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“War Pastoral: Martial Eco-spaces in Early Modern Literature”

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An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James. T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy
in English
2023

Abstract
"War Pastoral: Martial Eco-spaces in Early Modern Literature"
By Kelly Duquette

To prepare for war, modern militaries extract massive stores of natural resources and consume vast amounts of energy. Today, the CO2 emissions of the largest militaries are greater than many of the world's countries combined, contributing significantly to climate change. While warfare ecology is considered a "modern" concept, early modern literature documents the environmental impacts of war over a much longer history. Certainly, scholars have begun to attend to early modern warfare ecologies in critical literary analysis. But much more work is needed, not least because this scholarship has not sufficiently attended to race, gender, disability, and class. In neglecting these alternative imaginaries, early modernists risk getting trapped in what Caribbean poet M. Nourbese Philip has recently described as the "impossible choices" a global pandemic makes evident: this is the dilemma of the desire to return to "normal" and the knowledge that "normal" has meant the plunder of the earth's resources, the wars for these resources, and the practices that destroy and dehumanize life in its myriad forms on this earth.

In *War Pastoral*, I reconceptualize the early modern *pastoral*. Often defined as an urban genre that depicts the simplicity of rural life, I show how deeply this genre is marked by a concern with the imprint of warfare on the natural environment. In other words, while the period's literary fantasies of pastoral leisure are usually read as Edenic landscapes representing proximity to a "Golden Age," a time when humans lived in harmony with nature, I argue that early modern texts—among them, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's *Othello* and *1 Henry VI*, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* – describe spaces made by warfare. By intervening in ecocritical conversations, then, I show that the battlefield should be imagined as a "green world" and terms like "environment" and "nature" cannot be fully understood without accounting for early modern military histories marked by gender and racial stratifications. In short, early modern pastoral texts are not only about war; they also reflect an environmental ethos founded upon the extractive processes promoted by a proto military-industrial complex. As I trace what I call *war pastoral*, then, I show that what this literature idealizes is not nature but natural resources – not a Golden Age, but gold itself. In offering a new approach to a familiar literary form, I bring ecocriticism together with premodern critical race studies, queer theory, and disability studies. War pastoral thus offers a framework for reading environmental injustice during a period of unprecedented cultural and geopolitical change.

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Acknowledgements

"Emory University is located on Muscogee (Creek) land. Emory University was founded in 1836, during a period of sustained oppression, land dispossession, and forced removals of Muscogee (Creek) and Cherokee peoples from Georgia and the Southeast. In the First Treaty of Indian Springs (January 8th, 1821), signed by the US government and the Muscogee Creek Nation, the Muscogee Creek were forced to relinquish the land which is now present-day DeKalb County and the home of Emory's first campus, Oxford College, as well as the main campus on Clifton Road."[1]

I write from the ancestral homelands of Muscogee Creek Nation. This dissertation aims to document a history of environmental extraction beginning in sixteenth-century England and Ireland, and the ways in which this colonial ideology invaded the Americas shortly thereafter. In this project, I engage Indigenous voices of resistance (1) to acknowledge the ways British literature is complicit in the spread of these extractive ideologies; and (2) to urge early modern scholars to diversify not only the cannon, but the pedagogical outputs of British literature coursework to be more inclusive of Indigenous worldviews, ways of knowing, and local, land-based ecologies.

Prioritization of these goals would not be possible without the support, expertise, empathy, compassion, and social justice advocacy of my advisor, Patricia Cahill. Words cannot express my gratitude to you for helping me bring these ideas to fruition. Many thanks to my committee members, Ross Knecht and Deepika Bahri, whose courses on early modern pastoral poetry, and postcolonial theory, respectively, inspired many of the dissertation's arguments.

I am grateful to several mentors at Emory, whose support in and out of the classroom helped me develop as a teacher, researcher, and activist academic. Thank you Jim Morey, for countless conversations about Spenser, Ireland, and teaching British literature. To Allison Adams: thank you for sustaining me as a friend and colleague, cheering me on, and creating opportunities for me at the CFDE to hone my skills as a scholarly writer and editor. To Donna Troka: with sincerest gratitude for supporting my SoTL interests in Indigenous Pedagogies and helping me to think deeply, responsibly, and ethically about diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education. To Sheila Cavanagh, for your commitment to Puck Project and helping my peers and I get our passion project off the ground. Emma Davenport and Lauren Klein, my sincerest gratitude for your help navigating the job market and post-doctoral life. To my lifelong friends and cohort family, John Gulledge and Mary Taylor Mann: thank you for bringing your joy, collaborative spirit, and generosity to this program. I cannot imagine going on this academic journey without you. I'm so proud of what we've accomplished together.

[1] This statement was developed by Emory faculty Professor Craig Womack and Professor Debra Vidali, through consultation with leading historians of this region, including Historian of Emory University Professor Gary Hauk. To read the full land acknowledgement and history statement developed by NAISI faculty in January 2021, please visit https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/nae/land-acknowledgement/.

To my family: Mom, Dad, Lauren, Aaron, Maxwell, and Finny. You have always been there for me. Thank you for hours facetiming when times were tough, for the laughs, for the very welcome distractions, for being my compass when the work seemed like it would never get done. I love you with all my heart. I hope I've made you proud.

Lastly, and certainly not least, thank you to my partner, Jason, and my son, Duncan. Jason: I'm so blessed to have met you shortly before I took and passed my comprehensive exams. Even in those early days of our relationship you supported me to put my studies first, and I'm so excited to see where life takes us post-doctorate. You're my biggest cheerleader and I'm so happy to formally acknowledge your part in making this project happen. None of this work happens in isolation: thanks for always having my back and for your infectious positive energy. To DJ: you bring light to my life. Putting "PhD" after my name is an enormous accomplishment, but being your bonus mom is my favorite title. I hope watching me receive my degree inspires you to go after your dreams and find your passion.

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Introduction

War is Hell: Climate Change in the Early Modern Archive

"Blood and destruction shall be so in use,
And dreadful objects so familiar,
That mothers shall but smile when they behold
Their infants quartered with the hands of war,
All pity choked with custom of fell deeds,
And Caesar's spirit, ranging for revenge,
With Ate by his side come hot from hell,
Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
Cry "Havoc!" and let slip the dogs of war,
That this foul deed shall smell above the earth
With carrion men, groaning for burial." (JC 3.1.265-275)

War is hell. Shakespeare's Marc Antony bemoans the "havoc" it wreaks on humanity and the environment alike. Antony imagines the foulness of Caesar's assassination bubbling up from the entrails of the earth and wafting into the atmosphere. On the battlefield, dead soldiers are vulnerable to earthly elements: they become carrion prey for crows. *Julius Caesar*, like much of war literature in the early modern period captures the many ways war transgresses and traverses clear boundaries between humanity and nature. Yet, the ecological impact of war begins long before boots hit the ground. In modern warfare, military forces require massive amounts of resources ranging from common metals or rare earth elements to water or hydrocarbons.[2] Military aircraft, vehicles, vessels, buildings, and infrastructure consume vast amounts of energy, most often, oil. Today, the CO_2 emissions of the largest militaries are greater than many of the world's countries combined.[3] The environmental impact of modern conflict varies greatly. Industrial technologies over the last century have ushered in new modes of destruction. Modern

[2] Doug Weir, "How does war damage the environment?"

[3] Research by social scientists from Durham University and Lancaster University shows that the U.S. military is one of the largest climate polluters in history, consuming more liquid fuels and emitting more CO2e (carbon-dioxide equivalent) than most countries. The study also reports that if the U.S. military were itself an independent nation state, it would rank 47th on a list of the "largest emitters" of greenhouse gas in the world. Lancaster University, "U.S. military consumes more hydrocarbons than most countries – massive hidden impact on climate."

belligerents may, for example, deliberately attack or inadvertently damage industrial, oil, or energy facilities, causing severe pollution. However, war's devastating effects on the environment have been documented over a much longer period of history, as Marc Antony's speech implies. Warfare ecology is not a modern concept. Explosive weapons have damaged sensitive landscapes for centuries, threatening biodiversity, and our environmentalist predecessors took note. Beginning with the introduction of firearms in the fourteenth-century, European hunters had easier access to small arms and light weaponry; increased hunting and poaching endangered wildlife. In the sixteenth century, overharvesting wood and charcoal for fuel and construction of England's navy escalated deforestation. Belligerents have used scorched earth strategies since time immemorial and this style of warfare continues to destroy agricultural infrastructures like crops, canals, and wells, threatening the food security of rural communities today.

Armed conflict between nations promises large-scale death. Despite the notion of "rebirth" inherent in the term Renaissance, this period of European history chronicles perpetual death brought on by perpetual war – this is the "century of the soldier."[4] According to research compiled by historical data scientists Peter Brecke and Max Roser, global conflict-related deaths between the years 1500 and 1650 grew from about 30,000 to approximately 450,000

[4] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw more "belligerence than almost any other period of European history, registering a grand total of only ten years of total peace across the continent. During the sixteenth century, Spain and France were almost constantly at war; during the seventeenth century, the Ottoman empire, the Austrian Habsburgs and Sweden were at war for two years out of every three, Spain for three years out of every four, and Poland and Russia for four years out of every five. 'This,' as the Italian poet Fulvio Testi wrote in 1641, 'is the century of the soldier.'" Geoffrey Parker, *Warfare*, 146-7. See also, Benjamin Bertram, *Bestial Oblivion*, 5. The transhistorical claim of Bertram's book, an attempt to bring the study of war into the "nonhuman turn" in recent ecocritical studies, is coupled with a historical one: war became perpetual in the sixteenth century, and this change "altered the ideologies and practices establishing what it meant to be human."

immediately following the Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648).[5] Death of this magnitude impacts the environment, and both history and data science show that not all peoples and environments experienced (or continue to experience) the devastation equally. The European invasion of the Americas in 1492, for example, marks the onset of disease epidemics killing a majority of Indigenous people over the subsequent century 1500-1600.[6] As a result of genocidal colonial conquest and waves of pandemic disease, around 1 per cent of total land mass in the Americas was abandoned, or approximately 56 million hectares of land from 55 million post-epidemic human deaths among Indigenous communities following Columbus's arrival.[7] A recent study at University College London found that large-scale depopulation resulted in massive tracts of agricultural land being left untended, allowing the land to become overgrown with trees and other new vegetation.[8] The regrowth caused by secondary succession soaked up enough atmospheric carbon dioxide to cool the entire planet, with the average temperature dropping by 0.15C in the late 1500s and early 1600s.

For the early modern ecocritic, this research gives course for pause. Steven Mentz offers us some uncomfortable juxtapositions: "amid the glories of the English Renaissance sits an

[5] These numbers include military and civilian conflict-related deaths. Global military deaths during the same period are just as staggering: 800 in the year 1500 as compared to 93,870.97 in 1650. Max Roser, "World conflict deaths (various sources), number of deaths 1500 – 1650." https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/world-conflict-deaths-various-sources?time=1500..1650. For additional military figures, see Peter Brecke, *Conflict Catalogue 18 vars* (20 August 2012), distributed by the Centre for Global and Economic History (Utrecht), originally presented by Brecke as conference paper at the International Peace Science Society, and available at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at the Georgia Institute of Technology, https://brecke.inta.gatech.edu/research/conflict/.

[6] Kelly Duquette, "Environmental Colonialism."

[7] Alexander Koch, et al, "Earth System Impacts of the European Arrival and Great Dying in the Americas after 1492."

[8] Oliver Milman, "European Colonization of Americas Killed so Many It Cooled Earth's Climate."

ecological spike.[9] When Sir Walter Ralegh graced Queen Elizabeth's court and Shakespeare's dramas were first staged, our Anthropocene nightmare began."[10] A time of dazzling innovation is also one of devastating atmospheric change. Early modern audiences celebrated human complexity on Shakespeare's stage, while across the Atlantic, Ralegh stole lands from those he deemed less than human. Scholarship undertaken by Robert Markley and others[11] locates the experience of this ecological spike in sixteenth-century literature. Shakespeare's sonnets, like all the early modern canon, were written during the Little Ice Age (ca. 1300 – 1850), a time of general cooling over Western Europe. Shorter springs than common in the twentieth century, longer winters, and often abrupt and violent shifts in weather patterns affected agricultural productivity, food security, and more generally, the very understanding of "Nature" itself.[12] Disease and genocide perpetrated by European colonists contributed significantly to climate change in the latter part of the Little Ice Age, and this history must be told despite the discomfort. War, specifically colonial war in the sixteenth century, not only changed our environment, but how we experience nature around us and our relationship to land. As Mentz's

[9] In their trailblazing article, atmospheric chemist Paul J. Crutzen and biologist Eugene F. Stoermer suggest that the age of Holocene ("Real Whole"), the post-glacial geological epoch of the past ten to twelve thousand years, has ended and given way to the Anthropocene, a term they assert more accurately characterizes the growing impacts of human activities in geology and ecology at global scales. In this early work, Crutzen and Stoermer do not offer a specific origin date, but more recent research conducted by geographers Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin assigns the Anthropocene Epoch a historical genesis. Defining the beginning of the Anthropocene as a formal geologic unit of time "requires the location of a global marker of an event in stratigraphic material, such as rock, sediment, or glacier ice, known as a Global Stratotype Section and Point (GSSP), plus other auxiliary stratigraphic markers indicating changes to the Earth system." After a survey of the stratigraphic evidence, Lewis and Maslin offer two "golden spikes" or GSSPs – the years 1610 and 1964 – as significant moments in the Anthropogenic narrative. See Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer, "The Anthropocene," 17; and more recently, Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, "Defining the Anthropocene," 171 – 180.

