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The James Blair Historical Review

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Cover: Detail, central panel. Pedro de Adrián, silver frontal, early eighteenth century. Embossed silver. Catedral de Quito, Quito. Photograph courtesy of Hernán Navarette. Referenced in O'Brien.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Magic, revolution, slavery, art, and artifact. The diversity of subjects that this second edition of the *James Blair Historical Review* covers is a testament to the strength of William & Mary's history majors and their commitment to the process of historical scholarship. It is, also, simply, the formula for an interesting second volume that I hope readers will enjoy.

Last year, the *James Blair Historical Review* was inaugurated with its first issue. Its editors saw a need for a journal that could capture the exciting, original research of aspiring historians. I hope that this second edition continues this work. The support and guidance of the Publications Council, the History department, and Professor Hiroshi Kitamura have been pivotal to this edition's production.

Most especially, however, the Editorial Board is indebted to everyone who submitted their papers this year and to the peer reviewers who dedicated their time to reading and helping to select the papers we included. This *Review* truly is a celebration of the hard work and talent of William & Mary's students of history and I hope that they, and everyone else who reads these papers, will enjoy the result.

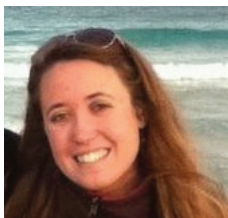
Sincerely,

Christina McClernon
Managing Editor

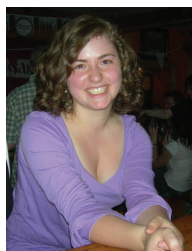
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ABOUT THE AUTHORS:



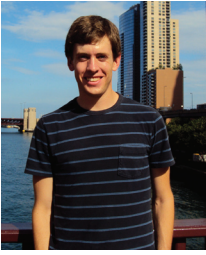
Kate O'Brien is a senior majoring English and kinesiology. Her history interests include Spanish and Spanish- American history and art history, particularly from the contact period through the colonial period. She is applying to graduate programs in athletic training and creative writing. She aims to write and publish several novels and aspires to work as an athletic trainer for a professional Latin American soccer team.



Jennie Joyce is a senior majoring in history and minoring in film studies. Her historical interests include English and Irish history through the end of the nineteenth century. She is a proud member of the Spotswood Society. Upon graduating, she plans to move to New York City in hopes of working in documentary film.



Travis Thompson is a senior majoring in history with a French minor. He started college with a strong interest in early American history and has since shifted his focus to modern East Asia. Starting in June, he will work for IES Abroad as a resident assistant in Beijing for one year. While in Beijing, he will continue his intensive study of Mandarin.



Philip Mogen is a senior majoring in history and English. In particular, he is interested in the history of the book. He plans on eventually attending graduate school in history.



Rebecca Koenig is a junior majoring in history and English. She is interested in the study of slavery, colonial American and Revolutionary War history, and particularly public history. She serves as Managing Editor of *The Flat Hat*, plays clarinet in the William & Mary Wind Symphony, and chairs the SEAC recycling committee.

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PARCHMENT, PATRONAGE, AND PLATERÍA:

Pedro de Adrián's Commission for the Cathedral of Quito

Kate O'Brien

Immersed in the thick mists of the Ecuadorian Andes and isolated from the rest of South America save for a handful of treacherous mountain passes, eighteenth-century Quito still served as the seat of both a Spanish *audiencia* (a judicial and administrative district in the Spanish colonies) and a Spanish archbishopric. Populated by about 35,000 citizens between the years 1537 and 1786, Quito's ecclesiastical art market provided employment for at least 289 precious metal artisans, approximately 221 of which were *plateros* (silversmiths).¹ One such artisan was Pedro de Adrián, a prolific and skilled *maestro platero* (master silversmith) whose name appears frequently in the folios of Quito's *Archivo Nacional*. Documents dating from the mid-1600s to the silversmith's death in the early 1730s indicate that Pedro de Adrián – also a husband, father, brother, and slave-owner – received several important commissions throughout his career, including one for a remarkable silver altar frontal for Quito's Cathedral in 1709.

Flashing forward several hundred years and into the bustling historical center of contemporary Quito, Adrián's 1709 frontal still remains unidentified. In his comprehensive guide to Quito's silverwork, Spanish scholar Jesús Paniagua Pérez addresses a common problem in Ecuadorian precious metal art history: the near-impossibility of colonial artistic attribution by modern scholars.² Extreme material damage caused by frequent Andean earthquakes presents one cause for insufficient evidence, as does the tendency of colonial ecclesiastical authorities to sell old items or to melt down extant metalworks in order to provide artisans with materials for new commissions. Finally, an oddly common lack of artist's marks or signatures in colonial Quito also ties to a present inability to locate hundreds of colonially-commissioned pieces.³ Yet despite attributive difficulties, the possibility that the frontal

– a large, removable altar covering – created by *maestro platero* Pedro de Adrián still exists in contemporary Quito remains convincing. Today, in a small ecclesiastical museum adjacent to Quito’s Cathedral reside three impressive altar frontals, all made from *plata repujada y cincelada* (silver engraved in artistic relief) and all bearing stylistic characteristics of the eighteenth century, the period in which Adrián was professionally active. Only one altar frontal is dated and signed by a prominent seventeenth-century Quitoian *platero* who was one of Adrián’s contemporaries. The other two silver frontals bear neither a date nor an artist’s mark or signature. Upon close inspection, one of these anonymous, eighteenth-century frontals – a delicate and powerful ensemble depicting the Assumption of the Virgin Mary – shares certain characteristics with the artistic stipulations laid out in the commission accepted by Pedro de Adrián, in 1709, for the creation of a silver altar frontal for Quito’s Cathedral (*Fig. 1*)*.⁴

For good reason, ecclesiastical commissions, particularly those created for Quito’s Cathedral, were promptly immortalized in the folios of Quito’s colonial archive. Spanish scholar Paniagua Pérez notes that, if a commission for a precious metalwork was completed without first composing a legal contract outlining artistic specifications, pricing, and payment methods, then the work was created “illegally.”⁵ Paniagua Pérez also remarks that, without the critical document signed by both parties, neither artist nor patron could protect themselves against “any anomalies that might arise,” and the *platero* (silversmith) had no way of ensuring ultimate payment for his efforts.⁶

Just such a legal document came into being on January 29, 1709 in the city of Quito, as notary public Gerónimo Gómez Jurado recorded an “obligation” between “Pedro de Adrián, Master Silversmith of Silver, in favor of the Venerable Dean and Chapter of this Holy Cathedral.”⁷ In the first few paragraphs, Gómez Jurado described both parties in his contract: “before me, His Majesty’s scribe, and [before] my witnesses, [I record] Pedro de Adrián, resident of this [city] and master of silverwork on the one hand, and on the other, Don Pedro de Zumárraga, Canon and Doctor of

this Holy Cathedral, and deputy nominated by the officials of the Venerable Dean and Chapter [to execute this endeavor].”⁸

Notary Gómez Jurado went on to describe the commission, in which Cathedral treasurer Pedro de Zumárraga enlisted Pedro de Adrián’s talents for the creation of *un frontal de plata hecho y labrado de realces muy curiosos* (an engraved silver frontal featuring artistically unique reliefs), *y que ha de pesar ciento y cincuenta marcos de plata buena limpia* (which must weigh 150 marks of good, pure silver).⁹ In the contract, Zumárraga and the Cathedral Chapter grant Adrián a period of “two years” from “this day, month, and year” to create the altar frontal, and Zumárraga established that he himself would bring Adrián the wooden *table-ro* (panel) upon which the silversmith was to mount the finished piece.

Cathedral treasurer Pedro de Zumárraga and his chapter proved to be just a few members of eighteenth-century Quito’s greatest patron of the arts: the clergy. Scholar Paniagua Pérez describes the sheer quantity of *plata labrada* (worked silver) commissioned by Quito’s competitive colonial ecclesiastical orders: “altar frontals, bells, crosses, crowns, goblets, incense vessels, monstrances, music stands, oil vials, scepters, spoons, wafer boxes, and water-sprinklers,” to name only a few of the items inventoried in the Quitenian Convento de la Merced between 1644 and 1768.¹⁰ Paniagua Pérez also notes that the silver collection of the Jesuit order, maintained inside Quito’s sumptuous church of La Compañía, was valued at 40,000 *pesos* total. For large-scale ecclesiastical silver commissions, often entailing the creation of multiple religious items at a time, Paniagua Pérez remarks that colonial patrons, such as Zumárraga and his chapter, generally provided the needed silver to the hired *platero*. Not only did most eighteenth-century silversmiths lack the funds needed to purchase the required quantity of purified precious metal, but such a maneuver would have been financially unwise for the artisan in the event that a client refused the finished product and left the unfortunate *platero* unpaid for his time, his efforts, and his expensive silver.¹¹

True to Paniagua Pérez's study, Cathedral treasurer Pedro de Zumárraga added in the 1709 contract that the Cathedral would provide Adrián with "the necessary silver, and the other costs and parts as they may be necessary" to realize his work. He declared that, aside from receiving "ten *pesos* and four *reales* per *marco* (one mark equals about 8 ounces) of worked silver" for the finished frontal, Adrián would receive 300 additional *pesos* "to start off with, in the coming month of April, of the present year," paying the *platero* a grand total of 1,730 *pesos* for the frontal, a remarkable sum for the time period.¹² Adrián's 1709 notarial contract also mentioned two additional ecclesiastical items that the Cathedral had previously commissioned from the *platero*: a set of *hacheros* (large, torch-like candlesticks) and an unspecified number of silver *jarras* (ecclesiastical containers for sacred substances).¹³ The document indicates that Adrián was still in the process of creating the items and that he would bring the completed works to the Cathedral along with the finished frontal.

Regarding general Quitoian silver prices throughout the colonial period, Paniagua Pérez notes that, in 1585, a group of Ecuadorian *criollos* (descendants of Spanish immigrants) engaged in a failed attempt to create the Cofradía de San Eloy, a lay confraternity dedicated to silversmiths. Established officially in the 1600s, the *cofradía's* regulations became standardized upon its adoption of the precious metal ordinances established in Cazalla, Spain, and in Guatemala, despite its members' frequent avoidance of production and trade standards.¹⁴ Technically, the Ordinances of Guatemala set Quito's standard silver rate at eight *pesos* per mark of unworked silver, and Paniagua Pérez demonstrates the industry's dwindling success by citing multiple case studies, each describing a colonial commission for *plata repujada y cincelada* (silver engraved in artistic relief) and spanning the period between 1680 and 1750. Paniagua Pérez's resultant prices, issued throughout the eighteenth century's increasing economic downturn, can then be compared to the unusually exorbitant price assigned to Pedro de Adrián's 1709 frontal (*Fig. 2*).

Following the progressive decline in prices for skilled

Quitenian silverwork, Paniagua Pérez finally remarks that, by the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the city's desperate *plateros* found themselves appealing to the King of Spain as prices for *plata repujada y cincelada* hit rock-bottom, summoning up a devastating 10 to 12 *reales* (about 1.5 *pesos*) per mark of worked silver.¹⁵ Compared to the feeble commissions comprising Paniagua Pérez's study, Pedro de Adrián's 1709 commission appears to have hit a financial mother lode. His 10.5 *pesos* per mark of *plata repujada y cincelada* – added to his “starting bonus” of 300 *pesos* – is so extravagant, considering the time period, that the compensation offered by Cathedral treasurer Zumárraga appears almost ridiculous. Such lavish remuneration can only indicate an extremely skilled artisan, as indicated by Adrián's nomination for the coveted position of *Maestro Mayor* of Quito's silversmith's guild from 1718 to 1719.¹⁶

More than one year after notary public Gerónimo Gómez Jurado copied and signed the 1709 *obligación* for the expensive silver altar frontal, the scribe returned to his original document. His marginal note, composed on July 20, 1710, was brief: Pedro de Adrián had finished the silver altar frontal, almost completely according to the terms of the *obligación* and had received full payment from Cathedral treasurer Pedro de Zumárraga. The *platero's* only failed to adhere to orders applied to the quantity of silver that he had used in the finished product – completed at 174 marks, 2 ounces of silver instead of the originally-agreed-upon 150 marks. Adrián had provided the extra silver himself, as he had found its addition necessary “to bring the frontal to perfection.”¹⁷

Remarkably, neither the original 1709 document nor its marginal notation reveal the specific Cathedral altar for which Adrián's finished silver frontal was ultimately destined. The document's marginal note simply ends with the declaration that all obligated parties were legally released from their contract, each having fulfilled his end of the bargain.¹⁸ Instead, a document found in the Cathedral's private archives provides the crucial clue needed to locate Adrián's frontal, declaring that the piece was indeed intended for the Cathedral's Marian *altar mayor* (main altar), the

most important and impressive altar in the building.¹⁹ Established in 1545 following a proclamation by Pope Paul III, Quito's Cathedral, and in conjunction, its *altar mayor*, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.²⁰ Due to the reconfiguration of the *altar mayor* in the early nineteenth century, the main altar's *retablo* (altarpiece) no longer possesses a frontal, although a large painting of the Assumption of the Virgin now serves as the scene's principal focus (Fig. 3). Painted in the late eighteenth century by Quitoian Manuel de Samaniego, the image illustrates the apocryphal ascent of the sleeping Mary, borne heavenward by angels, as Jesus and his otherworldly company wait to crown her the Queen of Heaven. Samaniego's painting claimed the space over the Cathedral's *altar mayor* many years after Pedro de Adrián fulfilled his 1709 *obligación*, but Samaniego's painting surely replaced a prior image of the same Marian devotion, in accordance with the Cathedral's declared and permanent patron.²¹

As mentioned above, three eighteenth-century silver altar frontals, today, adorn the Cathedral's private museum. Only one of the three frontals is dated and signed by its *platero*, one Jacinto Pino y Olmedo, who served as *Maestro Mayor* of the silversmiths' guild from 1700 to 1701. In 1700, Pino y Olmedo signed the impressive 0.97-meter-high, 2.54-meter-long altar frontal that he had created in honor of Saint Anne, Mary's mother and the spiritual patron of one of the Cathedral's prominent side chapels (Fig. 4). One of the central foci of Pino y Olmedo's frontal is an image of Mary's childhood family – Saint Anne teaching Mary to read while the Virgin's father, Saint Joachim, looks on – above a large escutcheon which showcases the unusual artist's signature. Filled with swirling floral motifs, Pino y Olmedo's twenty-four-paneled frontal is bordered by twelve golden medallions, all featuring images of traditional Christian and Marian icons ranging from Christ as the King of the World to the Virgin of Contemplation. Pino y Olmedo's human figures and attributes are, to use the Spanish term mentioned by Nancy Morán Proaño in her perceptive analysis of seventeenth-century Baroque silverwork, *carnosos*.²² Translated, "carnosos" refers to Pino y Olmedo's robust and highly three-

dimensional frontal figures, all characterized by stocky bodies and blunt features. The *platero's* fleshy "Señor de la Justicia," for example, is carved so broadly that he almost seems to have been hewn from rock, courtesy of a medieval-era sculptor, as opposed to engraved in purified silver by an acclaimed, turn-of-the-century silversmith (*Fig. 5*). The "Señor de la Justicia's" face and arms, in particular, project thickly from Pino y Olmedo's frontal, and his disproportionate figure is comprised primarily of simple lines and basic shapes. His countenance is highly stylized, as opposed to resembling an individual's portrait, and his cleft chin, malformed left ear, and hollowed nasal bones add to an overall impression of artistic generalization.

Surrounding Pino y Olmedo's *carroso* portraits, almost every inch of the frontal's background silver is covered in swirling, intensely controlled, symmetrical vegetation, all in distinctly high relief (*Fig. 6*). The floral plate displayed in Figure 6 reveals the full extent of careful forethought put into such an array: Pino y Olmedo's multiple vines find four careful outlets in the crevices of a central flower bud, sprouting outwards into straight lines that ultimately intersect one of four fluid lines residing in each corner of the plate. Pino y Olmedo's identical buds, surrounding each gold medallion in pairs, point in the same direction at virtually the same distance from the central sphere, each upraised curvature near-perfect in its reflection of its partner. Throughout his frontal, Pino y Olmedo's lush vines touch their curving stems to the portrait-filled medallions, but always just barely and always with a palpable sensation of the *platero's* carefully orchestrated restraint.

