinion, or the strict observer of every frosty or cold benumbed imagination? It would be a cruelty beyond the rack or strapado.²

But you will say it is not change, but novelty, from which you deter us: a thing that doth avert the good, and erect the evil; prefer the faithless, and confound desert; that with the change of opinions breeds the change of states, and with continual alterations thrusts headlong forward both ruin and subversion. Alas (soft Sir) what can you christen by that new imagined title, when the words of a wise man are: *that what was done, is but done again: all things do change, and under the cope of heaven there is no new thing.*³ So that whatsoever we do or imitate, it is neither slavish, base, nor a breeder of novelty.

Next, you condemn me of unnaturalness, in forsaking my creation, and contemning⁴ custom. How do I forsake my creation, that do all the right and offices due to my creation? I was created free, born free, and live free: what lets me then so to spin out my time, that I may die free?

To alter creation were to walk on my hands with my heels upward, to feed myself with my feet, or to forsake the sweet sound of sweet words, for the hissing noise of the serpent: but I walk with a face erected, with a body clothed, with a mind busied, and with a heart full of reasonable and devout cogitations; only offensive in attire, inasmuch as it is a stranger to the curiosity of the present times, and an enemy to custom. Are we then bound to be the flatterers of time, or the dependents on custom? O miserable servitude chained only to baseness and folly! For then custom, nothing is more absurd, nothing more foolish. * * *

1. Gentleless, meekness.

2. Rack: a frame with a roller at either end on which a person would be tortured; strapado: a form of torture in which the victim's hands would be tied behind his or her

back and the victim would then be suspended by a pulley with a sharp jolt.

3. Ecclesiastes 1.9.

4. Disdaining, despising.

Cato Junior held it fit for the Venetians kiss one another, and the several received custom among our travel or journeying, and where he lodgeth? Nature is a certain ground of a man's life, and those demands which go to the satisfaction have us to marry ourselves to a custom or custom with us to move in white; and (if we will) we may mourn in green, and strangers with a kiss is come you to cut the hair of your thought unmanly. To rich and et cetera. I might in hath approved. To come upon him, without the come a slave indeed to come

But you say we are through a wilderness of because I do not stand what that move not my whole clock house⁹ which has asslike I were ready for a a worried deer in the forest is much injurious that so and as free spirits, we are benefit of our creations; ignoble, I will hear the dumb to flatterers, I have move swiftly to do good and severity. If this be simplicity.

Hic-Mulier: Therefore Masculine) tell me what things you make our ab hair, bestowing more hair giving every thread his ever Caesar did in mars! do you rob us of our ru feathers, our busks and nas,³ not so much as th

5. Of Argos.

6. Spotted, motley.

7. Doll.

8. A popular carnival fair held 1865 at West Smithfield on 24 St. Bartholomew.

Cato Junior held it for a custom, never to eat meat but sitting on the ground. The Venetians kiss one another ever at the first meeting; and even in this day it is a general received custom amongst our English, that when we meet or overtake any man in our travel or journeying, to examine him whither he rides, how far, to what purpose, and where he lodgeth? Nay, and with that unmannerly boldness of inquisition, that it is a certain ground of a most insufficient quarrel, not to receive a full satisfaction of those demands which go far astray from good manners, or comely civility; and will you have us to marry ourselves to these mimic and most fantastic customs? It is a fashion or custom with us to mourn in black, yet the Argian⁵ and Roman ladies ever mourned in white; and (if we will tie the action upon the signification of colors) I see not but we may mourn in green, blue, red or any simple color used in heraldry. For us to salute strangers with a kiss is counted but civility, but with foreign nations immodesty; for you to cut the hair of your upper lips, familiar here in England, everywhere else almost thought unmanly. To ride on side-saddles at first was counted here abominable pride, and et cetera. I might instance in a thousand things that only custom and not reason hath approved. To conclude, Custom is an idiot, and whoever dependeth wholly upon him, without the discourse of reason, will take from him his pied⁶ coat, and become a slave indeed to contempt and censure.

But you say we are barbarous and shameless and cast off all softness, to run wild through a wilderness of opinions. In this you express more cruelty than in all the rest, because I do not stand with my hands on my belly like a baby⁷ at Bartholomew Fair,⁸ that move not my whole body when I should but only stir my head like Jack of the clock house⁹ which has no joints, that is not dumb when wantons court me, as if asslike I were ready for all burdens, or because I weep not when injury gripes me, like a worried deer in the fangs of many curs. Am I therefore barbarous or shameless? He is much injurious that so baptized us; we are as free-born as men, have as free election, and as free spirits, we are compounded of like parts, and may with like liberty make benefit of our creations; my countenance shall smile on the worthy, and frown on the ignoble, I will hear the wise, and be deaf to idiots, give counsel to my friend, but be dumb to flatterers, I have hands that shall be liberal to reward desert, feet that shall move swiftly to do good offices, and thoughts that shall ever accompany freedom and severity. If this be barbarous, let me leave the city and live with creatures of like simplicity.