[10] Steve Mentz, "Enter Anthropocene, c. 1610."

[11] See for example, Dan Brayton, *Shakespeare's Ocean*; Vin Nardizzi, *Wooden Os*; Linda Shenk and William J. Gutowski, Jr., "What can Shakespeare Teach us About Climate Action?"

[12] Robert Markley, "Summer's Lease: Shakespeare in the Little Ice Age," 132.

observations imply, the influence of figures like Ralegh – and the colonial ambition he has come to represent – cannot be underestimated in discussions of environmental history.

If ecocritics are working to assemble and expand a climate change archive, we should, as Markley encourages us, include the works of Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, and William Shakespeare as representative of early modern environmental history. But we must also lean into the "Anthropocene nightmare." This project seeks to decolonize the climate change archive. Such an intervention acknowledges the institutions that took shape and defined geopolitics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – settler colonialism, slavery, genocidal foreign policy, and plantation capitalism – and makes them the subjects of ecological interrogation. If we study Shakespeare's depiction of summer during the Little Ice Age, for example, environmental justice demands we also consider the military's role in extirpating Indigenous peoples and land knowledges.

War Pastoral attempts to fill gaps in an early modern history of climate change by interrogating war's environmental impacts during England's colonial history as evidenced in the works of Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare. In this project, I reconceptualize the early modern *pastoral*. Often defined as an urban genre that depicts the simplicity of rural life, I show how deeply this genre is marked by a concern with the imprint of warfare on the natural environment. In other words, while the period's literary fantasies of pastoral leisure are usually read as Edenic landscapes representing proximity to a "Golden Age," a time when humans lived in harmony with nature, I argue that early modern texts—among them, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's *Othello* and *1 Henry VI*, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* – describe spaces made by warfare. By intervening in ecocritical conversations, then, I show that the battlefield should be imagined as a "green world" and terms like "environment" and "nature" cannot be fully

understood without accounting for early modern military histories marked by gender and racial stratifications. In short, early modern war pastoral texts are not only about war; they also reflect an environmental ethos founded upon the extractive processes promoted by a proto military-industrial complex. As I trace what I call *war pastoral*, then, I show that what this literature idealizes is not nature but natural resources – not a Golden Age, but gold itself. In offering a new approach to a familiar literary form, I bring ecocriticism together with premodern critical race studies, queer theory, and disability studies. *War pastoral* thus offers a framework for reading environmental injustice during a period of unprecedented cultural and geopolitical change.

What is Pastoral, Anyway?

Since William Empson's seminal text *Some Versions of the Pastoral* (1935), early modern scholars have contributed novel perspectives in New Historicism, genre theory, performance history, postcolonial theory, and ecocriticism, to name a few, expanding beyond Empson's initial approaches in New Criticism. What constitutes pastoralism, however, has been subject to long debate. *What is Pastoral?* (1996), and *What Else is Pastoral?* (2011), ask Paul Alpers and Ken Hiltner in the titles of their respective monographs. In her 2012 lecture on *As You Like It* at Oxford University, Emma Smith offers an expert review of the pastoral mode in early modern literature. Pastoralism is an urban genre that imagines proximity to a prelapsarian world and a search for a simple way of life away from corruption, war, strife, and politics. For Smith, "inertia" is intrinsic to the pastoral mode, as early modern plays and poems envisage leisurely retreat from active life.[13] Noble shepherds consider the benefits and disadvantages of court and country life, their relationships with disdainful women, and engage in poetic

[13] Emma Smith, "As You like It."

competition, epitomizing the *otium* (leisure) vs. *negotium* (active life) debate, often mapped onto green worlds and the court, respectively.

Pastoral connects two worlds: a foregrounded rural setting and an urban region. As Sukanta Chaudhuri explains, pastoral is often called a literature of nostalgia; but it is a "communal nostalgia" rather than a personal nostalgia, a "longing for something that strikes a deep congenial chord but that one has not experienced in the first place."[14] In literature, we can trace the evolution of the pastoral back to two key figures: Theocritus and Virgil. The earliest instances of pastoral are some of Theocritus' Greek idylls ("little pictures" or "sketches") in the third century BCE.[15] Theocritus' pastoral idylls span a range of ideas and forms that would eventually be assimilated into Virgil's version of eclogue (first century BCE). The following contours are integral to both the idylls and eclogues: the shepherd is presented as poet and singer, epitomized in Daphnis, whose death from frustrated love frames the pastoral in a mythic context. Thus, classical pastoral positions love and death as basic themes. Virgil diverges from the Theocritean legacy of pastoral and relates the more firmly to the real world. *Eclogue I*, for example, is set in Virgil's homeland in the countryside around Mantua. The poet thanks the Emperor Augustus for allowing him to maintain possession of his farm in a period of instability and eviction. The shepherd, Tityrus sits piping under a beech tree, while his neighbor Meliboeus wanders displaced with his flock.

Like Virgil's *Eclogues*, Philip Sidney's *A Defence of Poesie* (1595) similarly illustrates the ways pastoral may also show the harsh realities of agricultural laborers subject to political power and civil unrest. Within these literary fantasies of Theocritean pastoralism Edenic

[14] Sukanta Chaudhuri, *A Companion to Pastoral Poetry of the English Renaissance,* 2-3.
[15] For more on Theocritus and distinctions between the pastoral mode and the "bucolic," see David M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral*.

landscapes of the *locus amoenus* (pleasant place) represent proximity to a "Golden Age," a time when humans lived in harmony with nature. However, Sidney undermines this vision, imploring readers to listen closely to the shepherd's "disdained" pipe which captures "the misery of people under hard lords, or ravening soldiers."[16] For Sidney, the pastoral vision erases the shepherd's lived experiences of war, and I would add, nature's experience, too. Ecocritics have responded to these harsh realities, offering such concepts as "anti-pastoral" and "post-pastoral" to more accurately capture Sidney's observations in *A Defence* and similar lamentations found in the early modern canon. For critics like Terry Gifford, pastoral's status as a *genre* is at center of these distinctions. Gifford critiques a fundamental "confusion" at the center ecocritical pastoral scholarship in the U.S. and UK,

> … attributable to the desire for a distinctively American pastoral against the English and yet earlier European traditions of its origins. So an American concept of pastoral has come to challenge the notion of pastoral as a genre. Indeed, the narrative of the reception of classical pastoral would need to account for its shift from a genre, to a mode, and to a contemporary concept.[17]

Is the pastoral "wedded to outmoded models of harmony and balance," as the British ecocritic Greg Garrad suggest?[18] Or, as American ecocritic Lawrence Buell challenges us to consider, is pastoralism a "species of cultural equipment that western thought has for more than two millennia been unable to do without"?[19] Our current ecological crisis, as Leo Mars points out, "is bound to bring forth new versions of pastoral."[20] For Gifford, Garrard and Buell's

[16] Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poesie and Poems.*
[17] Terry Gifford, "Pastoral, Anti-Pastoral, and Post-Pastoral," 17.
[18] Greg Garrard, *Ecocriticism*, 65.
[19] Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination*, 32
[20] Leo Marx, "Does Pastoral Have a Future?," 222.

conceptualizations of pastoral represent ecocriticism's misunderstanding of a term that is "rooted in its historical shifts in meaning."[21]

I argue, however, that ecocritical readings of pastoral literature are less "confused" than Gifford alleges. Instead, scholarship on "anti-pastoral" and "post-pastoral" rather importantly acknowledge the ways many early modern canonical texts disrupt or depart from the original models of Theocritus and Virgil. For example, Peter Lindenbaum exercises care in his explanation of the subtleties between pastoral and anti-pastoral:

> I ought to acknowledge that what I am calling "anti-pastoral" … might easily be called "pastoral" properly defined. In opposing what they saw as the implicit escapism of prior pastoral writing, Sidney, Shakespeare, and … Milton … were returning to the conception of pastoral shared by Theocritus and Virgil and using pastoral mode, not to express nostalgia for a better time and better place, but to comment upon life both within and outside Arcadia … I have, however, retained the term "anti-pastoral" because Sidney's two Arcadias, Shakespeare's pastoral plays, and Milton's Paradise Lost reveal these authors not so much consciously following the model of Theocritus and Virgil or insisting on a proper definition of pastoral mode as simply opposing the assumptions they saw implicit in pictures of pastoral life … The argument with another vision of Arcadia or Eden is built into their works, and I have chosen to use the label "anti-pastoral" in an attempt to be true to that spirit of contentiousness.[22]

Anti-pastoral makes room for the hustle and bustle of early modern society, increasingly mercantile, globalized, and militarized. Anti-pastoral sentiment expresses the view that in this fast-paced landscape, humanity simply has "no time for relaxation or even momentary escape from the pressing activity of day-to-day living."[23] On the other hand, "post-pastoral" may describe works that successfully suggest a collapse of the human/nature divide while being

[21] Gifford, 17.
[22] Peter Lindenbaum, *Changing Landscapes,* 21.
[23] Lindenbaum, 1.

aware of the problematics involved."[24] One question post-pastoral texts may ask is "can awe in the face of natural phenomena, such as landscapes, lead to humility in our species?"[25]

In my estimation, neither "anti-pastoral" nor "post-pastoral" accurately capture the body of early modern literature I examine in this project. Like pastoral in its original sense, war literature in the period appropriates many of the mode's conventions including displacement, lamenting the harsh realities of agricultural labor, restive retreats into green worlds, and the conflict between harmony and balance. But, unlike the anti-pastoral, the texts I investigate are not self-reflexively opposed to the furious pace of war; rather, they imagine martial eco-spaces (tented camps, trenches, battlefields) as green worlds, and therefore, recognize these locations as suitable for pastoral creativity. While this war literature oftentimes acknowledges "a collapse of the human/nature divide" in the vein of post-pastoral, it is far less concerned with a humility that arises upon looking at awe-inspiring nature. In Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare's texts, rather, humanity's ingenuity in these martial eco-spaces inspires awe. For the body of literature I refer to as *war pastoral*, the harsh realities of agricultural labor are central to the war project. War pastoral takes up the song of the trench digger, a new kind of shepherd, and the harsh realities of cultivating war via extractive processes, or what I will argue should be more accurately described as the military-industrial complex in its nascency.

Early Modern Warfare Ecology: A Framework for Reexamining the "Renaissance"

In *Dulce bellum inexpertise* (War is a treat for those who have not tried it), published in the 1515 edition of *Adagia*, Desiderius Erasmus wonders, what does Nature think of war? In a moment of ventriloquy, the Dutch philosopher and Christian scholar imagines how Nature mourns her "gentle" creation —humanity –now, unrecognizable:

[24] Gifford, 26.
[25] Gifford, 27.