In contrast to Pino y Olmedo's Baroque frontal, featuring rigidly orchestrated flora and *carroso* figures, one of the other two Cathedral frontals indicates stylistic tendencies of the later eighteenth-century Rococo period (*Fig. 7-8*). Joyful excitement runs paramount in the second, anonymous frontal. The ornate vase that graces the piece's center is composed of swirling contours that blossom upward and outward. It dominates the frame as flora of all kinds explodes from the confines of its interior (*Fig. 7*). Curv-

ing arabesques sprout from the frontal's lower foreground; various flowers and fruits burst skywards from its center; and feather-like C-shapes swirl vibrantly inside its horizontal borders (*Fig. 8*). Rocaille and shell forms, both characteristic of the second half of the eighteenth century, dominate the low-relief scene, featuring engravings that are notably more delicate and intricate than anything present on Jacinto Pino y Olmedo's robust Baroque frontal. Generally speaking, any sensation of artistic control over so enthusiastic a vegetal outburst is hardly perceptible in the piece, as the theatricality of the later-eighteenth-century Rococo assumes control.

Pairing Pino y Olmedo's Baroque frontal with the Cathedral's anonymous Rococo frontal creates a set of artistic and chronological bookends in the search for Pedro de Adrián's 1709 frontal, a piece that comes to mind shortly after observing the third, anonymous Cathedral frontal. In comparison to the two previous pieces, the third frontal displays stylistic tendencies characteristic of the early Baroque period during the first half of the eighteenth century. Its craftsmanship marks it chronologically after Pino y Omedo's 1700 frontal, but before the anonymous Rococo frontal. Reminiscent of the carefully-synchronized, tightly-packed use of space displayed in Pino Olmedo's 1700 frontal, the third frontal's careful orchestration of forms showcases a wealth of visual splendor encased in two separate frames.

The frontal's first rectangular "frame," which encloses a smaller, central rectangle featuring a Marian anagram and accompanying iconography, displays an outer border of thick, circular, C-shaped scallop shells (*Figs. 1 and 9*). The shells may derive from the *Stella Maris*, or "Star of the Sea," the oceanic incarnation of Mary that encouraged Spanish rhetoric that Mary had not only supported Spanish military action in the New World but had served as its guiding light. The frontal's neatly ordered scallops enclose a plethora of carefully intertwined, silvery flora. This creates an adaptation of Mary's iconic "enclosed garden," a symbol of her divine grace and love. The "enclosed" vegetation, much of which consists of Mary's characteristic thornless roses, is lavish

and smoothly flowing in robust high relief, always highly-controlled and symmetrically organized.

The silver frontal's innermost frame displays an innovative and artistically masterful arrangement of Marian and Assumption iconographies (*Fig. 9*). Carefully inserted amidst a swirling melee of restrained, spiraling arabesques, Marian attributes align within the frontal's centerpiece. A spotless mirror indicates Mary's prudence and reflects, via its Latin term "sin macula," Mary's most popular colonial alter-ego: the "in macula" (Immaculate) Conception. The sun indicates Mary's brightness, as well as her motherhood to Jesus, the Light of the World. The moon represents femininity and death with respect to Mary's Assumption into Heaven. Several stars reference Mary as the Morning Star: the aforementioned Star of the Sea, and / or the twelve-star-crowned Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The Tower of David represents purity and chastity. Acting as a physical axis between land and sky, the Tower also symbolizes an *axis mundi*, or world-axis, between earthly and spiritual realms. This is again appropriately resrepresentation of Mary's departure from Earth and subsequent entrance into Heaven. The Tower, secularly associated with the female body, also ties Mary to the redemption of man's sins and serves as a symbol of both "vigilance and ascent."²³

Most impressive of all is the crowned Marian insignia gracing the frontal's center (*Fig. 9*). In the image, Mary's insignia is borne upwards by two cloud-riding, larger-than-life, lavishly-dressed angels, probably representative of the archangels Gabriel and Michael (*Figs. 9 and 10*). Both archangels figure prominently in Mary's apocryphal, as well as Biblical passages, as the two figures that bore the sleeping Virgin upwards into Heaven. In the silver frontal, the insignia-carrying angels wear decadent crowns as well as flowing, carefully embellished robes and sashes, and both boast powerful pairs of thickly feathered wings. Larger than any of the frontal's other Marian icons and united physically to the crowned Marian insignia, the two impressive angels showcase a conspicuous elegance and grace despite their broad, thick, *car-noso* forms.

Framing the Virgin's insignia, two visibly different plants are intertwined: on the left is a palm, representative of the palm given to Mary by archangel Michael as she was borne to Heaven; on the right, another plant sprouts small, spherical berries that may label it a cedar, referencing the traditional Marian icon of the Cedar of Lebanon. The frontal's Marian symbols are all supported inside twisting, vine-like arabesques that, despite their length and physical thickness, seem delicately suspended within the frontal's interior atmosphere. Each curving edge brushes another, but despite the leaves that blossom from each vine to touch the edges of the Marian icons, the anonymous *platero* (silversmith) maintains a sense of superimposed delicacy that is reminiscent of the careful, Baroque-style precision also displayed in Pino y Olmedo's 1700 frontal.

Unlike Pino y Olmedo's frontal, the Marian piece pulsates with free-moving arabesques and graceful characters, yet it is also still far from the delicate, low relief, barely restrained vegetal bliss of the later eighteenth-century Rococo frontal. Using Pino y Olmedo's piece and the Rococo frontal as art historical bookends, therefore, the anonymous Marian frontal can be securely attributed to the years between 1700 and 1750. Its triumphant Marian iconography cites the Assumption of the Virgin, the theme of the Cathedral's *altar mayor*, and the *platería* (silverwork) as undeniably that of a talented artisan who merited a lofty price for his labors. In such a case, Adrián's total payment of 1,730 *pesos*, in comparison to the typical financial remunerations received by his fellow *plateros*, seems entirely appropriate.

Final proof that the anonymous, Marian altar frontal in the Cathedral's museum was indeed created by prolific *platero* Pedro de Adrián appears in a brief study by Quitoian art scholar Nancy Morán Proaño. In "El Lucimiento de la Fé. Platería Religiosa en Quito," Morán Proaño mentions other silver works that Adrián completed in colonial Quito, including, but not limited to: several pieces for the convent of Santa Catalina; two *atriles* (music stands) for the Church of El Quinche; and finally, an elaborate silver pedestal for a polychromed wooden sculpture of San Antonio

de Padua that is still located in Quito's church of San Francisco.²⁴ Morán Proaño also notes another silver frontal that Adrián created sometime during the early 1700s for the convent of La Concepción featuring the iconography of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.

Yet Morán Proaño's most exciting contribution, as regards *maestro platero* Pedro de Adrián, is her published photograph of one of Adrián's silver *atriles* (music stands) commissioned in the early eighteenth century for the Church of El Quinche (Fig. 11). Measuring 33 x 40 x 25 centimeters and showcasing an exceptional Marian-themed array of *plata repujada y cincelada* (silver engraved in high relief), the *atril* is one of the rare known silver-works to bear Pedro de Adrián's signature. The *platero's* mark reads, "Adryan MfeSyD," the equivalent of "Adrián me fecit" (literally, "Adrián has made me") in Latin.²⁵ In her piece, Morán Proaño goes so far as to credit Pedro de Adrián with being "the artist and principal representative of the Baroque style in Quito," and the exquisite silver *atril* certainly complies with such an attribution.²⁶ Conspicuously delicate in its ornamentation, the *atril* depicts symbols central to traditional Marian iconography: cherubim, lilies, and a central monogram of the Virgin flanked by a pair of birds that can be defined as either eagles or phoenixes, both of which represent the immortality promised by Christ's Resurrection.

Symmetry also reigns paramount in the Baroque-period piece: in its center, the two birds perch on either side of Mary's insignia, and on the shortest side of the *atril*, the one closest to the viewer in Morán Proaño's photograph, wingless cherubs kneel on either side of a large, ornately-winged seraph bust. Using a technique startlingly similar to that employed for the archangels on the Marian Cathedral frontal, Adrián engraves the flanking cherubs with large, vacant eyes – each pupil defined by a deep, narrow puncture to the silver – and bluntly defined, projecting facial features in high relief (Figs. 10 and 11). Each cherub bears a lily and a palm frond, two specimens of specifically Marian flora. Adrián creates a sense of immense composure within the busy, ornately-

detailed work, showcasing a careful-yet-florid technique which, as Morán Proaño points out, is a trademark of the late seventeenth century Quitoian Baroque period.²⁷

Mary's anagram, an elegant fusion of the letters "M" and "A" capped by delicate fleur-de-lys, dominates the center of Adrián's *atril*. Swirling arabesques, embellishing almost all of the *atril's* free space around the central insignia, create deep, long, narrow canals in the silver. Combined with Adrián's lavish, high-relief vine tendrils and tiny, carefully-veined leaves, the additional designs surrounding the Marian centerpiece bestow an intensely delicate sense of texture and movement to the *atril*. Finally, giving his viewers one last sense of his premeditated organization, Adrián groups the twisting, turning arabesques and flora into curved shapes, often forming them into large, dynamic "C"s" reminiscent of those framing the Marian insignia on the Cathedral frontal. His robust, high-relief embossing technique, conveyed with extraordinary delicacy, premeditation, and symmetry, is indicative of a truly masterful artisan, and a genuine representative of Morán Proaño's Baroque style. In conclusion, Adrián's mid-Baroque period artistry, as well as his extraordinary artistic skill, resonates with the pieces displayed by the creator of the Cathedral's magnificent Marian frontal.

Compared with El Quinche's music stand, definitively signed by Pedro de Adrián, the Cathedral's Marian frontal shares many similar elements: lavish – yet carefully controlled – arabesques and vegetation; a strict sense of symmetry; abundant "C" shapes; stylistically similar figures engraved in high relief; and a tangible artistic elegance, to name a few of the greatest signifiers. One final factor to take into account, as a sort of coda to such a study of Adrián's work, is the crimson-painted, wooden backdrop of the third silver altar frontal. The attention-grabbing color calls to mind the descriptive phrase used by Cathedral treasurer Pedro de Zumárraga when he indicated, in his 1709 contract with *platero* Pedro de Adrián, just what kind of ecclesiastical piece the Cathedral was asking for: a silver altar frontal, featuring "realces muy curiosos." "Realces" (defined both as "reliefs" and as refer-

ring to something's ability to stand out) implies *carroso* and conspicuous engraving; "curiosos" refers to exceptional and unusual artistry. Perhaps the crimson paint as served an additional attempt to make the *altar mayor's* expensive silver frontal stand out to a large audience of Quitoian devotees.²⁸ Ultimately, Zumárraga's revealing – if unusual – description, combined with the silversmith's assignment to provide both an opulent and a visually impressive frontal for the Cathedral's Marian *altar mayor*, suggests that skilled colonial *platero* Pedro de Adrián is indeed the artisan deserving of recognition for such an exquisite piece of colonial Ecuadorian art. Centuries after signing his 1709 notarial contract – commissioning an altar frontal priced at 1,730 *pesos* and featuring "realces muy curiosos" for the Cathedral – Pedro de Adrián and his extraordinary silver frontal may finally be inching into their own, much-deserved light.

**All figures discussed in the text can be viewed in this edition's online issue. The link to the JBHR can be found on the title page.*

Endnotes

¹ Martin Minchom, *El Pueblo de Quito, 1690-1810* (Quito: Fonsal, 2007), 138; Susan Verdi Webster (art historian) in discussion with the author, 9 December 2010. Her assessment is based on a review of all notarial volumes in Quito's Archivo Nacional between those dates.

² Jesús Paniagua Pérez and Gloria M. Garzón Montenegro, *Los gremios de plateros y de batihojas en la ciudad de Quito (siglo XVIII)* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2000), 156-7.

³ Paniagua Pérez and Montenegro, *Los gremios*, 23.

⁴ Archivo Nacional de la Historia de Quito (hereafter ANH/Q), Notaría 1^a, vol. 301, 1709, Gerónimo Gomez Jurado, "Obligación: Pedro de Adrián, maestro platero de plata a favor del venerables Dean y Cabildo de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral," fols. 62v-63. All English translations, unless otherwise noted, are courtesy of the author.

⁵ Paniagua Pérez and Montenegro, *Los gremios*, 153.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁷ ANH/Q, Notaría 1^a, vol. 301, 1709, Gerónimo Gómez Jurado, "Obligación," fols. 62v-63.

⁸ *Ibid.* "...antemi el escribano de su Majestad y de los testigos y los ynfa es-

critos Pedro Adrián, vecino de esta y maestro de platería de la una parte de la otra el Señor Don Pedro de Zumárraga, canónigo doctor de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral y diputado nombrado por los señores del Venerable Deán y Cabildo de ella para las obras de fabrica...”

⁹ Ibid. “...un frontal de plata hecho y labrado de realces muy curiosos y que a de pesar ciento y cincuenta marcos de plata buena limpia...”

¹⁰ Paniagua Pérez and Montenegro, *Los gremios*, 157.

¹¹ Ibid., 154.

¹² ANH/Q, Notaría 1ª, vol. 301, 1709, Gerónimo Gómez Jurado, fols. “Obligación,” 62v-63. “diez pesos y cuatro reales por el marco”; “trescientos pesos de a ocho reales para principios del mes venidero de abril de este presente año;” “la cantidad restante que y en parta de el dicho frontal según el precio de suso expresado de cada marca de plata se la ha de entregar y pagar acabado y entregado dicho frontal.” “Dictionary.com,” last modified in January 2001, <http://dictionary.reference.com/>.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Paniagua Pérez and Montenegro, *Los gremios*, 23.

¹⁵ Ibid., 152.

¹⁶ Ibid., 197.

¹⁷ ANH/Q, Notaría 1ª, vol. 301, 1709, Gerónimo Gómez Jurado, fols. 62v.-63. “se añadieron veinte y cuatro marcos y dos onzas mas para actuarlo de perfeccionar, los cuales los suplió el dicho Pedro Adrián.”

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Archivo de la Catedral de Quito (hereafter ACQ), vol. 13, “Actas Capitulares de 1675 a 1681”, fol. 380v.

²⁰ Rita Díaz and Nidia P. Gómez, “Recopilación Histórica de la Catedral. Siglo XVI - XVII,” in *Salvaguarda de la Catedral Primada de Quito* (Quito: Ediciones Culturales UNP y PRODEP, 1997), 36.

²¹ Susan Verdi Webster (art historian) in discussion with the author, December 2010.

²² Nancy P. Morán Proaño, “El Lucimiento de la Fe. Platería Religiosa en Quito,” in *Arte de la Real Audiencia de Quito, siglos XVII-XIX*, ed. Alexandra Kennedy (Spain: Editorial Nerea S.A., 2002), 145-161.

²³ Mathilde Battistini, *Symbols and Allegories in Art: A Guide to Imagery* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 272-5.

²⁴ Morán Proaño, “El Lucimiento de la Fe,” 145-161.

²⁵ Ibid., 158.

²⁶ Ibid., 159. “El artista y principal representante del estilo barroco en Quito es el maestro platero de oro y maestro mayor del gremio Pedro Adrián.”

²⁷ Ibid., 159. “A partir del último tercio del siglo XVII, el Barroco hace su aparición de forma modesta y prestando especial atención al volumen de las decoraciones, por medio de la técnica del repujado aunque con una tímida presencia de carnosidad, en medio en una estructura y de unos contornos que

no se apartan de las formas preestablecidas y antes citadas de los primeros momentos.”

²⁸ Susan Verdi Webster (art historian) in discussion with the author, November 2010.