* * *

Hic-Mulier: Therefore to take your proportion in a few lines (my dear Feminine-Masculine) tell me what Charter, prescription or right of claim you have to those things you make our absolute inheritance? Why do you curl, frizzle and powder your hair, bestowing more hours and time in dividing lock from lock, and hair from hair, in giving every thread his posture, and every curl his true fence and circumference than ever Caesar did in marshalling his army, either at Pharsalia, in Spain, or Britain? Why do you rob us of our ruffs, our earrings, carkanets,¹ and mamillions,² of our fans and feathers, our busks and French bodies, nay, of our masks, hoods, shadows, and shapynas,³ not so much as the very art of painting, but you have so greedily engrossed it,

5. Of Argos.

6. Spotted, motley.

7. Doll.

8. A popular carnival fair held every year from 1133 to 1865 at West Smithfield on 24 August, the feast day of St. Bartholomew.

9. Figure that strikes the bell of a clock.

1. A jeweled or gold necklace.

2. Rounded protuberances (from French *mamelon*, nipple).

3. Disguises.

that were it not for that little fantastical sharp pointed dagger that hangs at your chins, and the cross hilt which guards your upper lip, hardly would there be any difference between the fair mistress and the foolish servant. But is this theft the uttermost of our spoil? Fie, you have gone a world further, and even ravished from us our speech, our actions, sports, and recreations. Goodness leave me, if I have not heard a man court his mistress with the same words that Venus did Adonis, or as near as the book could instruct him;⁴ where are the tilts and tourneys, and lofty galliards⁵ that were danced in the days of old, when men capered in the air like wanton kids on the tops of mountains, and turned above ground as if they had been compact of fire or a purer element?⁶ Tut, all's forsaken, all's vanished, those motions showed more strength than art, and more courage than courtship; it was much too robustious, and rather spent the body than prepared it, especially where any defect before reigned; hence you took from us poor women our traverses and tourneys, our modest stateliness and curious slidings, and left us nothing but the new French garb of puppet hopping and setting. Lastly, poor shuttlecock⁷ that was only a female invention, how have you taken it out of our hands, and made yourselves such lords and rulers over it, that though it be a very emblem of us, and our lighter despised fortunes, yet it dare now hardly come near us; nay, you keep it so imprisoned within your bed-chambers and dining rooms, amongst your pages and panders, that a poor innocent maid to give but a kick with her battledore,⁸ were more than halfway to the ruin of her reputation. For this you have demolished the noble schools of horsemanship (of which many were in this city) hung up your arms to rust, glued up those swords in their scabbards that would shake all Christendom with the brandish, and entertained into your mind such softness, dullness, and effeminate niceness that it would even make *Heraclitus*⁹ himself laugh against his nature to see how pulingly¹ you languish in this weak entertained sin of womanish softness. To see one of your gender either show himself (in the midst of his pride or riches) at a playhouse or public assembly; how (before he dare enter) with the Jacob's-staff of his own eyes and his pages, he takes a full survey of himself, from the highest sprig in his feather, to the lowest spangle that shines in his shoestring; how he prunes and picks himself like a hawk set a-weathering, calls every several garment to auricular² confession, making them utter both their mortal great stains, and their venial and less blemishes, though the mote must be much less than an atom. Then to see him pluck and tug everything into the form of the newest received fashion; and by *Durer's* rules³ make his leg answerable to his neck; his thigh proportionable with his middle, his foot with his hand, and a world of such idle disdained foppery. To see him thus patched up with symmetry, make himself complete, and even as a circle, and lastly, cast himself among the eyes of the people (as an object of wonder) with more niceness than a virgin goes to the sheets of her first lover would make patience herself mad with anger, and cry with the poet:

O hominum mores, O gens, O tempora dura,
Quantus in urbe dolor; quantus in orbe dolus!⁴

4. Venus, goddess of love, fell in love with the beautiful youth Adonis.

5. A brisk dance in triple time.

6. Men were thought to be dominated by dry humors and women by humid ones.

7. A small piece of cork with feathers sticking out of it, batted back and forth in the game of battledoor and shuttlecock.

8. A small racket, used to hit a shuttlecock.

9. Heraclitus was said to weep whenever he went forth in public (See Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* 15.2).

1. In a whining tone.

2. Told privately, to the ear.

3. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), German painter and engraver, wrote a work on human proportions that was published after his death.