> What new sight is this I see? What hell has produced this monstrosity? … There was one creature I brought forth made entirely for kindly actions – peaceful, friendly, helpful… I recognize nothing in him … What sorceress has conjured away his human mind and called up an animal's in its place?[26]

Erasmus' reflection on humanity's brutish turn proposes that what ultimately distinguishes humans from animals is the anthropocentric propensity for armed conflict. Engagement in large-scale combat relegates the human further down than animals along the Great Chain of Being. "When did anyone hear," Erasmus inquires, "of a hundred thousand animals falling dead together after tearing each other to pieces, as men do everywhere?"[27] Even the most "savage" animals like lions, wolves, and tigers, "do not make war on each other as we do."[28]Erasmus observes, rather, that most animals live in harmony and "good order" with their own kind, "moving in herds and ensuring mutual protection."[29] Yet, when animals do fight, they "fight with their own weapons" in one-to-one combat, while "men equip [themselves] to destroy men with unnatural instruments devised by the art of devils."[30]

Central to this critique of war are questions of technology and scale. Concerning combat, Erasmus celebrates the animal kingdom's rules of engagement. Animals deploy only those tools at their disposal when confronted or provoked. God created animals "not for destruction but for preservation," and for this reason endowed the "charging bull with horns" and outfitted the crocodile with armor "at every point with plate-like scales."[31] Because Nature intended humanity for peace, on the other hand, "she" created "man alone … naked, weak, delicate, unarmed, with very soft flesh and a smooth skin."[32] To achieve the unnatural task of war, humanity

[26] Desiderius Erasmus, *Dulce bellum inexpertis,* 407.
[27] Erasmus, 406.
[28] Erasmus, 405.
[29] Erasmus, 405.
[30] Erasmus, 405.
[31] Erasmus, 401-2.
[32] Erasmus, 402.

supplements the body with plated armor and firearms – it is the only species to misappropriate newfound technologies. The Renaissance period's impressive mastery of mathematics and sciences fashioned lethal soldiers, capable of unleashing destruction over massive amounts of territory via systematic, calculated, aggregated assault.[33] War differentiates human from beast, and only human action can wreak havoc at such a devastating scale. Erasmus, ever attentive to war's ecological impact, laments "the slaughtered lying in heaps, the fields running with gore, the rivers dyed with human blood … crops trampled far and wide, farms burnt out … cattle driven away."[34]

But exactly whose fields run with gore? Whose crops, precisely, were trampled? Who relied on the cattle driven away, and what mutualistic benefits did that interspecies relationship yield? The answers to these questions mattered in the early sixteenth century, and matter now more than ever as humanity faces the increasing material effects of global warming and climate change. Erasmus' account of war's ecological devastation offers a productive starting point for environmental justice scholarship. His reflections register an awareness of war's collateral damage. To some extent, he accounts for warfare in stages (preparations, in process, and post-war) and evaluates this destruction relative to civilians, soldiers, and nature. In many ways, *Dulce bellum inexpertis* offers a taxonomy of war's ecological impacts, or an early example of what conservation biologists term "warfare ecology."

In a 2008 article published in *BioScience*, conservation biologists Gary E. Machlis and Thor Hanson outline a scientific field of study they term warfare ecology[35] to suggest a complex

[33] For more on the period's new military-mathematical discourses, see Patricia Cahill's *Unto the Breach.*
[34] Erasmus, 404.
[35] Machlis and Hanson's work is not the first to coin the term "warfare ecology." Susan D. Lanier-Graham's pioneering handbook and resource guide, *The Ecology of War: Environmental Impacts of Weaponry and Warfare* is one of the first publications to deal with this critical issue. It examines the destructive effects of battle and its

relationship between warfare and ecosystem change. Machlis and Hanson's taxonomy organizes the ecological study of warfare into three stages – preparations, war, and postwar activities –and treats biophysical and socioeconomic systems as "coupled systems."[36] All three stages of warfare generate ecological consequences. War preparations necessitate resource consumption, stockpiling of strategic materials, weapons testing, training, and associated facilities. The act of war itself concentrates immense energy flows, severe disturbances, habitat destruction, uncontrolled extraction of "lootable resources"[37] to finance militias, deliberate death (including but not limited to human death), and disorganization of existing social and ethical systems. Post-war conditions include pollution, damaged or destroyed infrastructures, degraded landscapes, socioeconomic disruption, refugee populations, and long-term illness. Warfare ecology therefore encompasses interactions among organisms and between organisms and their environments at multiple scales (populations, communities, ecosystems, biomes).

Warfare ecology poses a unique challenge to scholars of modern military history. How do ecocritics integrate what Carl von Clausewitz described as "the grammar of war" with the concerns of ecosystem science?[38] Wars range from large-scale interstate war to national revolutionary or guerrilla war, to regional nonstate war. "New wars"[39] reflect both the heightened complexity of many violent conflicts involving multiple nonstate belligerents and the

aftermath, as well as peacetime aspects of war (i.e. the testing of weapons, waste disposal) and how this activity impacts the global environment. Lanier-Graham's work offers a concise historical/geopolitical overview of the topic, while Machlis and Hanson offer a conservationist perspective.

[36] Gary E. Machlis, Thor Hanson, "Warfare Ecology."
[37] P. Collier, "Rebellion as a quasi-criminal activity."
[38] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War.*
[39] M. Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*.

difficulties of characterizing the range of modern warfare.[40] Individual wars may shift among categories as new combatants and strategic purposes emerge. To what extent can we apply Machlis and Hanson's taxonomy to military conflict in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Few, if any, of the above categories accurately capture the nature of military conflict during this time. In recent years, the work of Benjamin Bertram, Randall Martin, and others has begun to answer this question. Bertram and Martin's research sheds important light, for example, on the early modern period's increasing use of military technologies and its effects on conceptions of the human body and conservation practices, respectively.[41] I suggest that the early modern period marks the merging of "war grammar" and ecosystem science. In other words, the works of Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare, offer us numerous opportunities to see early modern ecological understanding put to work in service of English war efforts.

Historiography of the Renaissance assigns substantial currency to the period as a revival of antiquity, scientific discoveries, and geographical exploration. The Romantic historian Jules Michelet (1798 – 1874), for example, devoted his scholarship to concretizing the Renaissance as a historical period. For him, the notion of "rebirth" inherent in the term Renaissance was above all a rebirth of the human spirit, a "heroic outburst of an immense will."[42] However, the human spirit's "immense will" was not always executed with altruism. Examining the Renaissance through the lenses of postcolonial theory, ecofeminism, and critical race theory casts a critical eye on this historiographical narrative and demonstrates that the Renaissance often confounds definition. The chapters of *War Pastoral* build on Bertram's argument that the Renaissance

[40] P.J. Hoffman and T.G. Weiss, *Sword and Salve.*
[41] For more on the relationship between war and forest conservation, see Randall Martin's *Shakespeare and Ecology.* Bertram, 5.
[42] William Caferro, *Contesting the Renaissance*, 3.

should be more accurately described as an era of perpetual war,[43] and consequently, a period of perpetual death brought on by war.[44] The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ushered in an age of military development, increasingly dependent upon gunpowder warfare. The period's pan-European revolution in militarism was not limited to weaponry, but tactical experiment as well. For example, the Italian Renaissance produced complex mathematical techniques of visual representation, influenced by ancient geometric texts and medieval Arabic optics which informed intricate systems of linear perspective.[45] These new systems and mechanical drawings were applied almost immediately to military architecture and engineering. Efficient war technologies contributed to the efficacy of conflict-related death.

During much of this period (1550 – 1688), a considerable volume of England's militaristic exploits (and conflict-related death) related to colonial war. Technological advancements in maritime travel meant that English travelers and their European counterparts encountered societies beyond their territorial margins. A significant number of these "exchanges"[46] ended in deadly conflict. Colonial entrepreneurs established supremacy over areas or activities – which had not been traditionally part of the concern of their European parent-states – sometimes through persuasion, but more often by violent force, settlement, dispossession, and

[43] Bertram, 5.

[44] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw more "belligerence than almost any other period of European history, registering a grand total of only ten years of total peace across the continent. During the sixteenth century, Spain and France were almost constantly at war; while during the seventeenth century, the Ottoman empire, the Austrian Habsburgs and Sweden were at war for two years out of every three, Spain for three years out of every four, and Poland and Russia for four years out of every five. 'This,' as the Italian poet Fulvio Testi wrote in 1641, 'is the century of the soldier.'" Geoffrey Parker, *Warfare*, 146-7.

[45] Brian Sandberg, *War and Conflict in the Early Modern World,* 35.

[46] The term "exchange" here echoes critiques of historian Alfred Crosby's text, *The Columbian Exchange* (1972), which originally argued that European colonists were successful in the New World, in part, because they were able to alter native ecosystems. Colonists exposed native societies to foreign markets as well as exotic invasive species, restricting Indigenous peoples' abilities to defend themselves against both economic and biological invaders. Since the publication of Crosby's seminal work, several environmental historians have critiqued the use of the word "exchange" on the grounds that the relationship between European colonists and indigenous communities can hardly be described as reciprocal. See for example, Corey Ross, *Ecology and Power in the Age of Empire*, 5-6.

displacement. Colonial wars in early modern European history describe the episodes of violence associated with establishing these settlements, as well as "trading supremacies" on oceanic routes, and the establishment of plantations or colonies; as well as the subsequent struggles between European states and their rival subjects for control of or access to such imperial "prizes."[47]

Europe's militaristic revolution, at this point impacting life (and death) at a global scale, required, as war historian Simon Barker suggests, a revision of military theory in the "face of the imperatives that arose from colonial ambition, new economic structures, and a consolidation of the idea of the early modern nation state."[48] Vital to this process was a reformulation of the medieval concept of the "just war" in order to accommodate the changing geopolitical environment that emerged during the era of Reformation and colonialism. The theory of just war postulates that there is a moral reality of war and that this moral reality provides a framework of discussion of the justice of war (*jus ad bellum*) and justice in war (*jus in bello*). In other words, just war theory accounts for the ethical and moral reasons of going to war, as well as the behaviors and actions that may be ethically taken during the course of war. This approach opposes realism in the assumption that wars are not liable to moral judgement and at the same time posits against pacifism that war may be morally justified."[49] By Queen Elizabeth I's reign (1558 – 1603), English humanists for a long time had reasoned that "peace at home" accomplished more for true religion (and national strength) than "meddling erratically" in what were ultimately "internal problems of foreign nations and empires."[50] By Christian humanist

[47] Bruce P. Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550 – 1688,* 2.
[48]Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries,* 39-40.
[49]Franziska Quabeck, *Just and Unjust Wars in Shakespeare*, 5.
[50] Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace,* 304.

standards, war was "symptomatic" of a breakdown in an individual's ability to live "harmoniously" with another, a behavior which called for correction.[51]

England's colonial ambition and brutal campaigns, especially in sixteenth-century Ireland and seventeenth-century America, contradicted fundamental tenets of the just war tradition as well as Christian, humanist petitions for peace. To maneuver around these facts, colonists made room for violent conquest in the just war tradition through the rhetoric of civilization, Christianity, and commerce. For example, the seventeenth-century planter, Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616), urged his contemporary Sir Walter Ralegh in Virginia to continue expansion overseas, citing the myth of England's civilizing mission:

> Up then, go on as you have begun, leave to posterity an imperishable monument of your name and fame … For … no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason.[52]

In the eyes of English explorers and settlers, Christian conversion of Indigenous peoples was integral to the colonial enterprise and a justification for war. From Hakluyt's perspective, the clearest path to historical prominence happens at the edge of a sword. War is necessary to individual posterity. By this logic, colonial war, specifically, is the most worthwhile kind of war because it profligates the English "way:" Christian, civil, and rational. Hakluyt's description of Indigenous peoples in Virginia captures the essence of colonial motivations in late sixteenth-century America, Ireland, and the Caribbean.

[51] Lowe, 304 – 305.
[52] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse Concerning Western Planting," 369.

Early Environmental Injustice: Land, Privatization, and Military Service

For most of the medieval period, military service was based on land ownership. Within the feudal system, land holders or nobles were obligated to accept knighthood and perform military service for their feudal overlord. Individuals could avoid military service, however, by paying scutage, a fine which was used to hire mercenaries. The structure of feudal tenure required that nobles provide a certain number of soldiers to the king, and that they would be obliged to campaign for a minimum of forty days per year. This amount of time was often too little to successfully complete a campaign. Gradually, the feudal system of raising armies gave way to a contractual system. Paid, contractual infantries were raised by commissions of array. The king agreed to pay nobles to serve in order to assemble a cavalry. Eventually, the king contracted out recruitment to military entrepreneurs. In the late medieval period, then, land was no longer the cost of military service.