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SHE TURNED ME INTO A NEWT:

Witchcraft in Elizabethan England

Jennie Joyce

Witch hunts were a fact of life across Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Different regions developed different traditions, but most witchcraft trials and traditions shared common themes. The trajectory of Elizabethan witchcraft, however, differed greatly from its continental counterparts. Several key themes of continental witch trials were largely absent from England until the end of the sixteenth century, including witches sabbaths, pacts with the devil, orgies, and flight. Until 1563, witches were tried in ecclesiastical courts, which continued to hear the less important witchcraft accusations through the end of the sixteenth century. After 1563, witchcraft was regarded as a felony and dealt with by secular courts. English common law was part of a separate tradition from the Roman inquisitorial law which governed most of Western Europe, creating another crucial division between English witch trials and those on the continent. English courts focused on *maleficium*, rather than the religious or heretical aspects of witchcraft. Because of these disparities, Elizabethan England endured fewer witch trials per capita than most European nations, as well as a lower percentage of convictions.¹

Rather than focusing on whether or not magic was being done and the Devil's possible involvement thereof, English tradition concentrated on the results. Witches could only be convicted via proof of *maleficium*, defined as harm or destruction caused by occult practices. This was true until 1604, when a new statute was passed changing the definition of the crime to something closer to continental definitions. Common incarnations of *maleficium* were injury or death to people or animals and interference with natural processes like butter churning or brewing. For example, in 1582, an Essex woman's cream refused to turn to butter no matter how

long she churned it. When her labors remained ineffective after a thorough cleaning of her equipment, she tried a common charm against witchcraft. Immediately her cream began to turn to butter just as it should have.² Pamphlet accounts for Essex witchcraft trials from 1566-1589 show that death and sickness of humans and animals were the most common injuries to be blamed on witches, followed by the spoiling of beer and butter.³ Weather magic and interference with sexual relations were also examples of *maleficium*, but they seem to have been fairly uncommon accusations in Elizabethan England.

This focus on *maleficium* may have been a consequence of the long tradition of beneficial magic in England. Society recognized the existence of good magic and bad magic, making it necessary to determine which distinguishing characteristic made one case a crime and another not. Regardless of the concept's antecedents, it is clear that for the general population of England, witchcraft was synonymous with *maleficium* for most of the sixteenth century.⁴ Proof of *maleficium* was required for a conviction, and it was at the core of most accusations. Knowledge of *maleficium* is crucial to understanding the English approach to witch trials and prosecution, because it was fundamentally different from that commonly found on the continent of Europe. When the idea of a diabolic pact crossed the Channel to England in the late 1500s, this emphasis on *maleficium* died out.

Witchcraft in Elizabethan England was defined as the power to inflict harm through occult means. Having defined the crime, the logical next step was to determine the nature of the criminals. As on the continent, most witches were women – most, but not all. Edmund Mansell, a clerk, was indicted for witchcraft at the Essex Quarter Session in 1584, while John Smyth/Samond was indicted for bewitching a cow in March 1587.⁵ Such cases were exceptions, however, and for the remainder of this paper hypothetical witches will be referred to as female. The women accused of witchcraft were outwardly respectable church-goers, usually in an economically or socially inferior position to their supposed victims. Agnes Waterhouse, one of the first women to be

accused of witchcraft following the creation of the 1563 Statute, was a regular church-goer.⁶ Gaining a reputation as a witch was a gradual process, and it was sometimes years before some incident finally triggered an accusation. In the end, it was the opinion of their neighbors that defined a person as a witch. Some contemporary accounts stressed physical ugliness, but a woman's actions and personality really were the determining factors in branding her a witch, rather than her appearance. Witches were conceived of as boastful, malicious, peevish, and vengeful. If a person was obviously unhappy or melancholic, that too could be construed as a witch-like attitude.⁷

Several common themes are present throughout Elizabethan witchcraft tradition, including the relatively simple methods that witches employed to practice their dark arts. One expedient practice was cursing. This was perhaps the most common occult method, and victims included even Elizabeth I. John Story, arrested for treason and plotting against the queen in 1571, allegedly cursed her at every meal as part of his grace.⁸ Cursing had a long history, having originated in the Catholic Church and later becoming popular culture after the connections between magic and Catholicism faded.⁹ According to popular lore, the more justified a curser's anger, the more effective the curse.¹⁰

Witches purportedly sent their familiars to harass and injure their victims. The concept of familiars was uniquely English and first appeared in the trials, preceded over by Archdeacon Cole and Master Fortescue, of the Chelmsford Witches, in 1566.¹¹ Elizabeth Francis testified that her cat Sathan spoke to her, sucked drops of blood from her body, and did her bidding. This cat killed a former lover at her command and helped her to abort the child she had conceived with him. Afterwards, this same cat helped her to harm another husband, laming him according to her wish.¹² Familiars were not always cats; they could be almost any animal, though cats, dogs and toads were the most common. A 1579 trial pamphlet from Essex noted that Ellen Smyth had a toad familiar which caused Smyth pain when burnt¹³

The familiars' practice of sucking blood from their witch's

body gradually developed into the concept of a witch's mark. Apparently, the place where the familiar sucked would eventually form a teat, which would then identify the bearer as a witch to anyone who saw the mark. While familiars and witch's marks did not appear in every trial, they were common enough to be remarked upon, and their existence was addressed in the 1604 Statute regarding witchcraft.¹⁴ In Agnes Waterhouse's 1566 Confession, she admitted to allowing her cat familiar to suck her blood after the judge ordered her head cloth removed, revealing the marks all over her head and face.¹⁵ Witches also cast spells using image magic or gifts of food. Per popular legend, giving a child a bewitched apple or treat of some kind was a common method of witchcraft.¹⁶

One of the most fascinating aspects of Elizabethan witchcraft is the question of motive. English witches used their powers to avenge themselves against those who did them wrong. These wrongs were almost always failures to fulfill neighborly duties. For example, and a person refused to give her alms to a begging witch, then that person might legitimately fear for their safety. Failing to invite a witch to a communal feast or gathering of any kind also might inspire a witch's vengeance.¹⁷

Because witchcraft was seen as a response rather than an action initiated by the witch, a pattern emerged as to witchcraft accusations. First, an altercation between two neighbors, typically two women, would arise. It was generally over something small, like the repayment of a loan or a refusal to give alms. The two parties then exchanged harsh words, with one party likely threatening or insulting the other. Shortly thereafter, the verbally abused party suffered some sort of misfortune. Perhaps they became ill, or a portion of their livestock sickened and died, or their beer went bad or refused to brew properly. Suddenly, it became clear that the other party must be a witch. This equation of quarrel plus misfortune equals witch accusation appears ad nauseum throughout Elizabethan court records.¹⁸

After this discussion of witches and the patterns characterizing their interactions with the law, it is now necessary to discuss

their complement. Elizabethans recognized two sides of magic: witching and un-witching. One caused harm, the other cured it. Belief in witches and their beneficial counterparts, known as “cunning” men or women, was a hallmark of English popular culture.¹⁹ Though unpopular with Puritan writers and theologians, these persons commanded great respect among the common people of England, who might travel more than five miles to consult them.²⁰ Cunning folk dealt in four main areas of people’s lives: their health, finding lost or stolen goods, fortune telling, and identifying and countering witchcraft.²¹ Their involvement in such fields of expertise occasionally found them on the wrong side of a witchcraft accusation, but they were generally tried in the more lenient ecclesiastical courts, and not at the biannual Assizes, and given spiritual penances rather than corporal punishment.²²

Cunning folk were frequently called upon to heal the illnesses of both humans and animals, which they did through a combination of herbal remedies and rudimentary spells. Occasionally they also acted as a therapist or counselor, using their knowledge of local gossip and behavior to solve problems. Most practitioners, however, were not professionals, and did not practice their art full-time.²³ Because they had other means of support, those who worked for money charged a much smaller fee than a doctor’s. Others refused payment completely, believing that receiving compensation would render their magic ineffective.²⁴ For this reason, they were well-liked among the poorer class. In addition to healing, cunning-folk could also find lost or stolen goods and tell the future. Common divination tools were a sieve and shears, described in a sixteenth-century manuscript as one means of identifying and locating thieves.²⁵ Additional, mystical words and phrases also formed an integral part of the cunning man or woman’s arsenal, but always with the caveat that if you did not believe in the magic, it likely would not work. Indeed, a client’s lack of faith was a common explanation for failure.

The use of prayer by cunning men and women might be a surprise considering the ties between cunning folk and witches. It is important to understand that most cunning people were devout

Christians who saw no conflict between their work and Christian values. Some believed that the spirits they called upon to help them were “holy angels, or the soules of excellent men, as of Moses, Samuel, David, and others.”²⁷ Their enemies among the clergy suggested that their powers derived from the Devil, but this idea was never espoused in the common imagination, nor were familiars ever associated with cunning folk. One common thought was that the cunning folk’s prayers and spells were merely channeling powers already active in the world which were simply harnessed to do the speaker’s will.²⁸

Possibly, the cunning folk’s most significant skill was their ability to identify and counter witchcraft. If someone suspected witchcraft had been used against them, a cunning man or woman could determine whether or not the affliction was supernatural and usually cure it and/or identify the guilty party. The direct action taken by cunning folk against witches helped to further distinguish them in the popular mind from their dark counterparts. It was assumed that anyone helping witchcraft victims could not be guilty of *maleficium*, for they had no reason to work against themselves. It should be noted that the manner in which cunning men and women identified witches required little active participation on their part. Usually, the victim came to them already suspicious. The cunning person simply confirmed those existing suspicions. Their identifications were left vague and open-ended, allowing the victim to supply his own suspect.²⁹ Even if they could not identify the guilty party, cunning folk knew many different ways to counter witchcraft. While counter-magic was frowned upon by the Anglican Church, it was popular amongst the common people.

Counter-magic was the general public’s way of coping with witchcraft outside of the legal system. Tradition recognized two ways to avoid being bewitched: living life in such a way that a witch would be unlikely or unable to attack, and taking magical precautions. Protective charms that could be worn or carried included certain plants, stones or holy objects, such as holy water, communion wafers, and excerpts of the Gospel of St. John writ-

ten out on scraps of paper.³⁰ Tied to the use of holy relics was the concept of one's faith in God as a shield against witchcraft. This notion appears in records from as early as 1566, when an Essex woman accused of witchcraft admitted to being unable to attack a man due to the strength of his faith.³¹ Despite the religious overtones to counter-magic, it is important to note that the Devil did not play a large role in English witchcraft until the last decade of the sixteenth century. Only at that point did that demonologists begin to argue that the only defense against witchcraft was prayer.³²

Until that time, people resorted to any number of remedies and preventative measures against witchcraft. Fire and red hot metal were both thought to be extremely effective against active spells. When livestock sickened and died in large numbers, burning one of them alive was considered a possible remedy to the magical curse. Burning only a part of the victim was another option. In 1582, one pig was cured of witchcraft by having its ears cut off and burned. Another common anti-witchcraft device was the application of a red hot iron horseshoe to the bewitched material. This type of counter-magic was generally used on household goods, including cream that refused to cure or beer that refused to brew.³³ While these remedies worked regardless of whether the witch's identity was known, learning who was responsible opened up further options regarding cures. It was a common belief that scratching or otherwise injuring a witch would break her spells. In 1592, a cunning man in Hastings advised putting a knife in a witch's buttock to negate her witchcraft. Logically then, it was also assumed that prosecuting her and putting her to death would completely undo any harm she had done. This was the only anti-witchcraft procedure that the church approved of, for the clergy considered even protective magic to be the work of the Devil.³⁴

The alternative to counter-magic or witch-pricking was to arrange one's life in such a way as to avoid falling afoul of witches. There were several ways to do this. The most obvious was to cut all ties to any reputed witch. Nearly all witchcraft accusations occurred between people with close relationships: neigh-

bors or, occasionally, family members through marriage. This intimate connection was necessary for witchcraft to take place. Removing the connection considerably lessened a witch's ability to harm. Another option was to treat reputed witches well at all times, denying them nothing and practicing neighborly charity and kindness. As previously explained, Elizabethan witchcraft was thought to be a response to uncharitable and un-neighborly behavior. If such behavior was avoided, it followed that the witch would be less inclined to attack.³⁵

While the aforementioned procedures were all strictly defensive, people occasionally took offensive action against their local witch if they felt threatened. One example of such behavior is the Throckmorton case of 1589. When the children of the wealthy Throckmorton family fell ill, their parents suspected witchcraft and imprisoned their prime suspect, Mother Samuel, for a period of several months without legal justification. She was periodically forced to confront the sick children, who were suspected of being possessed. At one point a chunk of the accused witch's hair was cut off and burnt in front of her by another member of the family. She eventually confessed.³⁶ This behavior was not remarked upon by contemporaries, but it is likely that such actions would not have been tolerated had the Thronkmortons been of lower social status. One of the most well-known methods of extralegal action against witches was the swimming test, where a witch was lowered into water to see if she would float. If she floated, she was a witch; if she did not, hopefully she could be pulled out before she drowned. Despite the popularity that this test has in the modern consciousness, it did not appear in England until the end of the sixteenth century. Even then, most magistrates opposed this practice, and it enjoyed no formal legal status or validity.³⁷

Only when none of these popular methods of anti-witchcraft succeeded would a formal accusation would be made in court. Although witchcraft was declared a felony in 1563, minor infractions, accusations involving cunning folk, and defamation suits involving witchcraft were typically dealt with in the ecclesiastical courts.³⁸ These courts recognized two kinds of cases: instance

cases and office cases. Instance cases consisted of the libel and defamation suits filed against those who informally accused them of witchcraft. Office suits were the presentment of defendants to the court by a churchwarden or other official. In the ecclesiastical courts, the most common accusations described white witchcraft or sorcery rather than accusations of serious harm. Such presentments were commonly founded on rumor and popular repute. If the suspect failed to appear in court, they were excommunicated. Most of the accused denied the charges. If the accused did deny them, they were then required to purge themselves by bringing a small group of honest neighbors to court to vouch for them and witness their innocence. Consequently, a person's guilt or innocence essentially depended on their neighbors' opinion of them.³⁹ If the accused had made a bad impression and could not find the required number of individuals to vouch for them, the suspect was considered guilty.

Fortunately for the awkward and anti-social, the ecclesiastical courts tended to be more lenient in sentencing than the secular courts. As a general rule, those judged guilty were required to fulfill a public penance. This forced the penitent to stand in the open during Mass, wearing a white sheet and carrying a white rod, to confess their sins and to beg the forgiveness of the community. After fulfilling this requirement and paying their fees, the convicted witch was dismissed.⁴⁰ This leniency seems slightly counterintuitive, since the Church of England believed far more strongly in the effectiveness of witchcraft than did Elizabeth I and her Privy Council.⁴¹ In point of fact, it was the Church that persuaded Elizabeth to pass anti-witchcraft legislation in the first place.

Although Parliament had passed Henry VIII's *Bill Against Conjurations and Witchcrafts and Sorcery and Enchantments*, in 1542, it was repealed in 1547 and witchcraft reverted to an ecclesiastical offence until 1563.⁴² Shortly after Elizabeth I's accession, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, and Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, strongly urged both Elizabeth and her Privy Council to take secular action against witchcraft. Jewel preached a sermon in front of the queen sometime between 1558 and 1560, warning her

that witches:

Within these last few years are marvelously
increased within this your grace's realm. These
eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks
of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine
away even unto the death, their colour fadeth,
their flesh rotteth, their senses are bereft.

His rhetoric demonstrates that Jewel, like the majority of the clergy, believed firmly in the existence and encroaching danger of witchcraft. The Crown did not fully share the Church's sense of urgency regarding witchcraft, but in 1563, Parliament did pass the *Act Against Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts* as part of a broader program intended to provide security for the monarch.⁴³

The new legislation defined witchcraft in terms of *maleficium* and made little or no mention of the Devil and diabolic pacts. It was divided into three items: (1) addressing sorcerers who called on spirits for any reason; (2) harming or killing any person through magic; and (3) the use of magic by cunning folk to find treasure or lost objects, for love magic, or to harm people or their possessions. Conviction under any of these terms was punishable by one year in prison for a first offense, accompanied by four separate appearances in the stocks. The use of magic by cunning folk, if this was a second offense, meant life imprisonment and forfeiture of all the convict's worldly goods. Any person convicted of addressing sorcerers or harming or killing any person through magic faced death by hanging for a second offense.⁴⁴ This law also brought witchcraft under the jurisdiction of the secular court system for the first time since 1547. The law remained in effect until 1604, when it was replaced with another statute under James I. This new law imposed heavier penalties and changed the accepted definition of witchcraft, bringing it more in line with continental ideas and focusing on diabolic pacts rather than *maleficium*.⁴⁵ The later bill was a symptom of the increasing

influence of continental ideas on English witchcraft traditions.