4. O customs of men, O people, O hard times / What great sadness in the city; what great fraud in the world.

Now since according to the rules of religion, and the special difference between what could we poor weal those spoils you have unhave proudly cast away, and no other means was left to have held the way in which civil modesty, or gentle croached upon us, and so that as at our creation, we should have had no other we have preserved (though forsaken, which would when first we put on your bashfulness will again be reedified, draw to us all to do, and (as we of yours) to the utter loss of your even in the infancy of your

About his neck
Of precious Stone
His arms that e
In golden brace
Into his ears tw
Of golden wire
Two Indian pe
Of passing price

His locks bedev
Stood curled re
He had such w
As though in v
So chang'd in
So from himse
By these ench
He was himsel

Thus you see your taken such strong root offense to the soil: ours therefore may with as then from you our ornate show, men in words, my love and serve you; the

5. The graces were the three sisters Euphrosyne, viewed as bestower of the muses were the nine daughters who inspire poetry and the arts.

6. Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533)

Now since according to your own inference, even by the laws of nature, by the rules of religion, and the customs of all civil nations, it is necessary there be a distinct and special difference between man and woman, both in their habit and behaviors, what could we poor weak women do less (being far too weak by force to fetch back those spoils you have unjustly taken from us) than to gather up those garments you have proudly cast away, and therewith to clothe both our bodies and our minds; since no other means was left us to continue our names, and to support a difference? For to have held the way in which our forefathers first set us, or to have still embraced the civil modesty, or gentle sweetness of our soft inclinations; why, you had so far encroached upon us, and so over-bribed the world, to be deaf to any grant of restitution, that as at our creation, our whole sex was contained in man our first parent, so we should have had no other being, but in you, and your most effeminate quality. Hence we have preserved (though to our own shames) those manly things which you have forsaken, which would you again accept, and restore to us the blushes we laid by, when first we put on your masculine garments; doubt not but chaste thoughts and bashfulness will again dwell in us, and our palaces being newly gilt, trimmed, and reedified, draw to us all the Graces, all the Muses,⁵ which that you may more willingly do, and (as we of yours) grow into detestation of that deformity you have purloined, to the utter loss of your honors and reputations. Mark how the brave Italian poet,⁶ even in the infancy of your abuses, most lively describes you:

About his neck a Carknet⁷ rich he ware
Of precious Stones, all set in gold well tried;
His arms that erst all warlike weapons bare,
In golden bracelets wantonly were tied:
Into his ears two rings conveyed are
Of golden wire, at which on either side,
Two Indian pearls, in making like two pears,
Of passing price were pendant at his ears.

His locks bedewed with water of sweet savor,
Stood curled round in order on his head;
He had such wanton womanish behavior,
As though in valor he had ne'er been bred:
So chang'd in speech, in manners and in favor,
So from himself beyond all reason led,
By these enchantments of this amorous dame;
He was himself in nothing, but in name.

Thus you see your injury to us is of an old and inveterate continuance, having taken such strong root in your bosoms, that it can hardly be pulled up, without some offense to the soil: ours young and tender, scarce freed from the swaddling clothes, and therefore may with as much ease be lost, as it was with little difficulty found. Cast then from you our ornaments, and put on your own armors. Be men in shape, men in show, men in words, men in actions, men in counsel, men in example: then will we love and serve you; then will we hear and obey you; then will we like rich jewels hang

5. The graces were the three sisters, Aglaia, Thalia, and Euphrosyne, viewed as bestowers of charm and beauty; the muses were the nine daughters of Zeus and Memory who inspire poetry and the arts.
6. Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1532), whose description of

Ruggiero's decadence when he is seduced by the sorceress Alcina in *Orlando Furioso* 7 is quoted here in the translation (1590) by Sir John Harington, Queen Elizabeth's godson.
7. Necklace.

at your ears to take our instructions, like true friends follow you through all dangers, and like careful leeches⁸ pour oil into your wounds. Then shall you find delight in our words; pleasure in our faces; faith in our hearts; chastity in our thoughts, and sweetness both in our inward and outward inclinations. Comeliness shall be then our study; fear our armor, and modesty our practice: then shall we be all your most excellent thoughts can desire, and have nothing in us less than impudence and deformity.