In the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign (1558 – 1603), the queen levied thousands of soldiers to wars abroad. These soldiers were members of the first English army not to depend on feudal retinues.[53] Between 1585 and 1604 English and Welsh soldiers were at war with Spain in the Low Countries, while others were sent to suppress and colonize Irish forces. As Paul Hammer explains, the 1590s marks Elizabeth's attempt to pour "men, money, and supplies into Ireland on a scale far greater than any other enterprise of the reign, stretching the realm to its very limits."[54] Between 1585 and 1602, the Privy Council levied approximately 117,000 men for foreign military service, or an average of 6,529 men per year, demonstrating the massive scale of

[53] Patricia Cahill, *Unto the Breach,* 12.
[54] Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars,* 212.

military efforts during the period.[55] As Patricia Cahill explains, virtually any able-bodied man between the age of 16 and 60 who was not clergy ranked below baron was answerable to the Privy Council's statute for military service.[56] However, English conscription of soldiers depended disproportionately on the poor and old. While Elizabeth's Privy Council did not exercise decisive oversight of military matters, it did participate extensively in militarization efforts. Wallace MacCaffrey has suggested that during the period, the Privy Council "transformed itself into something resembling a war office in full control of logistics."[57] The growing Elizabethan war machine changed the domestic economy: citizens were assessed for military taxes; merchants made loans to the government and contracted to supply soldiers with "food, clothing, as victuallers, artisans, armorers, surgeons, nurses, laundresses, and prostitutes," all in an effort to bolster increased warfare.[58]

In an age of perpetual war, burgeoning European nation-states and their militaries sought out new streams of revenue to bolster their domestic economies. At the height of its power in the 1580s, the Spanish empire had a population of about eight million, roughly twice that of England. Spain's extensive colonial enterprises in South and Central America generated hundreds of tons of silver each year, more than enough to fund substantial military campaigns at home and abroad.[59] For years, Spain had trained their navigators in maritime affairs. England's knowledge of the seas was limited and predominately local. Furthermore, England possessed a small, inexperienced civilian military in comparison to its counterpart, the renowned Spanish-Habsburg army. To assert England's competitiveness in an increasingly global market and

[55] Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 245-8. Cited in Cahill, *Unto the Breach*, 13.
[56] Cahill, 14.
[57] Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603,* 15.
[58] Cahill, 15.
[59] Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England,* 1.

improve the nation's statecraft, Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539 – 1583), maternal half-brother of Sir Walter Ralegh (1552/4 – 1618), proposed an institution of higher learning to Queen Elizabeth I (1533- 1603). This academy, which he hoped Elizabeth would finance, would not only train Englishmen in the art of navigation, but provide a broad education[60] for men willing to engage in overseas activities – both civic and martial – in service to the queen. Gilbert appeals to the queen on the necessity of England's expansion:

> O noble Prince, that God shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely[61] frozen Island into such everlasting honnour that all of the nations of the world shall knowe and say, when the face of an English gentleman appeareth that he is eyther a Sowldiour, a Philosophor or a gallant Cowrtier whereby in glory your majesty shall make your self second to no Prince living.[62]

England, to Gilbert and his entrepreneurial contemporaries, was a "frozen Island." It lacked the natural resources available in more temperate climates, like those the Spanish had already confiscated from Indigenous peoples in the Americas. A European landscape increasingly dominated by Spain relegated England to the geopolitical fringe in the early and mid-sixteenth century. For Gilbert and other colonizers, England's climate and its effect on agricultural productivity was among the motivations for conquest.

Gilbert's subtle remark offers a glimpse at how some English entrepreneurs imagined the intersection of war and ecology in early modern period. Mismanagement of domestic natural

[60] Gilbert's curriculum was more "practical" than that offered by Oxford or Cambridge at the time. He stressed language instruction, oration, civil and common law, military training and martial policies, navigation, cartography, and even the study of alchemy. While the document gives insight into England's motivations for global expansion, the academy was never built.

[61] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it makes most sense that Gilbert deploys "seely" here in either (or both) of two senses: 2. "Happy, blissful; fortunate, lucky, well-omened, auspicious; or 6. "Deserving of pity or sympathy; pitiable, miserable, 'poor'; helpless, defenceless." "seely, adj.," *OED Online*, March 2021, Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/174808?redirectedFrom=seely (accessed March 15, 2021). In the former sense, Gilbert strikes a comical, even satiric tone: England is happy, blissful, or fortunate in its frozen isolation. The latter sense is more literal: England, in its frozen pity or misery, must venture abroad to refortify resources.

[62] Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "The Erection of an Academy in London for Education of Her Majesties Wardes, and Others of the Youth of Nobility and Gentlemen," 506 – 520.

resources became a justifiable motivation for wars abroad. In the Spanish empire, England witnessed the economic benefits of the military-industrial complex in its earliest stage, or what I refer to in *War Pastoral* as the *colonial war machine* in Chapter 2. War, specifically colonial war, was a lucrative business opportunity for England in a moment of ecological uncertainty, and the colonial war machine thus refers to the oscillatory processes of violent conquest and environmental degradation. As the last fragments of feudalism crumbled away, England's economy changed significantly along with its land usage related to enclosure practices and deforestation. The privatization of common lands and overextraction of timber, namely, played an integral role in shaping England's environmental policies, both domestic and foreign. In response to its own environmental challenges, England focused – to some extent – on conservationist policies and domestic land reform, but also exploited the violent conquest of foreign environments and peoples to capitalize on the spoils of war which could in turn, prop up the English economy. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, colonial conquest yielded economic returns for England making it competitive within an increasingly global market. The colonial war machine – a network of venture capitalists, career militarists, navigators, and land developers – ushered in the age of environmental injustice.

Project Organization

The early modern period brought the world at least two life-altering systems, both rooted in significant changes to the environment: (1) England's colonial-agricultural project of plantations in Ireland and the Americas; and (2) technological "advances" in maritime travel, enabling transatlantic mass movement and the institution of slavery. *War Pastoral* complicates traditional notions of economic, agricultural, and environmental "development" and asserts that histories of militaristic "development" are interwoven with the oppression of people and land. I

build on the work of ecofeminists like Vandana Shiva and Donna Harraway who challenge progressivist notions of "development" and thus argue that dominant and masculinist modes of agricultural production are themselves built on destructive perspectives and technologies with respect to our human interactions with the nonhuman world. In challenging these progressivist notions of "development," this dissertation is organized into four chapters, each focusing on a specific martial eco-space present in the early modern archive to contribute new research directions for early modern environmental justice and warfare ecology studies.

In chapter one, "Queer Shepherds and Wolfish Women,*"* I examine Joan la Pucelle's presence on the battlefields of France and Margaret of Anjou's ferocity in England's civil turmoil to show how femininity aligned with both natural and supernatural forces threatens martial masculinity's attempts to organize and control martial spaces. With an increasing body of early modern literature which attempted to map "the field" and proceduralize combat operations, early modern militarists treated these landscapes not as nature, but as "environments" and "resources" critical to wartime preparations. Nature, depicted as a chaotic force, sheds its status as ecosystem with a governance of its own and becomes victim to the destructive impulses of war and scorched earth tactics. *Henry VI* parts *I* and *III* demonstrate how martial masculinity characterizes queerness on the battlefield as malevolence and maldevelopment, antithetical to English visions of agricultural progress and productivity. I pay particular attention to Joan's pastoral past, as she exchanges this "base vocation" for military occupation on behalf of France.

Chapter two, "Pastorella Captive," examines Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596) and *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598). I argue that Spenser's texts depict "scorched earth" military tactics in Ireland through systemic deforestation. This reading demonstrates how nature may be leveraged locally for militaristic and imperialistic purposes. My

readings of *The Faerie Queen* and *A View of Ireland* thus expand on characterizations of queerness "in the field" as malevolence and maldevelopment, antithetical to English visions of agricultural progress and productivity. I argue that Spenser's genocidal and ecocidal fantasies inform how deforestation as military tactic aided the colonial establishment of plantation systems in Ireland and, later, North America.

Building on Spenser's genocidal/ecocidal logic, chapter three reassesses the validity of the anti-pastoral mode, which conventionally reads nature as a force from which humanity needs protection. In "The "steel couch of war:" Pastoral Rest in *Othello*," I contend that *Othello* subverts this imperative. In the play, the Venetian general resists romanticization of nature as a pastoral escape from battle, insisting instead that sleeping in the unforgiving terrain of tented camps, or what he calls the "steel couch of war," requires consistent work. In accepting the raw and unembellished earth as a "thrice-driven bed of down," *Othello* complicates pastoral distinctions between domesticity and wilderness, rest and labor. My reading of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays in chapter four revisits themes established in chapter one with respect to the Scythian shepherd's pastoral past and martial future. In "Playing at Pastoral in *Tamburlaine I* and *II*," I argue that Marlowe's dramas offer early modern scholars the opportunity to trace how war reorganizes humanity's relationship to nature. Tamburlaine's pioneers, tasked with unearthing earth's resources in the form of gold and asphalt, figure early military engineers. The mining and production of natural resources in martial eco-spaces such as trenches, mines, and countermines reveal the pastoral mode's central difficulty: myth functioning as memory. In other words, war pastoral literature acknowledges the impossibility and myth of a "Golden Age" and calls attention to a new world order, the military-industrial-complex in its nascency.

Chapter 1

Queer Shepherds and Wolfish Women: Gendering the Field in the *Henry VI* Plays

Introduction | Martial Prototypes: Elizabeth at Tilbury

On August 9, 1588, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, arranged for Queen Elizabeth I to visit her troops at Tilbury. England, fearing Spanish invasion via the Strait of Dover, gathered to hear their "warrior queen's" inspirational speech. Elizabeth, it has been reported, "rode through all the squadrons of her army as armed Pallas" where she made "an excellent oration to her army."[1] Like a glittering Athena, the queen rallied to protect her beloved island from attack:

> I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too – and take foul scorn that Parma or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm. To the which rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I will venter my royal blood; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of your virtue in the field.[2]

A great deal of historical scholarship attends to Elizabeth's martial exploits,[3] matched by literary criticism's analyses of the sovereign's gendered body.[4] The queen's speech and defeat of the Spanish Armada is a defining moment in English history for several reasons. Chief among them, England proved that a small island nation could defeat a major European aggressor, and that such a feat could be accomplished with a woman at the helm. Yet, far less scholarship responds to ecocritical implications of the Armada's aftermath. Just following the Battle of the Gravelines during the Anglo-Spanish War, southwest winds forced the Spanish Armada to withdraw north. As the Armada attempted to return to Spain and ventured north of Scotland and south near Ireland, storms off the coast wreaked havoc on the fleet, devastating Spanish ships along the

[1] *Cabala, Mysteries of State*, 259 – 60.
[2] Elizabeth I, "Queen Elizabeth's Armada Speech to the Troops at Tilbury, August 9, 1588," 326.
[3] See, for example, Brian Best, *Elizabeth's Sea Dogs and their War Against Spain*; Paul Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars;* Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics*.
[4] For more on the queen's female body, see Christopher Martin, "The Breast and Belly of a Queen," 5 – 28; Elisabeth Bronfen and Barbara Straumann, "Political Visions: The Two Bodies of Elizabeth I," 252 – 270.

British archipelago. Many public figures touted this weather as divine intervention on England's behalf. The island nation interpreted the events as God's support for the Protestant cause. Church services were held across the country and medals were produced later that year in the Dutch Republic to commemorate the unlikely victory. Perhaps the most famous medal bore the inscription *Flavit Jehovah et Dissipati Sund*, or "Jehovah blew with his Wind and they were scattered." The storms that overcame the Spanish Armada are often referred to the "Protestant Wind,"[5] a symbolic defeat of Catholicism on Europe's geopolitical stage.

However, nature just as quickly and impartially devastated England's navy when typhus first broke out among a 500-person crew aboard the galleon, *Elizabeth Jonas*. Neither England's sovereign nor her privy councilors interpreted this bacterial interference as an act of God, but ultimately as an opportunity for economic exploitation. War preparations left the queen's exchequer empty. Burghley, the Lord Treasurer's response to England's troops was brutal: "I marvel that where so many are dead on the seas the pay is not dead with them."[6] Soldiers who chanced to survive both the Armada and the epidemic were unpaid and near mutiny. Lord Admiral Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham appealed to Elizabeth directly on his troops' behalf: "The infection is grown very great and in many ships, and now very dangerous, and those that come in fresh are soonest infected. They sicken the one day and die the next."[7] Yet, Elizabeth ordered the arrest and execution of a company of soldiers who had "walked, limping and barefoot" to London to demand pay. As he climbed the gallows, one soldier yelled angrily to the crowd, "The gallows are the pay they give us for going to the wars."[8]

[5] Hans P. Kraus, "The 'Invincible Armada, 1588."
[6] J.K. Laughton, ed., *State Papers,* 284-5.
[7]John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years*, 152.
[8] M.A.S Hume, ed., *Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs.*

English societal attitudes towards its warrior queen and her Protestant Wind are telling. They underscore a nationalistic impulse to align natural events with divine intervention, and divinity likewise with the sovereign. Elizabeth's speech at Tilbury highlights the intricacy of such an alignment. Elizabeth concedes her feminine frame, but flaunts masculine internal features (i.e. a king's stomach and heart, royal blood). The queen acknowledges the visual contradictions her image conjures among an audience of military men. A "weak" and "feeble" body bestrode a war horse is out of place, but not if the troops see passed it to her masculine, martial spirit. The queen is a rhetorical contortionist: she embodies man and woman simultaneously, virgin and warrior queen. She speaks, fights, and leads her nation as all of the above and *for* the Protestant faith. While English culture reads weather's intervention and Elizabeth's defeat of the Spanish Armada through a religious interpretive lens, its belligerents identified the military setback as nothing more than chance. "I sent my ships to fight against the English," King Phillip allegedly declared, "not against the elements."