Those accused under the 1563 statute were tried at the bi-annual Assizes. Although suspects could be examined and heard at the lesser Quarter Sessions, they could not be tried because they were inferior courts. Pairs of judges who traveled circuits through specific regions of the country presided over the Assizes. There were many benefits to this system, including that it guaranteed defendants a competent, qualified, and usually impartial judge.⁴⁶ This judge acted as prosecuting counsel, using evidence provided by the Justice of the Peace who had presented the suspect in question.⁴⁷ There was no defense counsel although, theoretically, the defendant was allowed to call witnesses on her own behalf. A Grand Jury composed mainly of gentry reviewed each presentment before it came to trial to determine whether it was a “true bill” or *ignoramus*. Thus, the Grand Jury decided which presentments were worthwhile and which were a waste of the court’s time. If approved, the case became an indictment and went before the judge and a jury of “good and lawful men” of moderate means.⁴⁸ Although trial by jury was a crucial concept in English common law, and technically jurors decided the fate of the accused, the judge’s influence could still be decisive. Lord Chief Justice Edmund Anderson, for example, abused a witness giving testimony in the 1602 trial of Mary Glover. He followed this with an impassioned speech to the jury encouraging them to convict based on presumption, rather than proof.⁴⁹ This incident occurred at the end of Elizabeth’s reign when many continental aspects of witchcraft tradition had already taken hold, illustrating the idea that it was possible for a judge to affect a trial despite the power of the jury.

As might be intuited by the presence of a jury and the relatively aloof presence of the judge in the Elizabethan Court, England possessed its own common law and was not part of the Roman law tradition that encompassed most of Europe. This meant that inquisitorial procedure, a hallmark of continental witch trials, was not present in the English court system. Instead of a judge playing an active, investigative role in the proceedings, the judge

presided over the court while lay people made accusations and reached verdicts. Rather than attempting to ferret out suspects' secrets during private audiences, English courts focused on trying to prove that malice was followed by misfortune for the plaintiff. Great emphasis was placed on learning the defendant's character—everything about them from their parents' identities, to their trade, to their course of life and reputation. At least two witnesses were required to any act, but no class of person was disbarred from testifying, including the defendant's own family members.⁵⁰ The trial was public and resembled a contest between a plaintiff and a defendant.⁵¹

Perhaps due to the lack of inquisitorial drive, torture was not part of the English witch hunt tradition. It was rarely used in English witchcraft trials. In the rare cases that it did appear, it was due to accusations of treason, not witchcraft. To use torture against a defendant, it was necessary to obtain permission from the Privy Council, which was rarely given.⁵² The lack of torture had several repercussions for English witch trials. It prevented chain-reaction witch hunts like those that happened on the continent where victims accused lists of people under torture. It also slowed the spread of continental witch beliefs.⁵³ Certain themes like witch's Sabbaths and orgies with the Devil became so popular on the continent because inquisitors were looking for them and thus tortured people until they "confessed" to such things. It follows, then, that these same ideas would spread more slowly in a country where torture was not a component.

Another explanation for the slow synthesis of continental witchcraft ideas and beliefs is the fact that witchcraft trials in Elizabethan England were a bottom-up phenomenon. Although theologians and scholastics among the upper classes held certain views on witchcraft, the nature of their legal system prevented dissemination of those ideas from the top-down to a great extent. The focus of Elizabethan witch trials on *maleficium*, rather than complicated theological questions involving diabolical pacts and inverted religious ceremonies, reflects lower class concerns and not those of the elite. This concentration on malice and harm done

by the witches in trial records and pamphlets clearly demonstrates the common Englishmen were those raising concerns and making accusations, not theologians and nobles. The structure of the court system strengthened this model. Because Assize judges were part of a circuit court system, they were unable to present suspects for trial.⁵⁴ This limitation prevented them from taking too much initiative in witch hunts. There is no evidence of witchcraft accusations ever coming from above in Elizabethan England. The first such occasion in England's history occurred during the career of witch hunter Matthew Hopkins in the mid-seventeenth century. The composition of the juries at Assize trials also helped to contribute to the bottom-up nature of the Elizabethan witch trials, as the men of the jury were not nobleman; they were merchants and artisans and others of the middling class.⁵⁵

The context of the quarrels and misfortunes that led to witchcraft accusations enhances the argument that Elizabethan witch beliefs spread from the bottom-up on the social ladder. Witchcraft accusations evolved out of altercations between neighbors. Close, personal relationships were necessary to create the bond between "witch" and victim. The hardships that precipitated the accusations were usually local and personal. Perhaps most importantly, one's reputation as a witch was not established only through individual quarrels. Witches were usually suspected by a number of families in their village, each of them convinced that she had somehow wronged them.⁵⁶ Witch accusations had to be brought forward by the witch's peers, as judges were not permitted to do so, nor did the noble and scholastic elite possess the intimate knowledge of local interactions and relationships that was such an integral part of such allegations. Not until the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century did theologians and other elites begin to have a larger impact on witchcraft beliefs and traditions in England. It was at this point that continental ideas began to take hold, and pamphlets began to be written addressing the diabolic aspects of witchcraft.

The bottom-up trend of Elizabethan witchcraft was an abrupt departure from the combination of popular and elite im-

pulses that formed witchcraft beliefs on the continent. Because of the inquisitorial aspect of Roman law, elites in continental Europe could impose their own ideas and theories on the popular mind through torture and interrogation of suspected witches. Inquisition officials were involved in every step of the process, including hunting down witches and taking them to court.⁵⁷ Because inquisitorial procedure was not part of English law, witches needed to be accused, rather than hunted down by an inquisitor prior to appearing before a judge. Judges were unable to present suspects on their own initiative, meaning that accusations had to come from below. The accusatorial nature of English common law, as opposed to the inquisitorial methods used on the continent, resulted in fewer indictments of witchcraft.

It is because of these fundamental differences in legal structure and criminal procedure that certain thematic commonalities between German, Spanish, and Roman witchcraft traditions were not shared with the English. England had clearly articulated secular laws regarding witchcraft. In Spain and Italy, the Church institutionalized and regulated witchcraft trials. In Germanic lands, witches were pursued by secular authorities who labored under little or no regulation or accountability. The Carolina Code addressed witchcraft briefly, but provided no instructions or regulations.⁵⁸ This meant that the prohibition against torture maintained in England was not common among European witch trials. Because of confessions obtained under torture, themes such as witch's Sabbaths, cannibalism, sex and fertility, and diabolic pacts became common throughout Europe, but they appear seldom, if ever, in the surviving records from sixteenth century England. Some of those ideas, such as the diabolic pact and witch's Sabbaths, appear later on in English history to a limited extent. Cannibalism never made it across the Channel.

Likewise, there are aspects of Elizabethan witchcraft that were never seen on the continent. The English concept of a familiar was the most noticeable tradition to never appear on the continent. Animal companions who performed their mistress' bidding and who sucked her blood were a staple of English witch trials.

The closest parallel to the familiar in continental Europe was the flocks of dressed toads which Basque witches described as guardians, advisors, and occasionally ingredients in their potions and ointments.⁵⁹

Although there is considerable variance in these smaller themes, the difference between Elizabethan and European witchcraft tradition can be captured in two overarching ideas. The first is motive. For European witches, their motivation was often tied to motherhood and fertility—older women were jealous of younger, more fertile ones. Thus, the concepts of fertility and sex were inextricably bound into the witch tradition.⁶⁰ In England, however, witchcraft was justified by and seen as a response to uncharitable actions on the part of the witch's neighbors. This justification raises the other major distinction between England and the continent: *maleficium*. In Elizabethan England, the crime of witchcraft meant harming another human being or their property through occult means. In Europe, witchcraft was treason against God. These two inherent differences form the core of the disparities between Elizabethan and continental witchcraft.

Overall, England had a lower rate of accusations, as well as fewer convictions per capita, than Germany, Spain, or Italy. Although witch hunts and accusations did occur, the level of conviction for witchcraft in England was significantly lower than that of other countries.⁶¹ England dealt with witches differently because it had firm secular laws addressing witchcraft and focused on the concept of injury rather than the religious aspects of witchcraft. This unique definition of witchcraft, when combined with English common law and the English method of criminal prosecution, created an environment less hospitable to witch hunts than that of its continental counterparts.

Endnotes

¹ Brian Levack, *The Witch Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London: Longman, 1995), 182.

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³ Alan MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England; a regional and comparative study* (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970), 153.

⁴ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 448.

⁵ MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 273.

⁶ Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 306.

⁷ MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 158.

⁸ W. Camden, *The History of ... Princess Elizabeth* (3rd edn., 1675), 678.

⁹ Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, 503.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 505.

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¹² Kors and Peter, 305.

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¹⁵ Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700*, 307.

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²³ MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 127.

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²⁶ MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 128.

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³¹ The Examination and Foccession of Certain Wytches at Chensford in the Countie of Essex before the Queens majesties Judges, the xxvi day of July Anno 1566 (1566: the only copy is in the Lambeth Palace library and there is no consistent foliation, page references are therefore to the reprinted version in Ewen I, pp.317-24), 324.

³² Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 86.

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⁵⁰ MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 17.

⁵¹ Levack, *The Witch Hunt*, 68.

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⁵³ *Ibid.*, 184.

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⁵⁷ Levack, *The Witch Hunt*, 67.

⁵⁸ Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 20.

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PROGRESSIVE JAPANESE WOMEN'S EDUCATION:

Qiu Jin and the 1911 Chinese Revolution

Travis Thompson

At the beginning of the twentieth century the collapsing Qing dynasty of China attempted to save itself by modernizing its society on the Japanese model. In doing so, the Chinese government unknowingly helped to speed its own downfall by sponsoring initiatives for women's education in Japan, such as at Japanese reformer Shimoda Utako's Girls' Practical School. The school specialized in teaching a form of enlightened domesticity based on Shimoda's theory that women serving as good wives and wise mothers would contribute to national consolidation. Her ideas won the respect of many Japanese and Chinese politicians because of their shared aims to strengthen Japan and China respectively while maintaining the social status quo regarding women's subordinate place in society. However, political factors beyond Shimoda's control caused her Chinese students to take the nationalist teachings they learned and change them from their domestic form into a public one. It was in this public setting that they used their political and intellectual skills to call for the end of Qing Dynasty rule. The most remarkable example was of Qiu Jin, who personified the woman revolutionary of China pushing for women's liberation and republican revolution in her motherland. Disillusioned with her unhappy marriage and the Boxer Rebellion's destruction, she recognized that China was on the verge of collapse and in desperate need of reform.

In Japan, Qiu Jin learned nationalist principles from Shimoda's school while organizing revolutionary groups and, especially, women in the overseas Chinese student community. She returned to China to teach her revolutionary message to other women and prepared for open revolt against the Qing government. Though she was discovered and executed, her revolutionary message inspired many women after her. Lin Zongshu, who

studied at the Girls' Practical School two years before Qiu Jin, had a nearly identical message. Moreover, groups such as the Mutual Love Association, which existed before and continued after Qiu Jin's death, indicate a consistent link between Girls' Practical School and Chinese revolutionaries throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. This represents how Japanese progressive women's education unintentionally contributed to the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

The legacy of Japanese modernization began with the 1865 Meiji Restoration in which the Tokugawa regime was overthrown and the emperor was reinstated as figurehead of the state. Recognizing the significant technological advantages of the Western powers and learning from China's mistakes in the Opium Wars, Japan's new government focused its efforts on modernizing all aspects of society, culminating in mass public education for boys and girls. With such focus on modernizing and learning Western technologies and methods for education, Japan progressed at a quicker rate than China, which was in the midst of its own self-strengthening movement. The contrast between the two countries was thrown into sharp relief with the resounding Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. That conflict, coupled with the barely contained Boxer Rebellion of 1898, showed the ruling Qing Dynasty of China that its survival depended upon its ability to modernize more effectively.¹

Impressed by Japan's rapid adoption of Western institutions and technologies to combat imperialism, the Chinese Empress Dowager Cixi looked to Japan as a model. Learning from China's island neighbor, she embarked on a series of reforms, including the dismantling of the Confucian examination system. Using public and private funding, the Qing court organized study tours of Japan for officials and businessmen of all backgrounds to investigate governing institutions and methods. These trips lasted anywhere from a month to several years. With the highest levels of government sponsorship endorsing such trips, many Chinese elites took advantage of the opportunity to go to Japan, taking

their wives, daughters, and sisters with them.² Many of these women enrolled at Shimoda Utako's Girls' Practical School in order to learn how they could better their home country.

Before understanding how Chinese women revolutionaries came out of the progressive Japanese women's education, it is necessary to understand Shimoda Utako's background and ideology. As principal of the Girls' Practical School, Shimoda was described as an energetic personality and a dedicated Pan-Asianist. She wanted the countries of Asia to unite in order to combat Western imperialism and make their own mark on the world, particularly in Japan and China. However, she believed Japan should take the lead in China's educational development. Domestically, Shimoda was Japan's most famous advocate of women's education and the leading proponent of her own good wives and wise mothers ideology. Previously, much more emphasis had been put on male education to mold the next generation of leadership. Shimoda, however, saw women as a foundation for the nation and legitimized female education through national consolidation. At the same time, she earned the respect and trust of many Japanese and Chinese politicians because her good wives and wise mothers theory supported the country while perpetuating many traditional gender assumptions. With official backing, she became the single most important women's educator for Japan and China.

Shimoda was trained in, and a supporter of, the preservation of Chinese Confucian learning and understood China's weakness as a nation and how that could undermine her Pan-Asianist goals. If China collapsed and succumbed to Western imperialism, it would be more difficult for Japan to assert its influence in Asia. Such a reality motivated her to extend educational opportunities to Chinese women. Initially, Shimoda dreamed of going to China to teach. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, she engaged in talks with the Empress Dowager to be appointed head of Chinese women's education. However, with the death of the Empress Dowager Cixi in 1908, any possibility of such an arrangement died. Even so, since admitting her first Chinese student to the Girls' Practical School in Tokyo in 1901, Shimoda's

objective was to make Chinese women the foundation of a newly strengthened Chinese nation where they were to be “good wives and wise mothers, with the practical skills, the moral understanding and the physical vigor necessary to ensure the revitalization of the Chinese race.”³

Despite Shimoda’s intentions, the highly politicized environment of Tokyo—in particular the overseas Chinese student community—made it difficult to separate women’s education and nationalism from radical ideologies of revolution in China. Her address to the 1905 graduating class of Chinese students of the Girls’ Practical School in Tokyo illustrates the situation:

The Qing State has maintained its feudal institutions until the present. When those living under its monarchical autocracy travel abroad and all of a sudden observe a free attitude toward life, they are most likely to become ardent supporters of popular rights. Long-awaited knowledge may invite the danger of engendering traitors and rebels. I used to worry about this, but by exercising severe control over thought I would have been excessively cruel with you young women....Although it is now time for us to part, if our wills be united then even though our bodies may be separated, our spirits can never change. Do not forget that you leave Japan in tears. Please keep it always in your minds that although the country that reared you was China, the country in which you received an education was Japan.⁴

In reality, Shimoda tried to prevent her Chinese students from engaging in political activity, but to no avail. Her inability to prevent her students from doing as they pleased than from educational ideals might be the true reason she ceased her . By reminding her students that they received an education in Japan and that, as a school, they shared a special bond, Shimoda aimed to create a link between Chinese women and Japan to make them feel

as though Japan was a spiritual motherland for them.⁵ Instead, Shimoda's progressive agenda bred revolutionaries and Chinese nationalists intent on ending Qing dynasty rule and replacing it with a republic. The school produced the single most influential female revolutionary, Qiu Jin, and inspired many other women to nationalistic and revolutionary actions.