Haec-Vir; Enough: you have both raised my eyelids, cleared my sight, and made my heart entertain both shame and delight at an instant; shame in my follies past; delight in our noble and worthy conversion. Away then from me these light vanities, the only ensigns⁹ of a weak and soft nature: and come you grave and solid pieces, which arm a man with fortitude and resolution: you are too rough and stubborn for a woman's wearing, we will here change our attires, as we have changed our minds, and with our attires, our names. I will no more be *Haec-Vir*, but *Hic Vir*, nor you *Hic-Mulier*, but *Haec Mulier*. From henceforth deformity shall pack to Hell; and if at any time he hide himself upon the earth, yet it shall be with contempt and disgrace. He shall have no friend but Poverty; no favorer but Folly, nor no reward but Shame. Henceforth we will live nobly like ourselves, ever sober, ever discreet, ever worthy; true men, and true women. We will be henceforth like well-coupled doves, full of industry, full of love: I mean, not of sensual and carnal love, but heavenly and divine love, which proceeds from God, whose inexpressible nature none is able to deliver in words, since is like his dwelling, high and beyond the reach of human apprehension.

— END OF PERSPECTIVES: TRACTS ON WOMEN AND GENDER —

Ben Jonson

1572–1637

Ben Jonson's life was full of changes and contradictions. His earliest biographer, William Drummond, called him "passionately kind and angry, careless either to gain or keep, vindictive, but, if he be well answered, at himself." His father was Protestant, but Jonson turned Catholic, only to recant that conversion later; nevertheless, in his last years he called himself a "beadman." The stepson of a bricklayer, he became Poet Laureate. He wrote poems of praise to win the patronage of king and court but also skewered their follies in satire. Though often assuming the role of moralist in his poetry and plays, Jonson admitted that as a younger man he was "given to ventry" and pleaded guilty to the charge of murder. He was attached to admiring younger poets, "the tribe of Ben," yet he also enjoyed feuds, such as those with fellow dramatists Marston and Dekker. While espousing Horatian spareness and an acute sense of meter in both criticism and poetry, Jonson also had a keen ear for the colloquial language of London.

Indeed, London was one of the few constants in Jonson's turbulent career. Born in Harts-Born Lane near Charing Cross, he was buried in the nave in the north aisle, across the Abbey from Poets' Corner. Jonson portrayed the city as the world of those who lived by their wits. He dramatized literary infighting in *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), greedy schemes in *Volpone* (1606), intellectual confidence scams in *The Alchemist* (1610), and antitheatrical Puritan preaching in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). The London audience at the Hope Theatre was reported to have exclaimed at a performance of *Bartholomew Fair*: "O rare Ben Jonson!"

8. Physicians.

9. Banners, signs.

Unlike other playwrights of his time, Jonson's use of his plays, which appeared with *Ben Jonson* (1616). The assertion of the dignity of the author, Ben Jonson, containing more than 100 plays, was printed on the title page of *Ben Jonson*, containing more than 100 plays.

Jonson viewed writing as his living by his art. His achievement as Poet Laureate of England and granted a pension on a whole string of patrons, he used his claim of Scots descent to D'Aubigny (a cousin of King James VI of Scotland). His patrons included Sir Walter Raleigh, the *Alchemist*. Jonson's most important work was *The Masque*. In 1605 he wrote *The Masque of the Extravagance of these Times*, which spent on the entire administration of the country. *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*. The idea of the extravagance of these times, which spent on the entire administration of the country. The idea of the extravagance of these times, which spent on the entire administration of the country. The idea of the extravagance of these times, which spent on the entire administration of the country.

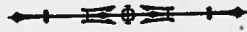
In the pursuit of patronage, Jonson repeatedly put his career at risk. He was a member of the Privy Council for *Sejanus*; the character of the *Silent Woman*—which climaxes in a suppressed because it lampooned the power of the One observer complained of the power that nation by making rid of the plays gave to the powerful—once for *Eastward Ho!* (1605), in which

Jonson took reckless risks, and was imprisoned for the murder of Gabriel Spenser. In his conversion, Jonson pleaded guilty and went free by claiming benefit of clergy, judged by the bishop's court but later Latin Bible to go free. Jonson was let for the felony, and his reputation as a Catholic in Elizabethan England for not attending Anglican services in 1605; Jonson was a convert to the Popish religion." Threading Jonson complied with the Court.

Not all Jonson's disputes were with the law. He enjoyed engaging in the game of wit. He not only engaged in combat with *Humour* but also ridiculed the theaters." Jonson's *Every Man* was a satire on the same year, Jonson and De Witt Jonson as the bombastic Horace in *Satirionastix* (1601). The title of the barbs about Jonson's checkered

The Longman Anthology of British Literature

Fourth Edition



David Damrosch and Kevin J. H. Dettmar

General Editors

VOLUME 1B

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD
Clare Carroll *and* Andrew Hadfield

2010

Longman

New York San Francisco Boston
London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore Madrid
Mexico City Munich Paris Cape Town Hong Kong Montreal