When women do appear on the battlefields of Elizabethan literature, the queen serves as martial prototype. In Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, dedicated to her majesty, Britomart is "full of amiable grace, / And manly terrour mixed therewithal" (III.i.46).[9] Bradamante, as Simon Shepherd points out, strikes a similar balance of beauty and aggression: "As faire in face as she was fierce in fight" (III.ii.6).[10] Britomart, like the queen herself, rejects aspects of her womanhood, emphasizing instead her warlike qualities:

> Sithence I loathed have my life to lead,
> As Ladies wont, in pleasures wanton lap,
> To finger the fine needle and nyce thread.

[9] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*.
[10] Simon Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, 7.

I argue that despite their many glaring similarities to the English sovereign, Shakespeare's Joan la Pucelle and Margaret of Anjou in the *Henry IV* plays figure anti-Elizabeths. Like the queen at Tilbury, Joan's success on the battlefield symbolizes divine intervention: Joan's military campaign is ordained by God. But, Joan is a French, Catholic warrior, unskilled in the oratory arts like her English counterpart, Elizabeth, and perceived by the English as too sexually promiscuous to meet her virginal queen's paradigm. As Gabriele Bernhard Jackson has suggested,

> Joan's ideological function is complicated to the point of self-contradiction: she seems both French and English, both a type of Penthesilea who helps her countrymen in battle and an unspecified Amazon who may embody threats to men – in fact, a representative of the full complexity of late Elizabethan perception of the strong woman.[11]

Similarly, Shakespeare's Margaret, like Elizabeth herself, famously rides into battle at Tewkesbury to address her troops with an inspirational speech. Prince Edward, echoing Robert Dudley's accounts of Elizabeth at Tilbury, comments on Margaret's rhetorical prowess: "Methinks a woman of this valiant spirit / Should, if a coward heard her speak these words, / Infuse his breast with magnanimity" (5.4.39-41). Building off Jackson's observations by way of introduction, I draw comparisons between Elizabeth, Joan, and Margaret to demonstrate how reading nature in these plays through an ecofeminist framework offers new ways of understanding gender on the battlefield. Like the hurricanes that decimated Elizabeth's enemies, Joan enters the fray preceded by thunder and lightning, all while promising her countrymen "halcyon days" (1.2.130).[12] As Jackson points out, *1 Henry VI* initially portrays Joan in positive terms – as "Deborah" (1.2.105) and "Astraea's daughter" (1.6.4) – that associate her with Queen Elizabeth. Yet, Joan's surprising military success, as Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin argue, is

[11] Gabriele Bernhard Jackson, "Topical Ideology," 51.
[12] William Shakespeare, *1 Henry VI*. Norton. All citations from *1 Henry VI* come from this edition.

explained as "the illicit supernatural power of a disorderly woman who has refused to abide by the limits of her natural role."[13] Joan's "transvestite costume" associates her with accounts of Queen Elizabeth's appearance at Tilbury dressed in armor, but it also "prepares for Joan's final association with the demonic."[14] Leah Marcus explains, for example, that the figure of Joan reveals a "wide range of anxious fantasies" which had swirled about Elizabeth in the years leading up to the Armada victory, fantasies which could be allowed to surface "only after the worst of the Catholic threat had receded."[15] While it may have been fashionable in London and in Shakespeare's later romantic comedies for women to don masculine dress, Joan's cross-dressing in the world of the masculine history play marks transgression and menace to patriarchal authority. Joan's armor suggests sexual ambiguity and associates her with "the dangers lurk at the boundaries of the known," in a "rationalized world of sexual difference and sexual exclusion, constructed by patriarchal discourse."[16] These rigid boundaries also mark the dangerous unpredictability of the natural world. In the period when Elizabeth ruled, society interpreted weather like the Protestant Winds as divine intervention that confirms the queen's authority. But, in the history plays, the power women leverage – either martially, naturally, or supernaturally – is defined in patriarchal terms and threatens patrilineal claims to sovereignty and territory.

In this chapter, I examine Joan la Pucelle's elemental presence on the battlefields of France and Margaret of Anjou's wolfish ferocity in England's civil turmoil to show how femininity aligned with both natural and supernatural forces threatens martial masculinity's attempts to organize and control martial spaces. With an increasing body of early modern

[13] Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, 45.
[14] Howard and Rackin, 45.
[15] Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 66.
[16] Howard and Rackin, 46.

literature which attempted to map "the field" and proceduralize combat operations, early modern militarists treated these landscapes not as nature, but as "environments" and "resources" critical to wartime preparations. Nature, depicted as a chaotic force, sheds its status as ecosystem with a governance of its own and becomes victim to the destructive impulses of war and scorched earth tactics. The *Henry VI* plays demonstrate how martial masculinity attempts to characterize queerness on the battlefield as malevolence and maldevelopment, antithetical to English visions of agricultural progress and productivity. As such, English characters position Joan and Margaret as pastoral villains. But in their proximity to nature, these queer, martial figures threaten an elusive pastoralism to which male characters desperately clutch. Symbolically, these women are the uncontrollable weather and ravenous wolves that good shepherds fear. But, they also embody aspects of good shepherdesses that complicate the pastoral mode.

No Ravenous Wolves: Colin Clout's Pastoral Vision

In Edmund Spenser's pastoral eclogue *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595), a dialogue between shepherds achieves a rustic effect that rises to "an exalted vision of cosmic love" unique to the early modern pastoral mode.[17] The poem's title recalls a major character of Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1579), Colin, who gives a first-hand account of his adventures to his fellow shepherds, Hobbinol and Cuddy. Colin is the disciple of Tityrus, skilled in the art of pastoral song. Hobbinol embodies Theocritus' first Idyll, wherein pastoral pleasance depends on the herdsman whose music release its potential for harmony.[18] In part, the poem serves as a "who's who" of sixteenth century literature and culture as it (1) pays homage to Queen Elizabeth (Cynthia) and Sir Walter Raleigh (the Shepherd of the Ocean); (2) laments the

[17] Alastair Fowler, *A History of English Literature*, 58-60.
[18] David R. Shore, "Spenser's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe: The Problem of Poetry," 262.

death of Sir Philip Sidney (Astrophel); and (3) alludes to the Countess of Pembroke (Urania).[19] While Spenser's pastoral poem is notable among scholars for all the reasons aforementioned, I call attention to some of its more insidious characteristics, namely, what threatens the shepherd's vision of pastoral quietude. Colin describes Cynthia's land, an island, at length to allegorize Elizabeth's England as the pinnacle of pastoral place: "There fruitful corne, faire trees, fresh herbage is / And all things else that liuing creatures need" (298-9).[20] The ideal pastoral landscape is plentiful in peace and store, but Colin's description also illustrates what the pastoral *is not* by way of comparison. In Cynthia's land, shepherds may "safely lie" on hills and downs without "dread or danger." Colin enumerates the meaner characteristics of life outside this realm:

> No wailing there nor wretchedness is heard,
> No bloody issues nor no leprosies,
> No grisly famine, nor no raging sword …
> No ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,
> Nor outlaws fell affray the forest ranger. (312-319)

Colin, Hobbinol, and Cuddy exchange visions of a world beyond the Edenic landscape. If Leo Marx's refrain, "no shepherd, no pastoral" offers early modern scholars a means of assessing a poem's participation in the pastoral mode, how are we to read the passage above, whose tenor simply suggests, *no pastoral, if…*? In other words, Spenser inversely implies that the presence of suffering ("wailing," "famine"), war ("raging sword"), nature ("wolves"), and criminality ("outlaws") disqualifies one's participation in pastoral leisure. For the moment, I will focus on two aspects of anti-pastoralism – war/swords and nature/wolves – as they enable my reading of Joan and Margaret in Shakespeare's plays, before turning to suffering/famine and criminality/outlaws in chapter two.

[19] "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English.*
[20] Edmund Spenser, *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. All lines quoted from the *Renascene Edition*. Spelling has been modernized for ease and clarity.

For the shepherd, wolves pose an undeniable threat. To leave one's lambs unattended is the shepherd's chief offense. Colin, for example, warns against the shepherd's "wandering wit" (684). When shepherds "abandon quiet home" to seek "bliss" beyond the rustic landscape, they "leave their lambs" vulnerable to wander "amiss" and to predatory hunters (686-7). For Clout, this is "no sort of life," meaning that absent-minded shepherds are susceptible to "malice," "strife," and "foul disgrace" (690-91). A good shepherd lacks ambition for an intellectualism that urban life affords: "No art of school, but Courtiers schoolery. / For arts of school have their small countenance, / Counted but toys to busy idle brains" (702-4). The desire to be anything but a shepherd does not a shepherd make. Protecting one's flock is central to Spenser's pastoral ideal. Delinquency of this important task in an effort to become something *more than shepherd* – more intellectual, "vain," "wealthy," "glorious," or courtly – unravels the shepherd's identity (719, 724, 729). For Spenser, shepherds are to remain intellectually indifferent. Shakespeare's Joan la Pucelle dramatizes this tension between ambition and the pastoral ideal. Before turning to the play, I offer some reflections on the ecocritical importance of reading Joan as a kind of queer weather, or the kind of uncontrollable nature Colin and his fellow shepherds fear.

Joan's Pastoral Past and Future Ambition

As Carolyn Merchant explains in her groundbreaking work of ecofeminism, *The Death of Nature* (1976), the "metaphor of the earth as a nurturing mother" gradually vanished with the arrival of the Scientific Revolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[21] Before the emergence of this mechanized and rationalist worldview, representations of nature took two dominant forms in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: (1) a "kindly beneficent female who provided for the needs of mankind in an ordered, planned universe, and (2) a "wild and

[21] Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature*, 2.

uncontrollable" force that could "render violence, storms, droughts, and general chaos." Both, Merchant suggests, were identified with the female sex and were "projections of human perceptions onto the external world." Likewise, *1 Henry VI* characterizes Joan as simultaneously a martyr of "fertile France" and a violent storm. Her speech appropriates the language of motherhood, while her battlefield maneuvers inflict disorder within the English ranks. Joan's identity as both feminine and warlike disrupts early modern attempts to separate humanity and nature into separate categories.

An ecofeminist framework safeguards against readings of Joan that risk replicating *representations of* her, rather than letting her speak for herself. I take Jennifer Munroe's essay on *Titus Andronicus* as a model for such a line of inquiry. Munroe suggests that Shakespeare's *Titus* "trumpets" the dangers of reducing nonhumans to human conception, or in other words, the sort of "speaking for" often "attributed to Cartesian or Enlightenment dualism by which the speaking human subject speaks for the nonhuman Other."[22] This subject/object division positions the "object" as passive, the one "acted upon," and the knower is "the active party who forces knowledge from the reluctant or mute object."[23] In *Titus*, such division is marked by the metaphorization of women, namely Lavinia, and nonhuman nature, both converted into images, "neither strictly human or nonhuman but instead the linguistic product of a speaking human subject, a prosthetic (male) voice."[24] *1 Henry VI*'s English commander, Talbot, among other characters, takes every opportunity to dehumanize Joan in comparing her to non-human figures: she is a "witch," "fiend," "hag," "Hecate," and a "wolf" in her efforts to protect France (1.6.6, 3.2.51 – 63, 1.5.30).

[22] Jennifer Munroe, "Is It Really Ecocritical If It Isn't Feminist?," 40.
[23] Val Plumwood, *Environmental Culture*, 45.
[24] Munroe, 41.

Joan, however, presents a unique case in comparison to *Titus'* Lavinia. She speaks not only for herself, but on behalf of her native country and because she is "will'd" by supernatural forces. Put otherwise, Joan speaks for so many it begs the question: is language up to such a task? As a mouthpiece of Marian apparition, Joan's directives are elevated above those of her French comrades, and at times, beyond the French sovereign's voice. Paradoxically, however, the plainness of Joan's language seems to undermine the gravity of her divine message. Take for instance, Joan's first appearance in the play. Joan introduces herself to King Charles as a "shepherd's daughter" whose wit is "untrained in any kind of art" (1.2.72-73). In other words, Joan reassures the French king and his retinue that she lacks the rhetorical skill necessary to deceive his sovereignty with the following narrative:

> Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
> And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
> God's mother deigned to appear to me
> And in a vision full of majesty
> Will'd me to leave my base vocation
> And free my country from calamity:
> Her aid she promised and assured success:
> In complete glory she reveal'd herself;
> And, whereas I was black and swart before,
> With those clear rays which she infused on me
> That beauty am I bless'd with which you see. (1.2.76-86)

Destined for more than husbandry, Joan asserts that she is bound to labor her country "by combat." As France's "warlike mate," Joan pledges to shed her pastoral past. It is notable that Joan describes this past as a "base vocation." Baseness, for one, contrasts her newfound celestial trajectory: as a figure transformed, blessed, and adorned by God's mother, her beauty is anything but "base." Similarly, Joan exchanges laboring the ground for the lofty mission of freeing her "country from calamity." On the other hand, baseness also carries with it a sense of expression: base language is that which is regarded as less refined or elevated, linguistically or rhetorically

unsophisticated. While Joan argues that she is a woman transformed in vocation, appearance, and mission, she goes to great lengths to convince her audience that she retains remnants of her pastoral past only in speech. In many ways, Joan's language echoes the tension between ambition and pastoralism characterized in Spenser's *Colin Clout*. She becomes the delinquent shepherd who seeks glory beyond her rustic station. Unlike the good shepherd, she very explicitly abandons her "tender lambs" to fight for France. However, the rhetoric of her martial ambition mirrors the shepherd's sentiment that it is undesirable to be "untrained in any kind of art." Here, Shakespeare paradoxically appropriates the pastoral theme of intellectual indifference to catapult Joan to war, an aspect of political life that, in *Colin Clout,* obstructs one's participation in pastoral leisure.