Qiu Jin was an exceptional graduate of the Girls' Practical School both in her later revolutionary actions and in her story before attending the school. However, she represented a broader group of women with nationalist and revolutionary goals, who they may not have been as visible as she. Qiu Jin suffered through the pain of foot binding, an unhappy marriage, and the shock that was the 1899-1901 devastation of the Boxer Rebellion; all this death and destruction disillusioned her against the current state of China. Qiu sought out new ideas and found her way to Hattori Shigeko, a former student of Shimoda's and wife of a prominent Japanese professor, Hattori Unokichi, who taught at what is now Beijing University. Shigeko held a conversation hour for women at her home, discussing the political events of the day with much discourse about the state of China and Chinese nationalism. When the two first met, Shigeko described Qiu Jin as a beautiful woman wearing men's clothing. Upon inquiring about the choice of garb, Qiu Jin explained to Shigeko:

My aim is to dress like a man! As your husband well knows, in China men are strong, and women are oppressed because they're supposed to be weak. I want somehow to have a mind as strong as a man's. If I first take on the form of a man, then I think my mind too will eventually become that of a man. My hair is cut in a foreigner's style, something Chinese aren't supposed to do, and I'm wearing Western clothes.⁶

Clearly unconventional, Qiu Jin showed a willingness to better herself and become independent by taking "the form of a man" and rejecting her societal position. Wearing Western clothes was a

further statement of modernization. In discussions with Shigeko, Qiu Jin often expressed such thoughts and convictions. One of their recorded exchanges illustrated much about Qiu Jin's thinking:

Qiu Jin: If I might be so bold as to ask for your instruction, are you a conservative or a radical?

Shigeko: Oh, no, no. I am a follower of Confucius.

Qiu Jin: A follower of Confucius?! So that means you're a follower of [the Confucian dictum that] 'women and petty men are difficult to educate.'

Qiu Jin: What's your opinion of revolution?

Shigeko: Revolution? Miss Qiu Jin, my country of Japan is a nation crowned with an Emperor of the same line for ten thousand generations. It is abominable for me to hear the sound of the word 'revolution.'⁷

Qiu Jin showed a true disdain of Confucian teachings on female inferiority and inability to learn. And even before she left for Japan, Qiu Jin, as evidenced by her question to Hattori. Shigeko's strong rebuttal indicates that she believed Qiu Jin was an ardent supporter of revolution. Unlike her future teacher, Shimoda Utako, Qiu Jin despised Confucian teachings and sought their end. Even at this early stage before going to Japan, it is apparent that Qiu's strength of will led her to apply her education to her own revolutionary ends.

Despite their ideological differences, both women wanted the advancement of female education and greatly respected each other. And though Qiu Jin originally wanted to study in America, Shigeko convinced Qiu Jin to go to Japan instead, even helping her to arrange travel and placement in Japanese schools. Thus, Qiu Jin left her husband and two children to pursue her studies and revolutionary impulses in Japan. Such a breach of the family by a woman directly contradicted the enlightened domesticity taught by Shimoda Utako and was unheard of in Chinese society.

Before her later activities are taken into account, her departure from home represented a significant act of protest.

Upon arriving, Qiu Jin enrolled in a Japanese language school and then transferred to Shimoda's Girls' Practical School. Drawn to organizations with nationalist potential, she wasted no time in beginning her revolutionary activities, joining a number of different activist groups. Among them, she became heavily involved with the Chinese secret society, the Triads—a group dedicated to the overthrow of Manchu rule, which was active in Tokyo among the overseas Chinese community. Qiu was also an active member of the Mutual Love Association, an all women's nationalist Chinese group. While taking classes, she dedicated much energy to reorganizing the association and also to producing the propaganda spread throughout the overseas student community by the group. Through such organizations, she mobilized Chinese women to the nationalist cause via the written word and speeches at large gatherings.

In her journal called *Baihua bao*, Qiu Jin was also one of the first women to write in colloquial Chinese to make communication easier. Literary Chinese was far removed from the spoken word and difficult to understand even for the most educated. The journal, which she edited herself, spread revolutionary propaganda among overseas Chinese students. The colloquial style which Qiu Jin helped pioneer would gain prominence as a means of furthering the republican cause. As exemplified by her article, "A Respectful Proclamation to China's 200 Million Women Comrades," in her journal, Qiu published many nationalist messages with feminist tones. In the article she said, "Oh, the most unfairly treated people in the world are we 200 million fellow women. Once born, it's better to have a good father; but if your father is a hot-tempered obstinate sort, when you open your mouth and shout, 'You good-for-nothing,' it will seem as though he's sorry he can't grab and kill you."⁸

Commenting on the lot of women, Shimoda called attention to the fate of women who were born to families without good fathers, saying that their good treatment was luck of the draw. If

the father was kind, then a woman would have a happier existence, but as soon as she spoke a word of critique against a poor father, the woman was vulnerable to his anger. Qiu Jin spoke to the experiences of many women through such works in her journal and elicited a sympathetic response. She wrote of the overwhelming pain of the foot binding she endured for her marriage and the dull life that ensued with the matrimony arranged by her parents.

Above all, Qiu wanted women to enter schools “to study women’s arts to become independent and self-supporting. [Thus] by prospering in [their] work, gaining the respect of men, and ridding [themselves] of the name of ‘good-for-nothing,’ [women would] enjoy the blessings of freedom.”⁹ She believed the path to women’s liberation and the Chinese nation’s salvation lay in women’s education. In her publication *Vernacular*, she wrote:

Grandmothers, you mustn’t say that you’re useless because you’re old. If your husbands are really good men and they build schools for you, don’t hinder them in any way. Middle-aged women, you mustn’t oppose your husbands, diminish their fighting spirit, make them incapable of accomplishing deeds, or seek your own fame...

Qiu Jin believed that women of all ages had a value to society, which could be recognized through education. Only the educated could secure China’s future. In particular, the children would be the ones that carried on the progress that Qiu Jin hoped to achieve:

...If you have children, please send them to school by all means. Girls, no matter what, never have your feet bound. Young women, if possible it’s best for you to go school; but even if you can’t then read at home and study your characters all the time....Everyone, the nation is on the verge of collapse. Men can no longer protect it, so how can we depend on them? If we fail to rouse ourselves it will be too late after the nation perishes.¹⁰

In general, Qiu Jin's address was a call to action for women; men alone had been unable to defend the nation at that point. Without women, Qiu Jin believed that the country would cease to exist.

Qiu Jin was not alone in her revolutionary activities in Tokyo. A number of other revolutionary groups in Japan organized along provincial lines in China, such as the Huaxinghui, the Xing-Zhonghui, and the Guangfuhui. In 1905, all such radical Chinese groups in Japan came together to form a united body known as the Tongmenhui, or Revolutionary Alliance, which would become the force that would drive the revolution forward. Its program followed the points: "Expel the barbarians, revive China, establish a republic, and equalize land rights."¹¹ Taking on ever-greater revolutionary responsibilities, the Revolutionary Alliance charged Qiu Jin with organizing the Zhejiang Province of China for the overthrow of the imperial system.

Surprised by the cohesiveness of the newly unified revolutionary force, the Qing court urged the Japanese government to increase supervision and regulation of Chinese students in Japan. Heeding their request, the Japanese government, and Shimoda in particular, made attempts to do so; in 1905, Shimoda established a "Chinese Department" dedicated exclusively to the instruction of Chinese women. She limited their education to the private arts of virtuous womanhood and attempted to construct the new department as a private space for her students. The Chinese students were required to live in closely watched dormitories or with male relatives in an attempt to reduce their exposure to radical political ideas. But Qiu Jin and the other Chinese women at the school would not be stopped. In the highly politicized context of the Chinese student community of Tokyo, they proved impossible to patrol. The women had easy access to political experiences and publishing opportunities thanks to the myriad of Chinese nationalist and revolutionary groups developing in Japan. Thus, the students created an alternative definition of the proper role of women defined by the nation and not the family. Said alternative called for the expression of public talents and

political skills over domestic virtues. Therein laid the tension between the conservative nationalism of enlightened domesticity taught by Shimoda and the radical application of her Chinese students. Whereas the Girls' Practical School advocated a role for women strictly as wives and mothers, the sense of crisis in China felt by the enrolled Chinese students, and Qiu Jin in particular, led them and other overseas students to glorify skills outside of the home.

In response to the Japanese attempts at patrolling student activities, 8,000 Chinese students protested by leaving their schools en masse in December 1905. The students divided into two groups; one wanting to return to China immediately to start the revolution and another who wanted to remain in Japan to make further preparations for the future. Ever the ardent revolutionary, Qiu Jin subscribed to the group wishing to return immediately. In one of the students' meetings, she was quoted as saying, "If I return to the motherland, surrender to the Manchu barbarians, and deceive the Han people, stab me with this dagger!"¹² Her revolutionary vigor was unquestionable and, in 1906, determined to take the fight to the Manchu Qing court, she left Japan along with two thousand other students. Upon returning to China, Qiu Jin started another publication called *Zhongguo nubao*, or Chinese Women, in Shanghai with the mission of "advancing civilization, promoting women's education, uniting their emotions, solidifying an organization, and some day establishing a Chinese Women's Association."¹³

All the more determined to advance the cause of women and revolution after her education and political experiences in Japan, Qiu Jin became the head teacher at the Datong School for women in Shaoxing in Zhejiang province, the same area she was charged with preparing for the revolution by the Revolutionary Alliance. Though it was officially a school for training sports teachers, Qiu Jin used her teaching position as a point of contact for finding like-minded associates and used the school as a military training ground for revolutionaries.¹⁴ From Datong, she kept in touch with local secret societies, the Restoration Society in par-

ticular, while slowly preparing for an armed revolt.

The Restoration Society was an underground organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Manchu government and the restoration of Chinese rule. It was so secretive that initiates had to sign an oath in blood upon joining, and would not even be considered for membership until they had completed several projects. If her many nationalistic initiatives to that point were not enough evidence of her revolutionary intent, her involvement in the Restoration Society is indicative of her seriousness. Just as she completed preparations to act as directed by the Revolutionary Alliance, the plans for her operation leaked when her compatriot Xu Xilin failed in his attempt to assassinate the governor of Anhui Province. Aware of her compromised position, Qiu Jin chose to continue teaching at the Datong School until she was arrested by Qing forces. She endured torture without giving up any information on her revolutionary contacts and was executed on July 15, 1907.

Even in death Qiu Jin inspired revolutionary sentiment in many women; revolutionary publications by and for women increased after her death, as did the call for nationalist reform. Qiu Jin represented the link between progressive Japanese women's education and Chinese revolutionary actions. While Shimoda gave her and other Chinese women the skills necessary to teach nationalist principles and the advancement of women's education, Shimoda was unable to control to what ends her lessons were used.¹⁵ The Girls' Practical School inadvertently gave the means to Chinese women revolutionaries and helped spur China towards its Republican Revolution in 1911.

Though Qiu Jin was remarkable, she was far from the only one advocating women take part in Chinese nationalism and revolution. Before she arrived in Japan, imperial Russia expressed ambition to take Manchuria in 1903. The Mutual Love Organization in Tokyo, of which Shimoda would be a part a year later, called an emergency general meeting and agreed to fight in a war of resistance against Russia. Representatives of the group studying at Girls' Practical School appealed tearfully to Shimoda

Utako, saying, “We can exist only when we have a country. If it ceases to exist, then we will be no more, and there will be no learning at all.”¹⁶ Even before Qiu Jin arrived, Shimoda’s school was producing female Chinese nationalists.

Another connection to Shimoda’s school in Japan came from a response to a booklet called *Nujie zhongji*, or *A Tocsin for Women*, written in 1902. The author, a man named Jin Tiange, used the pen-name “Jin Yi who loves liberty” to address women’s liberation, potentially the first document to do so in China. He argued that virtue and knowledge were bestowed by nature and, therefore, no reason existed to differentiate between men and women in terms of contributing to revolution. He appealed to women directly, stating:

At present China is an autocratic monarchy. Even if you try to oversee the government and you can’t do it, it’s still appropriate to thrust demands before it...Thrusting demands is the responsibility of us men, but destroying and rebuilding are duties to be borne by both men and women. You rack your brains, stupefied into silence, and write away with your pens, but if your brains dry up, your tongues become exhausted, and your pens wear out, then let your tears gush forth. Once your tears are spent, pour fourth your blood. Once inundated by blood, take up the sword. If you run out of swords, use bullets and guns. Thus, destruction shall proceed. Women! Do not be surprised! This is the incantation we use for the rights and freedom of our comrades!

Jin Tiange’s appeal was one of the first revolutionary messages with regards to women, as he called on them to exhaust all options. The booklet resonated with many Chinese women students at the time. Lin Zongsu, a student at the Girls’ Practical in Tokyo, wrote a piece entitled “*Nujie zhong zu*,” or *Preface to A Tocsin for Women*, calling for an uprising by women students:

Mr. Jin is truly China's Rousseau. However, rights are something to be fought for; they will never be conceded. If we let Mr. Jin alone plead on behalf of women and plan for the restoration of our rights, this is the same as expecting the government peacefully to promulgate a constitution without our shedding blood and overthrowing it.¹⁷

Lin Zongsu's response simultaneously contained both a feminist and revolutionary message to women. She tied the fight for women's rights to the willful drafting of a constitution by the Qing government, something which she stated would never happen without a fight. Her message was quite similar to Qiu Jin's, who came to prominence in the revolutionary movement and as an advocate for women's rights two years later in 1905. The link between the Girls' Practical School and Chinese revolutionary women was undeniable. Since the time it admitted its first Chinese students, in 1901, to Qiu Jin's exceptional stay there and after, Shimoda's school unintentionally served as a training ground producing female revolutionaries and women's advocates.

Though remarkable, Qiu Jin was only one of many women that studied at the Girls' Practical School who became committed to changing China. However, it must not be understated how Qiu's bold rejection of Confucianism, initiative in seeking education, nationalist activity, and martyrdom for the cause of the revolution inspired many others to action. She advocated that Chinese women educate themselves and their children in addition to supporting their husbands in endeavoring to improve the country. When examined by herself, Qiu seems exceptional in her calls for change, yet she was far from alone. Years before Qiu studied in Japan reformers such as Jin Tiange and Lin Zongsu called for similar female involvement in saving China. Such revolutionary activity directly contradicted the intentions of the Qing court when it opened to reform and modernization. By funding the education of Chinese women at the Girls' Practical School, the Chinese government in part financed its own downfall. Indeed, it was not until

Qiu Jin arrived in Japan that her individual agency and radicalism manifested in physical revolutionary activity through her publications and involvement in nationalist organizations. Despite Shimoda Utako's best attempts to control her students' activities, the charged political climate hampered her efforts. As a result, Qiu Jin and the other students reapplied Shimoda's good wives and wise mothers theory from a form of enlightened domesticity wherein women quietly raised educated families from the home to a public and political vehicle for Chinese nationalism and revolution. Because of its students' actions, the Girls' Practical School served as a foundation for female Chinese revolutionaries, illustrating how Japanese progressive women's education became a mechanism for the 1911 Chinese Revolution.

Endnotes

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³ Judge, Joan, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century," *American Historical Review*, (June 2001), 772.

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

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THE BEGINNING OF THE CANON:

Approaching the Chaucer Myth through Thomas Speght's
1602 Edition of His Works

Philip Mogen

The smells and cries of London buffeted Thomas Speght as he walked towards his destination south of St. Paul's Cathedral. In his arms, Speght carried final proofs of his work, his second edition of the poetry of the Middle English writer Geoffrey Chaucer. As he wound through the bustling lanes, heading towards the printing press on Paul's Chain, he thought of how the changes he had made would affect the new edition.^{1,2} With suggestions from the son of a former editor, Francis Thynne, and months of work, Speght had completely revised his earlier 1598 edition.³ He had not only added new works attributed to Chaucer, but Speght added both to his vast critical summaries and biographies, as well as his already large glossary of difficult words located at the end of the work. This would be the most complete and accessible version of Chaucer's works yet. With printer Adam Islip's help, it would be made available to a public already intrigued by the growing mystique surrounding the supposed father of English poetry.

Today, one copy of the 1602 edition sits in the quiet, sterile Rare Books Room in the University of St. Andrews Library. It is a world far removed from the one in which the work was originally printed, a world where the heavy arms of pressmen forced dark ink upon paper and the nimble fingers of compositors readied the type for the next pages to be printed. The book itself has undergone a change since that initial printing, becoming a rare commodity and an insight into English Renaissance life, Thomas Speght's arrangement of the material, through his biography of Chaucer, and through the numerous critical materials he introduced to help the early modern reader comprehend the Middle English poet, the modern reader gains an understanding of Chaucer's reputation and the way this reputation was be melded

and transformed to suit Renaissance ideals and religious beliefs. Thomas Speght's 1602 edition of Chaucer's works portrays, through both his editorial revisions and layout choices, an "inescapably Renaissance Chaucer, but...also another stage in the gradual invention of the father of English poetry."⁴ The 1602 edition functions as a key to the time period in which it was produced while also serving as a key for scholars today attempting to understand how Geoffrey Chaucer's poetry achieved its place as the beginning of the English literary tradition.

Christopher Cannon's "The Myth of Origin and the Making of Chaucer's English," notes the tension that exists in setting Chaucer's style as a literary standard when readers have difficulty understanding his words. When Speght's editions appeared, a distinct shift was occurring in the way Chaucer was venerated. No longer was Chaucer the bearer of a modern English, someone who could be imitated, but rather Chaucer became a character from the past who wrote in a more noble, eloquent, and ancient tongue. He became the originator of English, no longer simply a brilliant poet of it. Originally considered the most gifted of English poet because of his excellent writing, by around 1600, Chaucer was becoming viewed as an excellent English poet because he and his writings were the first of their kind. He became a "historical monument" rather than someone to imitate.⁵ In Speght's edition, this Chaucer is coming into being. The editor struggles to maintain Chaucer as the ideal Renaissance man while still presenting him as the first of the English poets.⁶ To fully understand these distinctions, one must analyze both the content and form of the book. One must also understand the characters involved in producing the 1602 edition and the history of Chaucer's work prior to the date.

Geoffrey Chaucer was born in London sometime around 1340, the son of vintner John Chaucer. Geoffrey Chaucer died in 1400.⁷ During his life, he served in the courts of the royalty of England, saw military service, and traveled abroad, notably to France and Italy. Furthermore, Chaucer married and had children, was elected a Member of Parliament, and served in numer-

ous other public and governmental positions, and wrote poetry.⁸ His works, notably *The Canterbury Tales*, a lengthy piece detailing the stories of various pilgrims on their travels to the Canterbury Cathedral, and *Troilus and Criseyde*, are some of the best-known lines of Middle English poetry. He is considered to be the first great poet of English literature.⁹ But Chaucer, while highly regarded in his time, did not develop the status as “father of English poetry” until after his death. Only through the work of scribes and print editors was his reputation carried to the top of the literary canon. Thomas Speght’s 1602 edition falls directly into this tradition, drawing upon earlier works while also further exalting the poet through new editorial changes and additions.

Following Chaucer’s death, his literary reputation was kept alive by his imitators, such as John Lydgate, as well as through manuscript copies of his works. The earliest extant manuscript of Chaucer is known as the Hengwrt Manuscript, created sometime around 1400. It is a rough piece, showing signs of “disordered composition” and lacking, at points, “metrical regularity” or any real organizational method at all.¹⁰ Regardless, it is generally considered to be a good example of both the basic canon of Chaucer’s works and the way those works were originally presented. Throughout the fifteenth century, manuscripts continued to be produced.¹¹ Many of these were copies of earlier works fraught with scribal error, which multiplied by the time print came along, as printers and editors began to draw from these earlier manuscripts – over one hundred – thus making Chaucer’s poetry available to an even wider audience.¹²

The first print edition of Chaucer’s work appeared from the presses of William Caxton, the first English printer, in 1478. Caxton subsequently published a second edition expanding and correcting the first (which had been drawn from poor source material) in 1483.¹³ William Thynne’s 1532 edition followed Caxton’s work.¹⁴ This edition, claimed to be a complete collection of Chaucer’s works. However, it contained a number of works the author never wrote.¹⁵ These apocryphal errors, a byproduct of both earlier manuscripts and the growing myth surrounding

Chaucer. can be seen in all editions of Chaucer's work, including Speght's, up until the later nineteenth century, at which time editors made conscious efforts to comb through the works and remove those works falsely attributed to the author.¹⁶ John Stow's edition of Chaucer's work immediately preceded Speght's and was produced in 1561. This, largely a reprint of Thynne's earlier edition, did include a large supplement of new poetry attributed to Chaucer, most of which has since been removed from the Chaucer canon.

Thomas Speght published his first edition of *The works of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed*, in 1598. Born in Yorkshire circa 1550, little is known of Speght's early life. In 1566, he entered Peterhouse, Cambridge as a sizar, or "poor scholar." Here he was supported through a yearly scholarship by Lady Mildred Cecil, and he also worked as a servant at the college.¹⁷ He obtained a Bachelor of the Arts, in 1570, and a Master of the Arts, in 1573. It is also at Peterhouse that he became acquainted with Francis Beaumont, who would later write a prefatory letter for Speght's editions of Chaucer.¹⁸ Speght became the headmaster of the Cathedral Grammar School at Ely and also a minor canon of the Cathedral there.¹⁹ He was a man on the "fringes of the literary and antiquarian and book-collecting circles of London" but, nonetheless, had numerous connections within these circles.^{20 21}

The 1598 edition attributed to Speght was largely compiled and completed by others. It drew much of its text from Stow's earlier 1561 *Works*, although Speght did contribute a considerable amount of critical material that was included in his first edition.²² The edition, originally entered into the *Stationer's Register* in 1592, followed a tumultuous route to publication. There was a change in printers, and it was not until partway through publication, perhaps as late as 1597, that Speght became involved. Throughout his life, Speght held great interest in Chaucer's writings and "for many years he had been collecting materials for the explanation and illustration of [these]... writings." These materials included a biographical sketch of the life of Chaucer, a glossa-

ry of difficult words to aid in the understanding of an increasingly foreign Middle English tongue, and additional works of Chaucer that had not yet been printed.²³ Through the exhortation of friends who knew of this material, such as Francis Beaumont, and with the help of others, such as John Stow, he did what he could to revise Chaucer's text in a limited time. He included a section to his readers in the 1598 work explaining to them the defects that he hoped to correct in a subsequent edition.²⁴ Another notable feature of the 1598 edition was the first portrait of Chaucer by a named artist, John Speed, whose painting of the poet was placed on the frontispiece of the work.²⁵

Speght's second edition came out in 1602, again from the print shop of Adam Islip. The edition became, perhaps, the most influential of all the early printings of Chaucer's works. For over one hundred years, it remained the preeminent version of Chaucer. It was again reprinted, with few corrections in 1687, and read by the likes of "Milton, Junius, Pepys, Dryden, and Pope."²⁶ Even after John Urry published a more modern edition in 1721, the 1602 edition continued to maintain popularity.²⁷ The edition's importance remains today, for Speght's Chaucer lies "figuratively and chronologically" between the original extant manuscripts of Chaucer's work and today's critical editions like *The Riverside Chaucer*.²⁸ By studying the actual book, located in St Andrews, this becomes apparent. But first, one must look at the other major figure in the printing of the 1602 edition, printer Adam Islip.

Little is known of Islip's early life, although, in the late 1580s his name first appears as an apprentice of the master printer John Wolfe. On September 16, 1591, Islip received a license to print under his own name. There is no indication that he did so until 1594. In 1595, records indicate that he and a man named William Mooring succeeded John Wolfe professionally, though Mooring's name soon disappears from the records. It can be presumed, however, that Islip actually inherited Wolfe's print shop on Paul's Chain, in 1594. That year, Wolfe vacated the premises and Islip began to print under his own name. Regardless, by 1595, Islip's print shop maintained good business, employing

a number of apprentices in the following years.²⁹ By the time he printed Chaucer, in 1598, Islip was the “chief law printer” in London and a member of the Stationer’s Company. He was actively involved in importing books from the continent and printed numerous translations of both classical and modern authors from across Europe.³⁰ He received the “title for the print of ‘Chawcers *Workes*’” on December 20, 1594, and eventually printed its first edition, as already discussed, in 1598.³¹

Speght’s second edition revised the earlier one. The critical summaries were revised and placed in front of the specific works they described, rather than at the beginning of the book.³² Also, taking the advice of Francis Thynne, Speght corrected many minor errors. His hard words dictionary was slightly expanded and the layout was reset.³³ The 1602 edition also featured the addition of two new works to the Chaucer canon.³⁴ In addition to holding Chaucer’s work (and a large amount of spurious material assigned to Chaucer), it included John Lydgate’s, “Siege of Thebes,” a poem written in an imitative style of Chaucer. This edition also includes the portrait of Chaucer by John Speed first included in 1598. The book also bears a distinctive hand with an index finger along the margins pointing at important lines of the poems.³⁵

The 1602 edition is especially notable for its large number of critical apparatus – a first for a Middle English work – that reflected the humanist scholarship of the time period and also played a major role in continuing the “myth of Chaucer” as father of English poetry. While modern academics may scoff at the supposed scholarship within the works, it was a vast improvement over previous editions. Speght’s work made Chaucer’s Middle English accessible to readers who had difficulty understanding the language, and it also gave them insight into the revered author’s life. It further cemented Chaucer’s reputation as a great poet, comparable to the likes of Virgil and Homer, while also creating a decidedly Renaissance Chaucer, one who readers of the time could connect with and understand.³⁶

The “invention” of Chaucer as the father of English poetry began during Chaucer’s lifetime and immediately following

his death. His followers, especially John Lydgate, lauded his poetic style and imitated his work. The 1602 edition of the *Workes* continued this creation of the myth. It is a large book, seven and a half inches by thirteen inches, emphasizing Chaucer's importance even in its size. No other book of a Middle English poet was printed at this size, nor would one be, emphasizing Chaucer's preeminence.³⁷ This emphasis continues upon opening the book with an elaborate, ornate woodcut border surrounding the title, *The Workes of our Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, newly printed*. The bottom of this page names the printer, Adam Islip. It highlights the importance of the works being printed, and the important role of the printer in the early seventeenth century. It is not until the second page that any information about the editor, Thomas Speght, is presented, and that is only through his long dedicatory letter to Sir Robert Cecil.³⁸ What follows is a long string of introductory materials, a letter by Francis Beaumont, and a note to the reader in which Speght describes how he "reformed the whole workes" of Chaucer, adding more material and claiming Chaucer among the ranks of Virgil and Homer, further elevating his status.³⁹

Through the numerous critical tools he placed within his editions (letters, biography, summaries, and a glossary of hard words), Speght found his own way to "monumentalize" the poet. Following the introductory material, he devoted a long section to Chaucer's life and works, attempting to establish Chaucer as a "quintessentially English" poet. The biography established Chaucer's Englishness and portrayed him both as a courtly, learned poet and a Renaissance persona. Where as Thynne and Stow had "monumentalized" through developing and enlarging his canon of works, Speght was the first to do it with a "critical apparatus."⁴⁰

The biography also helped establish Chaucer within the Renaissance tradition. Renaissance readers understood Chaucer through their own ideological framework. With the move to Protestantism by the mid-sixteenth century, editors and readers were interested in seeing their national poet presented as a stalwart against the rejected Roman Catholic Church.⁴¹ In his edition,

Speght was even able to draw a connection between Chaucer and the early reformer John Wycliffe, whom he surely believed had been influenced by the poet's own ideas on the clergy. This interest in portraying a Protestant, Renaissance Chaucer was also aided through the addition of new works, such as the poem, "Jack Upland," into the Chaucerian oeuvre.⁴²

Chaucer, of all the English writers, has been most linked with spurious compositions, which have greatly influenced and molded his reputation. This was especially apparent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The additions of spurious works allowed editors and readers alike to draw conclusions about the poet's personal life and beliefs. Chaucer was presented as an "ardent reformer," "a bitter enemy of the Catholic Church... champion of human liberties," or even simply a "nature poet." Until the late nineteenth century, his work and his personality were shaped by these apocryphal errors.⁴³ Lists of his work, left by Chaucer and his contemporaries, caused some of these errors. Others were caused by simple scribal error and the interest of scribes and publishers to "flesh out" the canon. They exalted Chaucer not only through his literary accomplishment, but also through the sheer amount of work they could assign to him. By the time of Speght's edition, the canon of Chaucer had swelled to nearly double its original, and presumably accurate, size.⁴⁴ Speght followed suit in his edition.

Speght's largest contribution lies at the end of the 1602 edition, "The Hard Words of Chaucer, explained." Through it he distances himself from the famed writer and suggests a distinct disconnect between Chaucer and more modern authors.⁴⁵ He listed some 2,603 words that he defined and included basic, though generally misleading, etymologies.⁴⁶ This was the largest glossary of archaic words of its time and the addition of a glossary of hard words became a major influence on future lexicographers. During Jacobean times, a large percentage of words listed in dictionaries could be traced to Speght's work. Ten percent of Speght's glossary has since been incorporated into the general dictionary tradition.⁴⁷ To further distance Chaucer from Speght and his con-

temporaries, the editor also used a number of typefaces. The introductory material appears in Roman type, which during the time period would have indicated the modernity of the material, with italic type used when quoting other works. Chaucer's poetry is presented in Blackletter (Gothic) script, as is Lydgate's work.⁴⁸ Blackletter script, a more traditional typeface, suggests Speght was framing Chaucer in antiquity. By distancing himself from the poet, he highlighted the inaccessibility of Chaucer in his time period through the process of making the great poet accessible to Early Modern readers.

Quietly sitting in the Rare Books room, it is difficult to understand the journey of this book. From the loud, grubby print shops of Adam Islip to today, much has changed both in the perception of Geoffrey Chaucer and in the 1602 edition itself. While it has been both lauded and criticized by later editors, the book was indisputably the first step towards the critical tradition of Chaucerian works present today. Even so, it remains stuck distinctly in its time and place. The Chaucer represented by Thomas Speght's edition is the representation of a man constructed from Renaissance ideals and by the large amount of spurious works enclosed within the pages of the work. Speght attempted to create a Chaucer that is a paragon of Renaissance beliefs while realizing that the poet is becoming less and less accessible to the Early Modern reader. Thus, at the beginning of the English literary tradition in Chaucer veneration, Speght's work used critical materials to turn the man into a "historical monument" quickly becoming myth.

Endnotes

¹ Robert Crayford, "The Setting-Out of St Paul's Cathedral," *Architectural History* 44 (2001), 244-245. A small street just south of St Paul's Cathedral. Today, Paul's Chain is known as Godliman Street.

² A. Gerber, "All of the Five Fictitious Italian Editions of Writings of Machiavelli and Three of Those of Pietro Aretino Printed by John Wolfe of London (1584-1589)," *Modern Language Notes* 22 (May 1907), 130. This introduction attempts to link two of the major figures in the 1602 editions creation, Adam Islip and Thomas Speght. While Speght's walk is fictitious, I

have made it a point to be as exact as possible upon where Islip's print shop was located, on Paul's Chain in London.

³ David Carlson, "The Writings and Manuscript Collections of the Elizabethan Alchemist, Antiquary, and Herald Francis Thynne," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1989), 215.

⁴ Tim William Machan, "Speght's Works and the Invention of Chaucer," *Text* 8 (1995), 169.

⁵ Christopher Cannon, "The Myth of Origin and the Making of Chaucer's English," *Speculum* 71 (July, 1996), 650-657.

⁶ Machan, "Speght's Works," p. 159.

⁷ Thomas R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer: His Life and Writings, Vol. 1* (London, 1892), 12-18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19-126.

⁹ Machan, "Speght's Works," 146.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 145-146. For many years, scholars considered the Ellesmere manuscript the oldest and most reliable manuscript of Chaucer's works. That perception has since changed upon further analysis of the Hengwrt manuscript.

¹¹ Julia Boffey, "Proverbial Chaucer and the Chaucer Canon," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 58 (1995), 37.

¹² Francis Bonner, "The Genesis of the Chaucer Apocrypha," *Studies in Philology* 48 (July 1951), 469-471.

¹³ Beverly Boyd, "William Caxton (1442?-1491)" in Paul Ruggiers (ed.), *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Pilgrim Books, 1984), 13.

¹⁴ James E. Blodgett, "William Thynne (d. 1546)" in Paul Ruggiers (ed.), *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Pilgrim Books, 1984), 35-37.

¹⁵ Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, 268.

¹⁶ Bonner, "The Genesis of the Chaucer Apocrypha," 461. Bonner assigns W. W. Skeat's *The Chaucer Canon*, published in 1900, as the culmination of this process of removal, presenting accurately the works of Chaucer.

¹⁷ David Matthews, "Speght, Thomas (d. 1621)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008. Lady Cecil was the wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and mother of Robert Cecil, secretary of state to both Elizabeth I and James I. Speght dedicated his two editions of Chaucer to Robert.

¹⁸ Derek Pearsall, "Thomas Speght (ca. 1550-?)" in Paul Ruggiers (ed.), *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Pilgrim Books, 1984), 71-72.