Furthermore, the play positions Joan as both the careless shepherd and the predatory wolf itself. During the battle of Orleans, Talbot bemoans Joan's victory in the field:

> Hark, countrymen, either renew the fight,
> Or tear the lions out of England's coat.
> Renounce your soil; give sheep in lions' stead.
> Sheep run not half so treacherous from the wolf,
> Or horse or oxen from the leopard,
> As you fly from your oft-subdued slaves.
> It will not be! Retire into your trenches.
> You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
> For non would strike a stroke in his revenge.
> Pucelle is entered into Orleance
> In spite of us or aught that we could do. (1.5.27-37)

In this scene, Talbot likens his troops to sheep – abandoned, scattered, and unshepherded – and Joan and her French army to the "treacherous wolf." Shakespeare illustrates the horrific consequences of pastoral perversion. When shepherds are far from home, all hell breaks loose and noble Englishmen, like Salisbury, perish. The scene is pastorally perverse (or perversely pastoral) because traditional pastoral roles are reversed. Where one might expect to find the role

of pastoral protector (shepherd) more appropriately associated with the martial figure Talbot, we observe instead, English masculinity mapped onto the vulnerable position of "lamb." Joan's presence in the field disrupts a network of pastoral and martial connections. She is simultaneously a shepherdess and the wolf, a woman and a soldier. Her doubled identities subvert ideals of pastoralism and martial masculinity, throwing the English troops into sorts and "whirling" Talbot's thoughts like a "potter's wheel" (1.5.19).

In *1 Henry VI,* Joan offers neither a moving "siege of Harfleur" speech nor rousing "Feast of Crispian" moment. Her words do not appeal to the nationalistic fervor associated with the rhetoric of *Henry V*'s martial masculinity, for example. Where Henry draws his troops' attention to their English male bodies, Joan is ambivalent towards her body, like Queen Elizabeth herself. For Henry V, "In peace there's nothing so becomes a man / As modest stillness and humility," but in war, the "noblest English" and "good yeoman" must "stiffen the sinews" and "conjure up the blood" (3.1.3-7).[25] When Henry does describe English land, he praises the landscape for its ability to create strong soldiers "whose limbs were made in England." Troops at Harfleur illustrate the "mettle" of their "pasture" by teaching the French "how to war" (3.1.25-27). For Joan, the land is not a means to an end, but rather, her words provoke sentiment for the land itself. While Joan clad in armor may have provided theatregoers with a "stunning coup de theatre," perhaps reminiscent of Elizabeth at Tilbury, her likeness to the queen, or any English warrior sovereign, ends once the actor delivers Shakespeare's lines.[26] Joan, who confesses her "untrain'd wit" just two acts earlier, transforms into a rhetorician. In Act 3 on the plains near Rouen, the French martyr speaks *plainly*. To undermine Talbot's recent victory, Joan, Charles, Alencon, and the Bastard of Orleans devise a plot to turn the Duke of Burgundy against his

[25] William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, *The Norton Shakespeare*. All citations from *Henry V* taken from this edition.
[26] Jackson, 54.

English allies. Orleans beseeches Joan to search out her "wit" for "secret policies" and Joan agrees to "entice" Burgundy with "fair persuasions mixed with sugared words" (3.3.18-19). Charles entreats Joan to "enchant" Burgundy in parley. She professes:

> Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
> And see the cities and the towns defaced
> By wasting ruin of the cruel foe.
> As looks the mother on her lowly babe
> When death doth close his tender dying eyes,
> See, see the pining malady of France;
> Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
> Which thou thyself hast given her woful breast.
> O, turn thy edged sword another way;
> Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help.
> One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom
> Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore:
> Return thee therefore with a flood of tears,
> And wash away thy country's stained spots. (3.3.44 – 56)

In a moment of tenderness, Joan appeals to Burgundy's paternalism. France becomes a fertile mother, whose fruitful towns like children, bear the violent brunt of English aggression. France's soil, stained with the blood of its native heirs, cries out to Burgundy as a son desperate for a father's protection. Joan's speech moves Burgundy to change his military course: "Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words, / Or nature makes me suddenly relent" (3.3.78-80). Unlike Elizabeth at Tilbury, Joan's audience does not receive her words as an "excellent oration," but rather as an act of sorcery. As a martial prototype, Elizabeth demands that her troops accept her speech as declaration of a king, rather than the words of a woman. Phyllis Rackin has referred to the battlefield landscape as "the privileged site of patriarchal history,"[27] and Maria Perry speculates that at Tilbury, it's possible Elizabeth recalled "the times when she had seen Henry VIII inspecting a guard or attired for the tilt."[28] Janet Green suggests that in a

[27] Phyllis Rackin, "Geneological Anxiety and Female Authority," 339.
[28] Maria Perry, *The Word of a Prince*, 284 – 5.

similar way, Elizabeth "takes the battlefield and her warlike father to herself quite naturally."[29] Joan, however, embraces a femininity she identifies with French land, as figured in its "woful breast." Speaking "plainly," then, for Joan becomes speaking on behalf of her native soil. Her rhetoric takes inspiration from the very plains beneath her. Burgundy, "vanquished" by the thought of his own imprisonment, compares Joan's persuasive descriptions to "roaring cannon-shot" which dissuade his efforts to rejoin Talbot. While feminine eloquence shapes Joan's words, they provoke Burgundy's martial reflexes. Whereas *Henry V* equates masculine martial prowess with agricultural production, Joan inversely metaphorizes the female body to empathize with French land and war with England.

Delinquent Shepherd, Bad Husbandman: Malevolence and Maldevelopment

Unlike Elizabeth, Britomart, and Henry V, Joan does not reject femininity on the battlefield. This aspect makes her all the more threatening to English soldiers in the play. Joan, like the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth*, is united with nature through weather. In *Shakespeare and Ecology*, for example, Randall Martin focuses on the play's Weird Sisters as a feminized threat to masculine dominance over the natural world. In several of his tragedies, Shakespeare draws attention to the tension between humanist notions of peace and the military revolution. Gunpowder had devastating effects on human and non-human animals, registering both the material realities and cultural assumptions about the ecology of war: from "self-regulating cycles of martial destruction and agrarian regeneration, to incremental technological mastery reliant on ever-increasing resource consumption."[30] Martin argues that the Weird Sisters represent the "modern scales of degradation" that gunpowder militarization in Shakespeare's time began to set in motion. Like *Macbeth's* weathered hags who vow to "meet again in thunder, lightning, or in

[29] Janet Green, "'I My Self,'" 421 – 5.
[30] Randall Martin, *Shakespeare and Ecology*, 78-9.

rain," Joan enters the fray amidst similar climatic conditions. At the siege of Orleans in Act 1, Talbot responds to the scene direction – "Here an alarum, and it thunders and lightens" – and asks "What stir is this? what tumult's in the heavens? / Whence cometh this alarum and the noise?" Weather not only signals Joan's arrival in the field, but chases Talbot's men back to their trenches. Talbot's thoughts are "whirled" and his troops are scattered like "bees with smoke … from their hives and houses driven away." Talbot dehumanizes Joan: she is precisely *not* the martial masculine figure "Hannibal," but rather a "witch," a "lion," "wolf," and "leopard" on the battlefield.

The figure of Shakespeare's Joan, then, conceptually differs from the Cartesian concept of nature as "environment" or a "resource." As Vandana Shiva explains, the "dualism between man and nature has allowed the subjugation of the latter by man and given rise to a new world-view in which nature is (a) inert and passive; (b) uniform and mechanistic; (c) separable and fragmented within itself; (d) separate from man; and (e) inferior, to be dominated and exploited by man.[31] The battlefield is man's "surrounding," rather than his "substance."[32] Joan, one with the weather, resists what Shiva calls the "dichotomised ontology of man dominating woman and nature." This ontology "generates maldevelopment because it makes the colonising male the agent and the model of 'development.'"[33] As a result, women and nature become models of underdevelopment.

Joan not only figures an anti-Elizabeth or counter to Spenser's Britomart, but her alignment with nature is antithetical to an English sense of agricultural productivity. As a malevolent figure in the play, Shakespeare positions Joan's French and Catholic identity in

[31] Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive*, 40 – 41.
[32] In the example of *Henry V* cited earlier in the chapter, for example, note that the king associates English military vigor with "pasture," an agriculturally productive landscape and resource meant for the grazing of livestock.
[33] Shiva, 41.

opposition to Talbot. Joan, who reinvigorates the French cause during the Hundred Years War, challenges English conceptions of time and patrilineal inheritance embodied in Talbot's relationship with his son. In the English camp near Bourdeaux, Talbot's son, John, surprises his father with his presence on the battlefield:

> O young John Talbot! I did send for thee
> To tutor thee in stratagems of war,
> That Talbot's name might be in thee revived
> When sapless age and weak unable limbs
> Should bring thy father to his drooping chair.
> But, O malignant and ill-boding stars!
> Now thou art come unto a feast of death,
> A terrible and unavoided danger:
> Therefore, dear boy, mount on my swiftest horse;
> And I'll direct thee how thou shalt escape
> By sudden flight. Come, dally not, be gone. (4.5.1-11).

Talbot argues that his duty as father prevents him from allowing John to experience combat: John's journey to France is merely for his own martial edification. John must accept his duty as Talbot's heir, sending his father forth to old age so that the name of "Talbot" may be carried on in John's life and succession. If John were to perish, his death would disrupt the natural course of patrilineal inheritance.

Talbot's vision of patrilineal inheritance resembles English attitudes towards succession in *Macbeth*. The events of *Macbeth* are a direct result of a sovereign's failure to acknowledge that if he has two bodies, his body politic must first fill the role of husbandman to the nation. Few critics have approached *Macbeth*'s seed imagery at the intersection of contemporary images of patrilineal inheritance and early modern husbandry practices. Joseph Campana argues that *Macbeth* comprehends political succession as a "subset of sovereignty's dominion over time," and reads the end of succession as the annihilation of the "seeds of time" (1.3.56).[34] Charlotte

[34] Joseph Campana, "The Child's Two Bodies," 813-814. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, *Norton Shakespeare*. All citations from *Macbeth* come from this edition.

Scott examines the language of cultivation aside Macbeth's aspirations to exceed the "royalty of nature" (3.1.49).[35] For Scott, Banquo's reference to the "seeds of time" is merely the remnant of "a lost world:" Macbeth's reign, characterized by devastation and absence of growth, makes husbandry obsolete (1.3.57).[36] Luisa Guj describes Macbeth's unsuccessful attempt to kill Fleance as an obstruction of "regenerative time," linking Banquo's seeds with the protagonists' time-growth perception and linear understanding of time.[37] These critical interpretations treat *Macbeth*'s language of cultivation almost exclusively in terms of succession, and when critics do engage with contemporary husbandry literature, arguments seldom extend beyond the end of patrilineal inheritance. However, sixteenth and seventeenth century husbandmen provide deeper insight into the nature of succession as it is represented in Shakespeare's plays. These husbandry manuals reveal that what threatens the preservation of the good husbandry in the *I Henry VI* plays and *Macbeth*, is the alignment of women and nature, which threaten ordered patrilineal inheritance.

Early modern husbandry manuals lay the groundwork for Shakespeare's vision of the trope of husbandman king and father. First, the husbandman's interpretation of his ordained authority to labor has implications for the sovereign's divine right to rule. Second, the husbandman's philosophy of time helps us understand the legitimacy of patrilineal succession in *Macbeth* and *Henry VI*. In both cases, there is an underlying causal relationship between the husbandman's consecrated birth into his occupation, and his efficient ability to manage, allocate resources, and calculate the success of his yield.

[35] Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature*, 122.
[36] Scott, 138.
[37] Luisa Guj, "*Macbeth* and the Seeds of Time," 81-182.