¹⁹ Derek Brewer (ed.), *Chaucer: The Critical Heritage*, Vol. 1 (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978), 140-141.

²⁰ Machan, "Speght's Works," 146-147

²¹ Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 72.

²² Machan, "Speght's Works," 147.

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- ²³ Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, 270-271.
- ²⁴ Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 72-73.
- ²⁵ Martha W. Driver, "Mapping Chaucer: John Speed and the Later Portrait," *The Chaucer Review* 36 (2002), 228. Speed is better known as a historian and cartographer. See article for further information on how this related to his portrait of Chaucer.
- ²⁶ Machan, "Speght's Work," p. 147.
- ²⁷ Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," p. 91.
- ²⁸ Machan, "Speght's Works," p. 146.
- ²⁹ Gerber, "All of the Five Fictitious Italian Editions," 129-130.
- ³⁰ Georgianna Ziegler, "Parents, Daughters, and 'That Rare Italian Master': A New Source for the Winter's Tale," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36 (Summer, 1985), 207.
- ³¹ Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 72.
- ³² Machan, "Speght's Works," 161.
- ³³ Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 85-86.
- ³⁴ Machan, "Speght's Works," 148.
- ³⁵ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The works of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed*, ed. Thomas Speght (London, 1602).
- ³⁶ Machan, "Speght's Works," 148.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.
- ³⁸ Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 72.
- ³⁹ Chaucer, *The works*.
- ⁴⁰ Machan, "Speght's Works," 151-155.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 150-151.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 155.
- ⁴³ Bonner, "The Genesis of Chaucer Apocrypha," 461.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 462-473.
- ⁴⁵ Machan, "Speght's Works," 167.
- ⁴⁶ Machan, "Speght's Works," 160.
- ⁴⁷ Jurgen Schafer, "Chaucer in Shakespeare's Dictionaries: The Beginning," *The Chaucer Review* 17 (Fall, 1982), 182-190.
- ⁴⁸ Chaucer, *The works*.

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INTERPRETING RACE, SLAVERY, AND SERVANTHOOD
AT URBAN ANTEBELLUM HOUSE MUSEUMS

Rebecca Koenig

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The birthplace of the American executive branch did not look like much. Sorely out of place on the pristine Independence Mall, the pile of cement rubble behind a chain link fence was once the location of Robert Morris's mansion, the grand home George Washington and John Adams occupied during their respective presidencies. When I visited the area, adjacent to the Liberty Bell Center, ground had finally been broken on the "President's House," a new National Park Service project intended to revive the long-dormant history of the home.

This plot, where the eighteenth century equivalent of the White House once stood, has only recently become a construction zone. However, it has been a site of contention for years, ever since Independence Hall National Park (IHNP), a branch of the National Park Service, announced its plan in the early 1990s to create a new resting place for the Liberty Bell there. The proposed interpretive center would sit right beside the piece of earth where the mansion's outbuildings were, structures that housed President Washington's servants and slaves during his stay in the city. IHNP had decided not to include any information in the new Liberty Bell Center about the mansion, its significance to the new American government, or its enslaved inhabitants. In fact, the INHP determined that it would not discuss the subject of slavery in the exhibit at all, despite the fact that the bell was given its name by abolitionists and would sit mere feet from land that once supported a slave quarters. Historian Gary Nash predicted that the park's planned museum would be a "simplistic and vain-glorious" shrine to American freedom, lacking meaningful discussion of how that freedom was entwined with slavery during the nation's founding and beyond.¹ Neglecting to tell the stories

of Washington's slaves, he believed, would mean the loss of the "rich African American history intimately connected to the site" and of a "rare interpretive opportunity" to present the combined histories of liberty and slavery in the country's one-time capital.² In 2002, Nash rallied scholars, activists, and the media to push the National Park Service to include information about slavery in the new center and to interpret the President's House and its enslaved inhabitants.

The ensuing struggle stirred debate about the responsibility of public historians to address controversial subjects and the best way to go about doing so. In personal correspondence and articles in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, IHNP maintained that the new exhibits would focus just on the Liberty Bell. In an editorial defending the original plan, IHNP superintendent Martha Aikens rejected the idea to construct a full-scale outline of the mansion's floor plan because "we genuinely believe that it would be confusing rather than revelatory."³ Park rangers discuss slavery at sites all over Philadelphia, she said, citing the Deshler-Morris House in Germantown, several miles from Independence Mall. There a tour discussing Washington's role as a slave owner was being developed. The attitude of the IHNP, as one *Philadelphia Inquirer* article put it, was that "the Liberty Bell is its own story, and Washington's slaves are a different one better told elsewhere."⁴

Nash and his fellow historians disagreed. The new Liberty Bell Center would be one of the most fitting places in the country to discuss the slaveholding of the Founding Fathers. National Park Service chief historian Dwight Pitcaithley argued this point in a letter to Superintendent Aikens, stating that the "'juxtaposition of slave quarters...and the Liberty Bell' provided 'some stirring interpretive possibilities.'"⁵ The site was ideal, he wrote, because "'the contradiction in the founding of the country between freedom and slavery becomes palpable when one actually crosses through a slave quarters site when entering a shrine to a major symbol of the abolition movement...how better to establish the proper historical context for understanding the Liberty Bell than by talking about slavery?'"⁶ Addressing IHNP's concern

that interpreting the President's House and its enslaved inhabitants would detract from the new Liberty Bell Center, Pitcaithley advised that "the exhibit should make people *think* about the concept of liberty, not just *feel good* about it."⁷

With scholars, senior National Park Service members, major newspapers, community members, and even the mayor of Philadelphia clamoring for IHNP to overhaul the plans for the Liberty Bell Center to incorporate information about slavery, the park yielded. A series of meetings was held, in May 2002, to edit the exhibits until a consensus was reached, and the center opened on October 9, 2003. Nash and his allies next applied their efforts toward convincing IHNP to interpret the President's House and its slave quarters. The issue had "special urgency," Nash said in his written account of the controversy, because of the activist involvement of black Philadelphians, who make up half of the city's population.⁸ Nearly five hundred African Americans demonstrated in front of the future site of the Liberty Bell Center on July 3, 2002, including members of a new group, the Avenging the Ancestors Coalition, to press IHNP to erect a memorial to Washington's slaves there.⁹ The Philadelphia Multicultural Affairs Congress and City Council also called for a monument. The crusade went national when Philadelphian Congressman Chaka Fattah introduced an amendment into the 2003 budget of the Department of the Interior requiring the National Park Service to report to Congress about a commemoration of the President's House and Washington's slaves; it was approved unanimously.¹⁰ IHNP ceded to the pressure and agreed to interpret the President's House.

The plan for the site was unveiled in January 2003; the tentative opening date was November 17, 2010. A physical representation of the President's House will be created, with a partial footprint on the ground delineating each room. A few side walls will be erected presenting information about the archaeology of the site, the respective administrations of Washington and Adams, and the house's free, indentured, and enslaved inhabitants. The proposed display panels indicate that the story of slavery in Amer-

ica and Philadelphia will be thoroughly told from capture in Africa to escape or emancipation. Large sculptures will depict Oney Judge and Hercules, two of Washington's slaves who successfully fled – Oney from Philadelphia – and found liberty further north. These works will be the first federal memorials to individual slaves. As the ground plan for the project on the Independence Hall Association (an independent group of private citizens that advises IHNP) website shows, the slave quarters location has been established and will be clearly marked with a memorial listing by name the nine slaves Washington kept in Philadelphia.¹¹ As currently planned, then, the President's House promises to fulfill the vision Nash and his allies had for the site.

The conflict over this historic home raises questions about slave and servant life interpretation salient to house museums around Philadelphia and across the country. Just as IHNP wanted to focus its resources and visitors' attention on its most prized attraction – the Liberty Bell – many historic house museums emphasize a feature they are particularly proud of, such as their architecture, furniture collection, or famous inhabitants, to the exclusion of all other historical facets. Whether out of tradition, fear of controversy, lack of research, or simple disinterest, plenty of homes where servants or slaves once lived do not make those men and women a priority on tours or in museum literature. It seems reasonable for a museum to choose to highlight its Chippendale chairs or its Palladian windows, but may it do so to the exclusion of its social history? Should it tell its visitors a selective version of that history, like that written for the original plan for the Liberty Bell Center? IHNP's statements suggested that not every place George Washington took his slaves must tell their stories. Some historic house museums seem to concur with those sentiments, treating their structures as art pieces rather than former dwelling places for free and enslaved human beings. Others, whose thinking is more aligned with that of Nash and Pitcaithley, view their institutions as uniquely suited, and therefore responsible, for enlightening the public about the relationships between employed and bound laborers and their masters.

Slavery in Philadelphia can be traced back to its founder, William Penn. A Quaker recipient of a royal land grant in 1681, Penn moved to his new namesake colony the following year, established the capital city, and eventually acquired twelve personal slaves.¹² Importation brought scores more to Philadelphia; in November 1684, 150 enslaved Africans arrived in the city on the ship *Isabella* and, upon being purchased by the Quaker settlers, were put to work clearing trees and constructing houses.¹³ The flow of slaves into the city continued steadily, though in small quantities, until it was temporarily halted by a tax the colonial assembly imposed on imported human property, in 1712, in reaction to a slave conspiracy discovered in New York City. The trade picked up again after the duty was repealed, slowed with the immigration of indentured Irish and German servants in the 1740s, and resumed during the French and Indian War. In the 1760s, the number of slaves in Philadelphia reached its peak; 1,400 slaves lived amidst the total population of 18,000.¹⁴ Pennsylvania began the abolition process in 1780, earlier than every other state, with the enactment of the Gradual Abolition Act.

The law forbade the importation of slaves into the state while allowing citizens of other states temporarily living in Pennsylvania to hold domestic slaves for up to six months before being required to manumit them. Members of the U.S. Congress, which met in Philadelphia, were exempt from the law. Children born or living in the state before March 1, 1780, remained enslaved, while those born after that date were regarded legally as indentured servants until they reached twenty-eight years of age. An amendment eight years later prohibited Pennsylvanians from separating enslaved families, from transporting pregnant slaves out of the state in order to avoid the gradual emancipation law, and from participating in the slave trade. Non-resident slave-holders were not allowed to rotate their slaves out of the state to avoid the manumission clause, a rule Washington violated during his presidency. In 1808, slaves were freed under the Gradual Abolition Act, and the slow process continued until 1847, when an act

of the state legislature freed Pennsylvania's less than one hundred remaining slaves.¹⁵

This is not a history visitors encounter at Mount Pleasant, a mansion atop a hill in Philadelphia's sprawling Fairmount Park. Scottish sea captain and legalized privateer John Macpherson built the house between 1762 and 1765 as his country seat on a working plantation just outside of the city. Now owned and operated by the Philadelphia Museum of Art, it functions as a decorative arts museum, showcasing its woodwork, furnishings, and "the elegance of the lifestyle of colonial elites."¹⁶ The Georgian beauty was empty when I visited, stripped of its finery because of an ongoing roof repair project. As the docent said, however, the open spaces allow for a better view of the architecture. It is magnificent; the intricate carvings line the ceilings and adorn the mantelpieces with unflinching symmetry.

But it was still an empty house. I asked the docent what she knew of the people who had lived in that coldly handsome place, and she did not have much more to say than the sign out front, which provides a brief background on the home's owners: Macpherson, a Spanish envoy, and no less well-known personages as Benedict Arnold and Baron William von Steuben, Inspector General of the Continental Army. The docent offered that the plantation also had indentured servants and tenant farmers. I then asked, "What about slaves?" She said she thought there was some sort of advertisement of Macpherson's that mentioned a slave sale, but she did not know the details. A look into another lovely, empty room, and our tour concluded.

I called the Philadelphia Museum of Art to find out more. A museum educator from the American Art Division of Education confirmed that Macpherson owned slaves, and offered to send me copies of the documentation proving so. A look at Macpherson's tax records from 1769 showed he owned sheep, horses, cows, and "four Negroes."¹⁷ In January of that year, he advertised in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* that he was selling or leasing Mt. Pleasant,

the plantation, his livestock, and “several stout healthy negroes, one of which is a coachman, carter and ploughman; one a gardiner [sic]; and one a dairy maid, which 3 may be lett [sic] with the place.”¹⁸ Apparently not everything sold, because five months later he advertised a public auction for the land and a private sale for “two young healthy Negroe [sic] men; the one well acquainted with the business of a farm, the other with that of a garden” who could be “well recommended for honesty, sobriety, obedience, and have had the small pox.”¹⁹ On March 9, 1770, Macpherson wrote a letter to an acquaintance who was traveling to Williamsburg, asking him to sell Macpherson’s chariot, barrel organ, silver spoons, telescope, and microscope for specific amounts, and his “Negro man, named Bernard, for eighty pounds.”²⁰ The final document, a bizarre account Macpherson wrote of a conspiracy his wife and neighbors planned in order to confine him in one of his outbuildings, contains references to “my Negro woman Nell” and “three of my own Negro men” who lived at Mt. Pleasant.²¹

These records clearly point to the presence of slaves at Mt. Pleasant, about whom no word is published or spoken at the historic home. The fact is not hidden, the art museum educator told me, but it is just not emphasized since Mt. Pleasant is maintained by an art museum as a masterpiece rather than as a public history site. From the perspective of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the house is a historic piece of complex beauty rather than a beautiful piece of complex history. Slavery, it seems, does not dovetail neatly with the fine carvings and crown molding.

For many years the focus at Woodford, another Georgian country home in Fairmount Park, has also been on furniture and design. Home to the Naomi Wood Collection of “colonial household gear” since 1927, the mansion was built between 1756 and 1758 by merchant and judge William Coleman. The Naomi Wood Trust operates the museum according to its mission to “educate the public about Philadelphia’s colonial period by displaying and interpreting... antiques” owned by the eponymous collector.²² As these instructions were set in her will, there is little room for reinterpreting the home, but my tour suggested that the museum’s

concentration may be shifting slowly away from the decorative arts.

Upon opening the door to Woodford Mansion, the docent asked what aspect of the home about which I was most interested in learning. I told him I was studying slavery and servanthood and he nodded, saying there were indeed slaves on the property. He launched into a lesson about Pennsylvania's founding and Quaker roots, saying that understanding Quakers in the area was essential to understanding slavery. The religious group operated under no central authority, so meeting houses had varying attitudes on abolition and a significant number of individual members owned slaves, despite popular belief that the entire sect opposed the institution. William Coleman, the house's first inhabitant, was a Quaker, pacifist, and slave owner. He set aside money in his will to provide education for his slaves, who were to be freed upon the completion of their studies.

As we moved through the house, the docent discussed the furnishings and the Naomi Wood collection pieces, weaving in information about the enslaved and indentured laborers who helped run Woodford. The mansion was designed to reflect the English hierarchical order, he explained, with different levels of detail in each room and on each floor, depending on their function and the class of those who would use them. The kitchen's inexpensive floor covering and small windows, for example, reflect its use by servants or slaves and the fact that guests would never see it. (A cradle is placed by the kitchen hearth to show that servants or slaves may have had to watch their own children during their half-day shifts of cooking or laundering.) The second floor was an addition by the second owner, David Franks, a wealthy Jewish merchant and Loyalist appointed by the king to supply the British army. Franks, the docent said, also shipped slaves, and thus the "grandeur of this mansion was built on the profits of the slave trade."

Aside from the kitchen and the nursery, no work spaces are currently on view at Woodford. The attic where slaves or servants may have slept is now used for storage, and the basement, which

may have been the home's first kitchen and a work area, now houses the building's heating system. According to my guide, the museum is prevented from using the back servant staircase and opening the attic and basement to visitors by the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act, which requires public institutions to make all areas accessible to all people. This interpretation of the law as an excuse to block off these areas is questionable, however, since the legislation has exemptions for historic properties.

Despite Woodford's clearly specified focus on antiques and its physical limitations on spaces used by servants and slaves, the docent believed the museum is headed toward an interpretation that includes more social history and information on free and enslaved labor. "People are getting less interested in furniture and architecture and more interested in lifestyle," he said, a trend which has resulted in guides asking visitors about their interests right when they arrive so that they will receive a custom-tailored tour. It was not until about three years ago, the docent told me, that anyone at the museum even mentioned slaves or used the word "black" in reference to workers; the book the museum sells still does not mention slavery at all. The docent approved of the changes he has witnessed, including the shift away from the house's furniture and toward its inhabitants: "It's a house museum, we're showing off furniture," but "over time we will change." History, he said, "is about people, not things."

A few of Philadelphia's other historic houses appear to adhere to that attitude, but are ambivalent about exactly *which* people history should include. Unlike decorative arts museums, these establishments seek to teach more about the men and women of the past than the inanimate objects they owned. They sometimes neglect to discuss the human beings those men and women possessed, and who were just as integral to their households. A visitor may leave these homes unsure about whether they were staffed by servants, slaves, both, or neither.

The Todd and White houses in Philadelphia's Center City district are operated by the National Park Service, which gives a free combined tour of both daily. The Todd House, the park rang-

er explained to me and the few other people who gathered outside of it one morning, was home of lawyer John Todd and his wife Dolley, who later married Constitutional mastermind and future president James Madison. The Todds were of the “middling sort,” vaguely upper middle class, and lived with Dolley’s two younger sisters – the domestic servants – as well as Isaac Heston, John’s law clerk. As we toured the home, the ranger spoke in detail about the different classes that made up Philadelphia’s population in the 1790s, describing how some servants lived in small dependencies in the city’s alleys and how the free black community was tasked with burying the bodies of the hundreds who died in the 1793 yellow fever epidemic. We moved into the Bishop William White House, home for fifty years to the man who served as a chaplain in the Continental Army and the first head of the new American Episcopalian Church. The ranger mentioned White’s “three or four domestic servants” in the kitchen and dining rooms. At the tour’s conclusion, I asked whether he had used enslaved workers, to which the ranger rather enigmatically replied, “The Bishop on occasion employed slaves.” I prompted him further after the other visitors left, and he said that White had black and white servants and slaves, who could have been rented out to other people for a profit. The ranger needed to visit another site and hurried off, leaving me wondering why White’s slaves were not mentioned during the tour itself.

Among the city’s house museums are those that make a point to educate visitors about slave and servant life, with signs and programs created for that purpose. Wyck, the home to nine generations of the same Quaker family, has a display of artifacts pertaining to the abolitionist movement. In the kitchen, a sign next to a servant bell described how the family employed a domestic staff of free blacks consisting of a cook, a dairy maid, a chamber maid, and a “general helper.” Up the road at the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, information about the Irish maids who worked at the house is incorporated into the tour, which mentions the bell-pulley system used to call the servants and discusses how they were integral to the functioning of a Victorian home. The museum

recently highlighted the lives of its servants in a special program entitled “The Irish Bridget” (a name given to many Irish female domestic workers), and featured a lecture by Margaret Lynch-Brennan, author of a book with the same title.

At Stenton, a 2003 reinterpretation effort made it a museum priority to incorporate information about the “slaves, indentured and hired servants, and tenant farmers” who lived on the plantation and “whose stories are central components of Stenton’s history” into tours.²³ James Logan, who built the home in 1730, was another Quaker slaveholder. The curator is currently conducting research on the lives of the servants and slaves who worked for the Logan family, to be presented in February 2011 during Black History Month. A sign found on my tour of the house explained that the estate was home to “slaves owned by the Logans as property, indentured servants who were contractually obligated to the Logans for a set period of time, and hired servants,” listed the jobs those laborers did, and provided the names of the slaves recorded in the Logans’ journals and ledgers. To complement the story told during the tour about Dinah, a formerly enslaved servant who saved the property from being burned by the British during the Revolutionary War, is a rather outdated historical marker erected by the property’s owners, the Colonial Dames, thanking “the faithful colored caretaker of Stenton” for her service. Though my docent was not especially knowledgeable on the subject, my tour of Stenton did provide information about the Logan family’s servants and slaves and demonstrated that the museum is dedicated to expanding its interpretation about them.

At the other end of the spectrum from the traditional decorative arts house museums are those that pursue the study of social history from what some might call a radical angle. These institutions focus closely on those figures of the past that many others overlook, drawing them into the spotlight and exploring their lives in depth. Rather than marginalizing or minimizing the role of slavery within the household, these museums dedicate the majority of their research and tour time to the subject. While IHNP was criticized for its inattention to slavery, institutions of this na-

ture sometimes create controversy for their devotion to exploring it.

It seems more than fitting that the Johnson House in Historic Germantown makes slavery the heart of its interpretation, since its residents made abolition the goal of their lives. Built between 1763 and 1768 for a family of Dutch Quakers, the building served as a station house stop on the Underground Railroad during the first half of the nineteenth century. As the docent proudly told me when I walked in the door, Harriet Tubman herself passed through the Johnson House, as did an untold number of other African Americans fleeing slavery in the South. Some Johnson family history works its way into the tours at the museum, but it is mostly dedicated to memorializing the abolition movement and those who fought for it.

A map of the Underground Railroad hangs prominently in the large ground floor room we entered first. The docent explained the system, which led escaped slaves to freedom in Canada, and told stories about significant Philadelphians who aided their flight. She pointed out a display about the household's involvement in the network created by Temple University professor Charles Blockson, who did much of the research on the home. A room on an upper floor is dedicated to further exploration of the abolitionist movement. Its large display case features artifacts, such as photographs of freedmen, warning signs about slave catchers, and advertisements for abolitionists' meetings, some of which were held at the Johnson House. An exhibit entitled "Women in the Abolition and Anti-Slavery Movement" has biographies and images about female abolitionists from Philadelphia and beyond, as well as background information about different Quakers' roles in the movement and in creating the system of racial segregation that plagued the city. Our last stop was the attic, one of the areas in the house where the family harbored escaped slaves. According to the docent, oral history has it that fugitives used the hatch roof to flee from the slave patrols that checked homes in the area.

"This house has such good energy," the docent said as we descended to the ground floor, visibly moved by what she had

shown me. Clearly passionate about the history of the Johnson House, she portrays one of the family's tenants during the museum's first-person-interpretation programs. Before I left, the docent asked me to sit down. Then she read aloud a poem Dr. Blockson wrote about slavery after concluding his research about the house. It was with tears in her eyes that she pointed me toward my next destination and waved goodbye.

Ironically, or perhaps just indicative of the range of attitudes early Philadelphians held, one of the Johnsons' neighbors had one of the largest slave holdings in the North. Pennsylvania Supreme Court Chief Justice Benjamin Chew kept a few enslaved laborers at Cliveden, now a house museum in the northwest part of the city, but the majority of his human property worked on his many plantations in Delaware and Maryland. The extent of his holdings was only recently rediscovered when the Historical Society of Pennsylvania made the entire collection of Chew family papers available online to researchers. For the past year, Cliveden has been engaged in a planning process to determine how to best interpret the new information about slavery for the public, garnering media and community attention along the way.

I met one of Cliveden's education directors inside the property's large carriage house, which serves as an exhibit space as well as a gathering ground for the people who live in the surrounding neighborhood. Promoting the cultural life of northwest Philadelphia is part of the museum's mission, and the director explained that the historic site serves as an outlet for the community by opening the carriage house's large hall for after-school programs, dance classes, writing workshops, and even juvenile court sessions. The building has also hosted displays commemorating the region's history, even those topics not related to Cliveden that are of interest to area residents. The museum has hosted programs that, as the education director put it, "address racial issues" in the community, including one encouraging minority high school students to pursue careers in the field of public history. Providing opportunities for locals' enrichment is not a typical function of a historic house museum; this outward focus is reflected in Clive-

den's plans for reinterpreting slave life.

"This is all very new for us," the education director said, referring to the recent revelation of the scale of Benjamin Chew's slave owning:

We see slavery and the fact that this gentleman had slaves as a way to relate to our community. A lot of our surrounding community was built up after slaves were emancipated in the South and they migrated north; there's a lot of families that can trace their lineage to free slaves that relocated here. There's even families that can trace their lineage to the actual slaves that lived on the property here, we think. We see this new aspect of our history (I mean, we call it new but it's been there all along), we see this as a way to reach our immediate community right here in Germantown.

In the past, the education director said, it seemed that people in the predominantly African American neighborhood had difficulty identifying with Cliveden's history. "A lot of people would say we're just the big house on a hill behind the big fence that a rich white man owned," he explained, and they believed "there was no relationship between us [Cliveden] and the poor people in the neighborhood." The museum staff is hoping that their new interpretive approach will attract members of the community and interest them in the house's history.

The ongoing planning process applies the information from the recently-scoured Chew Papers to achieve that goal. According to the education director, the first step has been to educate the board of directors and staff about the new scholarship and its ramifications through meetings and discussion sessions. Next, with the guidance of the board, the museum will start planning exhibitions and programs. Community members' opinions have been sought and provided, as has input from external parties such as the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, or N'COBRA. There has not always been concurrence among

everyone involved. “There’s a lot of disagreement about how to present it to the public,” the education director said, “about what the appropriate terms are, the appropriate images. I wouldn’t say it’s controversy, but we have so many people from different backgrounds, different ages, different education, it’s hard to get an agreement.” He believed that some of the discord stems from generational differences in perspective. “Sometimes I feel like it’s easier for some of the younger people to talk about this than some of the older people, based on their experiences,” he said. “But the great thing about the planning process is really getting to understand how many different viewpoints there are on this subject and how deeply personal it is for some people.” The presence of two Chew family descendents on the board makes the subject of slavery even more sensitive, since they are used to preserving Benjamin Chew’s legacy as a statesman, not as a slave owner. The education director said they are a little reluctant to deal with the subject, though one descendent was quoted in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* as being supportive of the search for truth about the family’s slaveholding history.²⁴

Walking through the mansion, the education director gave me an overview of the traditional tour and discussed the changes to it currently being planned. To past visitors, he said, “this was always the house that a rich colonial politician built that was the site of the famous Battle [of Germantown.]” Slavery was not interpreted at all. Now, the museum is considering whether or not to start tours in the side kitchen entrance slaves used instead of at the front door the Chew family and their guests used, so as to “reframe the story right off the bat.” The change would provide the opportunity to discuss how colonial architecture reflected America’s slave society. Homes with separate entrances and back staircases were built “with slaves in mind,” the education director explained; to hide them away like one would “a blemish or an eyesore.” The entertaining spaces like the dining room and parlor, he pointed out, were separated from the working spaces so that guests would not see those doing the work. Since the attic where slaves and Chew children probably slept now houses the

mansion's climate control system, the kitchen may be turned into a slave life interpretive area.

The carriage house now has exhibits about the museum's ongoing slavery research. One display case features clippings from *The Philadelphia Inquirer* articles covering the Chew family papers which include anecdotes about individual slaves and pieces about the museum's planning process and its meeting with N'COBRA. Another has archival primary source that relate to the family's slaves, such as shoe size chart and a letter from a plantation overseer complaining of how several slaves attacked him. The last display case features a map of the Mid-Atlantic region, locating the Chew family's estates and descriptions of them, along with photographs taken by the Cliveden staff members who visited each site as part of their reinterpretation research.

In addition to press coverage, Cliveden has received positive feedback from community members for the changes planned at the museum. "There's always been a group of people who wished we did a little more with [the subject of slavery]," the education director said. After the Chew family papers became public, more neighborhood residents have been coming to take tours and participating in museum events. As soon as slavery is mentioned, he said, "they want to know who was here, what was their life like, where did they stay, how were they treated." While most people have been receptive, some remain unconvinced that the final result of the planning process will adequately address the topic. "I think there are still some skeptic[s] about whether we can pull it off or not," he explained.

The education director was optimistic, though. "The potential is amazing," he said. "This could actually be a site where we talk about slavery in the North." In his experience, many visitors have no idea that slavery existed in the northern part of the country, and he would like Cliveden to make them aware. "I think the Southern sites have been interpreting this for a little while longer," he mused. "I don't want to say it's hidden up here, but I think some of our Northern sites have struggled to figure out where to fit it in their narrative." He hoped Cliveden will be "a

place where people can come and learn that slavery existed; it may not have looked the same, they might not have been treated quite the same [as in the South], but it was still slavery.”

“Everything I thought about slavery has been drastically changed in the past year,” the education director told me before I left the museum, and that is the effect Cliveden hopes will be felt by its future visitors. The word “reparations” would make most traditional historic house museum staff shudder, but Cliveden has gone so far as to collaborate with a reparations activist group, embracing the idea that history education can and should make amends for slavery and the wrongs of the past. Drawing a correlation between the history of enslavement at the site and the lives of the modern African American inhabitants of its surrounding neighborhood, Cliveden is breaking museum conventions and seeking to make the past truly relevant today.

On Independence Mall, construction is underway. Panels of information about Hercules, Oney Judge, John Adams, and George Washington hang from the fences, and a small temporary sign points out the slave quarters site, but the controversy has not ended. In a May 2010 piece published online in American Thinker Magazine, Rob Morris, descendent of the President’s House’s original owner Robert Morris, questioned how “a national shrine to the origins of the Executive Branch morph[ed] into racial propaganda.” He condemned the project for “superimpose[ing] modern views on historical events,” labeling the panels that will explore the history of slavery in the United States as “an effort to blame white people for all the problems of blacks.”²⁵ A July 2010 post on news blog This Can’t Be Happening quoted Dr. Blockson, who researched the Johnson House, as saying the project did not go far enough and calling for a memorial to all enslaved Africans, not just the nine held at the executive mansion.²⁶ For some, the topic is just too hot to touch; when I asked a construction worker at the site what his opinion was, he just shook his head and said, “I’m not getting into it.”

The residue of the affair is still evident at the Deshler-Morris House, another National Park site and one the IHNP superintendent referenced, in 2002, as proof that the organization was committed to interpreting slave life. Now billing itself as the “Germantown White House” and the nation’s “oldest official presidential residence,” since George Washington resided and held four cabinet meetings there during his second term to escape the Yellow Fever epidemic plaguing downtown Philadelphia, the museum serves as a complement to the soon-to-be-completed President’s House. An orientation center, installed in 2009, welcomes visitors to the house and is replete with information about Washington’s servants. As one display board explains, “some of the servants were enslaved or indentured, while most were hired locally as needed;” these different types of labor are further explored throughout the room. An interactive exhibit consisting of triangular prisms teaches guests about each of the twenty individuals who helped run the presidential household: one surface provides the name and an illustration of a specific individual (“Hercules,” “Lewis List”), the next explains his or her job (“Chef,” “Stable hand”), and the third tells the terms of their employment or bondage (“Enslaved,” “Earned \$8 per month”). The interest generated by the slaves of the President’s House had clearly trickled down to influence the Deshler-Morris orientation center.

This attention to the stories of laborers disappeared during the tour of the house, which has been reworked to emphasize Washington’s stay more than the residencies of the Deshler and Morris families. As the startlingly frank high school docent explained, “We don’t mention slavery that much on the actual tour. It’s just that other things take precedence because this is a historic site for government and politics.” He told me about the meetings Washington held in the house to deal with the Whiskey Rebellion, showcased the room where Washington’s step-granddaughter slept, and talked about his housekeeper, Ann Emerson, who earned \$22 a month and came highly recommended for being “very punctual.” The docent did not know whether Deshler or Morris owned slaves; the information is not relevant to the new

tours, he explained, since “visitors are here because of George Washington, so that is the focus.”

The construction worker would not comment on the President’s House controversy, but the young Deshler-Morris House docent had a few things to say when I asked for his take on the situation. It seemed to him that “special interest groups in the city,” upset because the story of slavery was not being explained, had “opened Pandora’s box.” An apt analysis, if a little dismissive. His negative tone was telling – that a National Park Service volunteer would speak disparagingly of the efforts being made across town indicates that the strife over the President’s House is far from over.

The construction worker’s ambivalence toward slavery at the Deshler-Morris House and the push for slave life interpretation on Independence Mall reflects the attitudes many historic house museums have about the subject. While not opposed to discussing domestic slavery, many institutions and their staff members want to do so on their terms and within their comfort levels. It is a topic they will broach only in certain places, like kitchens and attics and orientation centers, confining it to back rooms where only those visitors who know what to look for will find its traces. They are willing to present slavery in certain contexts, but when it comes into contact with cherished national icons, like the Liberty Bell, or heroes, like George Washington, they balk. It is this attitude of determined moderation that makes museums like Cliveden and the planned President’s House seem extreme. Rather than overt racism, it may be this cautious approach that tries to keep slavery safe and dim that presents the biggest challenge to thoroughly integrating stories of slave life into American public history.

Endnotes

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