In the prologue to *The Book of Husbandry* (1531), for example, John Fitzherbert introduces readers to the work of husbandry with a moral justification for his occupation: "That is to say, a man is ordained and born to do labour, as a bird is ordained to fly."[38] According to Fitzherbert's understanding, labor was both a divine call to action, and the natural obligation of man to cultivate the land around him. Later husbandry manuals express similar sentiments. In *Foure Bookes of Husbandry* (1578), Conrad Heresbach explicitly connects husbandry with Christian morality when he proclaims, "there is nothing more honest nor better, neither is there beside any trade of life more meet for a Gentleman… more acceptable to God, then is the tilling of the ground."[39] Furthermore, he strengthens the elevated position of the husbandman with an explicit appeal to antiquity as well as kingship and political authority:

> The people in the old time (as Cato a man of great wisdom, and a teacher of husbandry doth witness)... would give a man the name of an honest man, they would call him a good husband, comprehending in that name as much commendation, as they could give him: besides, most mighty Kings and Emperors were no whit ashamed to profess this trade… [for] there was no kind of life too fit to maintain either peace or wars, or for the provision of a man's life."[40]

From Heresbach's perspective, both the "people of old" as well as his English contemporaries attribute the highest level of reverence to the husbandman because God ordains him to his occupation just as God ordains birds to fly or kings to rule. Furthermore, the husbandman's labor makes the work of the sovereign possible. Without the provisions the husbandman provides, the king could neither sustain his people in times of peace nor nourish his soldiers' bodies in times of war. The literal fruits of the husbandman's labor sustain England and make prosperity possible. The husbandman, like Shiva's dichotomized ontology of man, views land not as nature,

[38] Fitzherbert, John. *The Boke of Husbandry*, 1.
[39] Conrad Heresbach. *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*, 5.
[40] Heresbach, 5.

but an environment with valuable resources. The "mettle" of Heresbach's pasture is that it contributes to the English sovereign's war machine. Heresbach's vision of kingship therefore implies the king's obligation to foster the growth of his land as well as his subjects, like Duncan who cultivates his subjects as his seedlings: "I have begun to plant thee, and will labor / To make thee full of growing" (1.4.28-29). Good kingship necessitates good husbandry.

Although husbandmen like Fitzherbert and Heresbach approach the intersection of husbandry and kingship from slightly different avenues, common to these husbandry manuals are both the necessity of calculated action and efficient management of time. There are specific times of the year to execute particular actions, and a certain standard of judgment must be practiced for their successful execution. For example, the husbandman must understand what constitutes a "reasonable time" of growth period depending on the seed type (corn, barley, and beans were crop staples), before exercising his discretion to weed or graft his field. Increasing the chances of a plentiful yield therefore required long-term planning. Once the growing season began, the husbandman would then be primed to identify nature's signposts. Therefore, husbandry also necessitated appropriate exercise of discretion. Both Heresbach and Fitzherbert emphasize the husbandman's ability to *seize* the right time to execute his individual duties. Tantamount to a husbandman's ability to judge what constituted a "reasonable" passage of time, therefore, was possessing the "seed of discretion:" "and if a husband have of that seed, and mingle it among his other corns, they will grow much the better for that seed will tell him how many cases of corn every land ought to have."[41] "Discretion" is both as a quality of being, as in "Senses relating to judgment or decision," and an authoritative action, "The power of a court,

[41] Fitzherbert, 9.

tribunal, government minister, or other authority to decide the application of a law."[42] Like a sovereign who exercises calculated judgment in terms of the law, a husbandman employs discretion in making decisions of agricultural management. However, Fitzherbert's definition implies that the possession of discretion enables the husbandman to anticipate an expected yield size. Fitzherbert's definition proposes the husbandman's ability to calculate how many cases of corn he "ought to have," but also acknowledges an undeniable uncertainty that comes with the unpredictability of nature. Many of these characteristics inform Shakespeare's conception of time: the sovereign, like the laborer, and father, conform to agricultural calendars.

Women, like unpredictable nature, may intervene to undermine anticipated agricultural development. The first reference to "the seeds of time" occurs during Macbeth and Banquo's encounter with the Weird Sisters and bears out this line of thinking. Banquo registers Macbeth's nonverbal reaction when the witches suggest his future as Thane of Glamis and then Cawdor: "Good sir, why do you start; and seem to fear / Things that do sound so fair?" (1.3.52-53). Banquo then questions the witches, seeking to understand why they speak and deliver prophecy to Macbeth but not to him. Banquo phrases his inquiry as a metaphor of husbandry as he attempts to garner more information about the future:

> "If you can look into the seeds of time
> And say which grain will grow and which will not,
> Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
> Your favors nor your hate" (1.3.59-62)

These lines suggest Banquo's understanding of time as fundamentally linear, and that moments in time are planted, cultivated, and reaped as a process. In other words, the ability to foresee the finality of any moment in time requires supernatural intercession – only the witches would be

[42] "discretion, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 5 May 2016.

capable of looking into the future, and even then, Banquo identifies their ability to prophesize as a hypothetical possibility. Joseph Campana argues that for "all the unpredictable mutation organic growth might imply, here Banquo requests a linear reading of unfolding time. If all life were organized into moments, each of which might grow into timelines, prophecy would constitute knowing what parts of the past or present would come to fruition. The future, then, would be the predictable consequence of past or present circumstance."[43] It is significant to note that Campana's analysis of Banquo's conceptions of time and prophecy operate from the perspective of a husbandman; in other words, if the Weird Sisters had visited an early modern husbandman instead of Banquo, the husbandman's interpretation of the prophecy would be understood in much the same way. Since the husbandman's success depends on the extent to which his grain grows, his assessment of a prophecy's validity might also depend on the witch's ability to provide him answers concerning his yield. Furthermore, Banquo's lines suggest that his perception of time is one that is measured or incremented according to the husbandman's planting calendar.

The Weird Sisters, like Joan, disrupt the laborer's perceptions of time and development. As unpredictable forces of nature, their prophecies, like the weather, throw time out of joint. Scotland's leaders are left scrambling to reassert control over the chaos the witches set into motion. Christine Varnado's queer reading of the weather in *Macbeth* offers generative readings of *I Henry VI.* Varnado attends to the *Macbeth's* figurations of non-anthropomorphic life to reveal a queer model of generation, and a queer model of nature. Queerness, she argues, "opposes and circumvents developmental *teloi*, flouts normative calibrations of sameness and difference, generates weirdness and excess, embraces the degraded, reveals the ostensibly-

[43] Campana, 827.

natural as artifice and/or sits uneasily between categories."[44] Thinking of queerness as structure, Varnado interrogates the witches' ontological status, ultimately concluding that the witches are neither against nature nor a part of it, but that they integral to its structural composition. Her line of questioning is particularly provocative:

> What if the weather, the winds, the shipwrecks, the losses and illnesses figured in the witches' chants are of the same substance as a dead swine: all attributable to one indifferent cause, an undifferentiated, roiling force which churns materials to uncertain consequence; all part of the chaotic, brutal course of natural events?[45]

Varnado's reading of the heath in *Macbeth* is crucial to my reading of the battlefield in *I Henry VI*. If we consider the weather and Weird Sisters as equal components of nature, or as Varnado states, an "intra-active material part of everything else," than the heath looks "less like a human epistemological or theological problem and more like a confrontation with the bubbling stew of spacetimemattering."[46] Take, for instance, the witches' disappearance on the heath:

> **Banquo**: The earth hath bubbles, as the water has,
> And these are of them. Whither are they vanished?
> **Macbeth**: Into the air; and what seemed corporal,
> Melted as breath into the wind.

The Weird Sisters morph into the earth's substance (bubbles) similarly to evaporated water. All forms of matter mix into each other. What was once perceived as human or corporal transfigures into air: human and non-human entities do not conform to the "dichotomized ontology of man," but rather, nature is an iterative process full of ebbs and flows, in which the "world is constantly being made and unmade."

As perceived malevolent forces which unsettle English understandings of time, the Weird Sisters, like Joan, must be dealt with in kind. In other words, masculine martial figures dominate

[44] Christine Varnado, "Queer Nature, or the Weather in *Macbeth*," 177-178.
[45] Varnado, 180.
[46] Varnado, 181.

nature and femininity with similar military maneuvers, namely scorched earth tactics (for more on the use of scorched earth tactics in early modern military strategy, see Chapter 2). When Talbot enters the gates of Bourdeaux, for example, he describes what will come of France and its people should they refuse to lay down arms:

> English John Talbot, captains, calls you forth,
> Servant in arms to Harry King of England;
> And thus he would: Open your city gates;
> Be humble to us; call my sovereign yours,
> And do him homage as obedient subjects;
> And I'll withdraw me and my bloody power:
> But, if you frown upon this proffered peace,
> You tempt the fury of my three attendants,
> Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire;
> Who in a moment even with the earth
> Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers,
> If you forsake the offer of their love. (4.2.3-14)

Talbot threatens "famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire," promising that resistance to peace will result not only further combat, but decimation of food resources and total destruction of French land and fortresses. Fire, specifically, will lay waste to France – precisely the mechanism which will ultimately cost Joan her life once she is captured.

Because Joan represents characteristics antithetical to English conceptions of progress, among them the effective management of France's fertile fields, she, too must submit to the fire of Talbot's scorched earth policy. Talbot epitomizes Shiva's "dichotomised ontology of man dominating woman and nature:" disruptive forces perceived as non-human, elemental, or supernatural must be destroyed. In the play's final act, Joan grasps at supernatural and elemental forces as a last and final resort to defeat the English:

> The regent conquers, and the Frenchmen fly.
> Now help, ye charming spells and periapts,
> And ye choice spirits that admonish me
> And give me signs of future accidents.
> *Thunder.* (5.3.1-4)

Joan's "spells" and "periapts" are accompanied by disturbances in the weather, namely the sounds the thunder. The supernatural entities, or "fiends" which join Joan on the battlefield are "culled / Out of the powerful regions under the earth" (5.3.10-11). In summoning the elements to assist her in war, Joan not only weaponizes nature but becomes united with it. France's glory "droopeth to the dust" (5.3.29) like Joan, who will be broken into "pieces" and "consum[ed] to ashes" (5.5.92).

Furthermore, Joan's rejection of her past in Act 1 assumes greater significance when she meets her father, a shepherd, once more just before her execution. This exchange, I argue, illustrates two opposing views of nature: a pastoral vision characterized by linear time and agricultural productivity, against a queer image of time that circumvents heteronormative conceptions of regeneration. The shepherd, like Talbot, persuades his daughter away from her divine mission by appropriating the language of patrilineal inheritance: "Must I behold thy timeless cruel death? / Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I'll die with thee!" (5.5.5-6). Joan's untimely death before her aging father threatens his good husbandry. The shepherd's inability to bring his seed (figured in Joan) to full growth undermines his vocation as both laborer and father. Joan reasserts a queer understanding of time, "I am descended of a gentler blood. / Thou art no father nor no friend of mine" (5.5.8-9). Even in her final moments, Joan understands her birth as the result of supernatural intervention unfettered by the laws of heterosexual procreation. The shepherd cannot dominate or assert control over his daughter, whom he treats like the land he labors. Joan's father, like Talbot, perceives her as an unwieldy, chaotic force whose pacification is beyond his aptitude as husbandman. As such, he resorts to scorched earth tactics to not only tame, but utterly extinguish the perceived problem: "Oh, burn her, burn her! Hanging is too good" (5.5.33).

Sheepish Men and the She-wolf of France: Margaret in the Field

As Kathryn Schwarz notes, in Shakespeare's second Henriad, "images of female transgression come ever closer to home and, when they are inside, look rather different than they did when they were outside."[47] "In life as on the stage," Rackin argues, "masculine women were regarded as whores."[48] Joan and Margaret have an immobilizing effect on men; they are "domineering females," conventionally characterized as "subverters of the historical and historiographic enterprise," associated with the "bloody rites of violence and 'misrule'," thought "to be from hell because of the confusion of gender" and possessing all the "coded and recognizable ambiguities of the castrating woman."[49] For Margaret, the "threat of the scold is local and domestic;" for Joan, her identity as an Amazon / virago is a generalized "rejection" of her sex, a "strangeness which travesties nature."[50] Joan is "held at arm's length," Schwarz argues, the threat that the "familiar might converge with the strange" remains remote; but Queen Margaret "uncannily" performs its conventions from within the terms of domesticity itself. Whether remote or domestic, Joan and Margaret possess a simultaneity queerness. For Schwarz, this simultaneity "constructs the specifically disruptive effect on female agency," by invoking a "doubled set of conventions," and thus the *Henry VI* plays

> complicate the hierarchical relationship not only of men to women but also of homosocial systems of power to heterosexual conventions and roles. In both their iconographic and their sexual functions, Joan and Margaret challenge rather than consolidate the naturalized referential assumptions of masculinity, and this tetralogy chronicles an increasingly acute failure to use women in order to negotiate the bonds among men."[51]

[47] Kathryn Schwarz, "Fearful Simile: Stealing the Breech in Shakespeare's Chronicle Plays," 140.
[48] Phyllis Rackin, "Historical Difference/Sexual Difference," 43.
[49] David Bevington, "The Domineering Female in *I Henry VI*," 51-58; Phyllis Rackin, "Anti-Historians: Women's Roles in Shakespeare's Histories," 329; Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 75; Nancy Gutierrez, "Gender and Value in *1 Henry VI*: The Role of Joan de Pucelle," 190; Patricia-Ann Lee, "Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship," 214; Christopher Pye, "The Theater, the Market, and the Subject of History," 511. All cited in Shwarz, "Fearful Smile," 140 – 142.
[50] Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters*, 105.
[51] Schwarz, 142.

It is precisely Joan and Margaret's homosocial function that I assert are of ecocritical significance. If *1 Henry VI*'s resolution, defined in terms of nationalism, gender, or individual subjectivity, depends on a return to "naturalized casualties," that return is "proleptically disrupted in the characterization of Joan herself."[52] Joan is not simply threatening because she is "other," but because her otherness produces a "more efficient claim to embodied referentiality than that posed by English male heroic authority itself." Opposed to an English male aristocratic ideal, Joan is a peasant, French, Catholic, virgin, whore, saint, witch, and a woman, but more importantly, a queer figure of nature that subverts these English ideals.

Margaret's very presence in England represents a similar threat to English territorial ambition and martial masculinity. In the first act of *2 Henry VI*, Suffolk presents the youthful king with a French peace treaty that sends Gloucester into a grieving panic. Reading the articles aloud, Gloucester reveals an agreement between the French King Charles and Henry, King of England that "Henry shall espouse the Lady Margaret" in exchange for the duchy of Anjou and the county of Maine" (1.1.43-50). The lands of Anjou, symbolic of Henry V's martial masculinity and French conquest, are exchanged for Margaret's hand in marriage and her English queenship. For Gloucester, the lands of Anjou recall his brother Henry's martial valor in the face of a fierce French wilderness:

> What, did my brother Henry spend his youth,
> His valor, coin, and people in the wars;
> Did he so often lodge in open field
> In winter's cold and summer's parching heat,
> To conquer France, his true inheritance" (1.1.75-79)[53]

[52] Schwarz, 145.
[53] William Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI,* Norton Shakespeare. All citations from this edition.

English possession of Anjou is a testament to English masculinity, forged in the crucible of the natural elements (i.e. "open field," "winter's cold," and "summer's parching heat"). Margaret's hand in marriage pales in comparison to Henry's achievements; she is a cheap consolation prize for martial masculinity. The peace treaty positions Margaret as analogous to French land; within the terms of the agreement Henry accepts, her stature is equivalent to conquered territory. Gloucester's sickened disappointment situates Margaret as antithetical to English ideals. Possession of French land is good for England; French women, on the other hand, pose an immediate threat both on the battlefield and at court. Whereas Joan posed a direct opposition to English claims on French land (martially and physically), Margaret undermines English martial valor and "defaces" England's heroic deeds in France:

> And shall these labors and these honors die?
> Shall Henry's conquest, Bedford's vigilance,
> Your deeds of war, and all our counsel die?
> O peers of England, shameful is this league,
> Fatal this marriage, canceling your fame,
> Blotting your names from books of memory,
> Razing the characters of your renown,
> Defacing monuments of conquered France,
> Undoing all, as all had never been. (1.1.92-100)

From Gloucester and his "league's" perspective, Margaret is not a worthy prize. She is not a monument to courageous conquest, but rather emblematic of England's diplomatic failure. The peace treaty poses a fundamental challenge to English sovereignty. For Henry, the articles "please us well:" Margaret's coronation strengthens the young king's confidence and authority (1.1.60). Margaret encourages Henry's direct rejection of Gloucester as the king's protector and solidifies the king's future as sovereign. When Henry gently insists that Gloucester "Give up thy staff" so that the king may to himself "Protector be," Margaret reiterates the king's authority and forcefully demands Gloucestor's resignation:

> I see no reason why a king of years
> Should be to be protected like a child.
> God and King Henry govern England's realm!
> – Give up your staff, sir, and the King his realm. (2.3.23-31)

Margaret's rigidity in *2 Henry VI*, demonstrated in the scene above, is local and domestic. She intervenes to affect change at court, appropriating a wife's prerogative to ensure her husband's right to power.

Yet, while I agree with Lisa Jardine and Kathryn Schwarz that Margaret performs this action from within domesticity itself in Shakespeare's earlier play, her locality of power circulates outside the court and into the battlefield in *3 Henry VI* so that she, too, becomes a force of nature antithetical to pastoral ideals. Henry's pastoral reflection in Act 2 bears out this line of thinking. Henry sits atop a molehill observing the war from a safe distance, reminiscent of *Colin Clout*: "And where may I the hills and pastures see, / On which she useth for to feed her sheep? / These be the hills (quoth he) the surges hie, / On which faire *Cynthia* her heards doth feed" (238-241). Like his pastoral predecessor, the king watches as England's sheepish troops become vulnerable to attack:

> This battle fares like to the morning's war
> When dying clouds contend with growing light,
> What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,
> Can neither call it perfect day nor night …
> Sometime the flood prevails, and then the wind;
> Now one the better, then another best,
> Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,
> Yet neither conqueror nor conquered.
> So is the equal poise of this fell war.
> Here on this molehill will I sit me down. (2.5.1-14)

Henry assumes the shepherd's role and compares the battle's belligerents to the elements – flood and wind – caught in a never-ending struggle for dominance. While war and uncontrollable nature would conventionally disqualify this scene from the pastoral structure of *Colin Clout*,

Shakespeare doubles down on the king-as-husbandman image. Henry obscures the pastoral rural-urban divide when he wishes himself a shepherd: "O God! Methinks it were a happy life / To be no better than a homely swain, / To sit upon a hill as I do now" (2.5.21-23). In this moment of respite, Henry dissolves the boundary between courtly and country life. One can become a shepherd psychically, that is through the imagination of daydreaming, whilst physically inhabiting a space of suffering. He can also psychically disrupt the temporality of war (wartime). From this molehill, the fast-paced, chaos of battle slackens toward a pastoral sense of time, or quite literally, the shepherd (or husbandman's) calendar: "So many hours must I tend my flock, / So many hours must I take my rest … So many years ere I shall shear the fleece" (2.5.31-37). In just a few short minutes of war, Henry imagines an entire shepherd's lifetime.

In straddling both words simultaneously, the failing king demonstrates that the battlefield is indeed a martial eco-space in the vein of the post-pastoral. If post-pastoral texts wonder – "can awe in the face of natural phenomena, such as landscapes, lead to humility in our species?"[54] – what, precisely, does this battle scene evoke for Henry? Because the king understands the tug and pull of his belligerents as natural phenomena (flood, wind), he beckons us to read humanity's propensity for war as natural, too. But, more importantly, his response to the sight before him provokes awe in surprising ways. The natural landscape of war – day and night, clouds, wind, hills, trees, shades, graves – all elements in the physical "tide of combat" lead Henry to humility: "Ah, what a life were this! … To shepherds looking on their silly sheep / Than doth a rich embroidered canopy / To kings that fear their subjects' treachery?" (2.4.41-45).

But, where is the stalking wolf in *3 Henry VI*? In Act 1, York famously describes Margaret as the "She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France" (1.4.112-13). In this line,

[54] Gifford, 27.

it is difficult not to read Joan as the queen's carnivorous predecessor. Yet, in Henry's moments of pastoral creativity, Margaret does not figure the predatory wolf. Rather, she functions as the king's shepherd: "For Margaret my queen and Clifford too / Have chid me from the battle, swearing both / They prosper best of all when I am thence" (2.4.16-18). Margaret plays the role of pastoral protector, ushering her lamb, Henry, off to safety. Additionally, because Henry still possesses the title of sovereign, Prince Edward (also a "trembling lamb") and his inheritance motivates Margaret to defend the productive futurity of the king's bloodline: "Thou wouldst have left thy dearest heart-blood there, / Rather than have made that savage duke thine heir / And disinherited thine only son" (1.1.250, 230-232). In this way, the queen embodies aspects of both the good shepherd and husbandman, respectively. Her maternal instincts, while brutal and ruthless, displace Henry's authority so that the king becomes not emasculated, but rather, sheepish. While the king imagines himself a shepherd on the molehill of pastoral bliss, his newfound humility acknowledges the vital error of disinheriting his son. Margaret, too, rejects the irreconcilability of the pastoral mode's shepherd-protector mentality and leisurely indifference.

Like Joan, Margaret disrupts heteronormative structures of martial masculinity in inhabiting both a female body and a soldier's prowess. But, in the same way I understand Joan as queer thunder, and Christine Varnado reads the Weird Sisters as queer weather, I want to offer a similar alternative for Margaret. Carole Levin reminds us that wolves were well known in early modern England for their viciousness and strength, their claws and howling. They were also known for their cleverness: English editions of *Aesop's Fables* are filled with stories of wolves, who have both power and cunning.[55] In pastoral literature's conventional framework, the wolf

[55] Carole Levin, "Queen Margaret in Shakespeare and Chronicles: She-Wolf or Heroic Spirit," 111.

stands in villainous opposition to the shepherd, and yet, in *3 Henry VI*, Margaret captures both Spenser's pastoral ideal (sheep protector), and the more attractive qualities of the wolf in early modern popular culture. I suggest that these two identities may coexist when we accept the play as distinctively *war pastoral.* Put otherwise, *3 Henry VI* offers a glimpse into a moment in early modern drama when increased warfare – and unprecedented dramatization of women on the battlefield – signals the collapse of the sixteenth century's pastoral vision. The play provides a contact zone wherein the fragile logic of pastoralism crumbles under the newfangled landscape of war and its queer shepherds.

Conclusion | [Im]precise Calculations: Mapping the Field

Joan, the Weird Sisters, and Margaret, like the unpredictable natural forms they represent (weather, animals, respectively), not only disrupt masculine visions of time and progress, but resist an increasing body of early modern military literature focused on the proceduralization of war. In Christopher Marlowe's *2 Tamburlaine the Great*, for example, the titular character charts a course of destruction. "Give me a map," he demands, "then let me see how much / Is left for me to conquer all the world, / That these my boies may finish all my / wantes" (5.3). With map laid out in front of him, Marlowe's scourge of God strategizes global domination, naming those territories he has already vanquished, "Here I began to march towards Persea … where I took the Turke and his great empress prisoners," and his desire to navigate them with mathematical precision, "Being distant less than a full hundred leagues, / I meant to cut a channel to them both."[56] Tamburlaine's boastful wartime preparations resemble early modern mathematical practitioners, "active soldiers and engineers who consciously broadcast their use of mathematical methods to achieve their goals."[57] Similarly, in *King Lear*, the sovereign demands,

[56] Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, the Second Part,* Project Gutenberg.
[57] S.A. Walton, "Technologies of Pow(d)er," 93.

"Give me the map there. Know that we have divided / In three our kingdom: and 'tis our fast intent / To shake all cares and business from our age" (1.1.35-36).[58] As John Hale explains, the "cartographic changes of the Renaissance coincided with a period when there was scarcely a year during which, somewhere in Europe, men were not fighting either to capture the territory of others or to retain or regain their won.[59]

War maneuvers on the continent required detailed and accurate representations of the Earth in miniature. The change in the abstract conception of space – "from the center-enhancing *mappaemundi*[60] to the Ptolemaic isotropic structure of mapmaking – has often been called the quintessential modernity of Renaissance cartography.[61] Before the fifteenth century, evidence of terrestrial maps bearing lines of latitude and longitude were uncommon. Ptolemy's terrestrial coordinate system, which applied to mapping the heavens since Hellenistic times, assumes, as David Woodword argues,

> an isotropic, uniform surface on which abstract positions are plotted on maps of the world or regions of it larger than the chorographies. The implications of this apparently prosaic statement are complex and far ranging. It implies that the position of one place is no more important than that of another, and that both geometric center and bounding frame are arbitrary constructions resulting from the assumptions about the reference lines from which longitude and latitude are measured … The notion of a bounded uniform space also implies that the objects placed in it are cosynchronous, a concept that, as we shall see, led to the idea that historical and 'modern' maps could and should be separate documents.[62]

[58] William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, *The Norton Shakespeare*. All citations from *King Lear* come from this edition.
[59] John Hale, "Warfare and Cartography, c. 1450 to ca. 1640," 719.
[60] "Medieval world-maps, the *mappaemundi*, fall into two easily distinguishable categories of representation. The first, most likely having no known pre-Christian prototype, is the extremely schematic 'T-O Map. Standardized in format, such maps consist of a disk, the 'O,' traversed by a horizontal bar, from the center of which a short vertical is dropped to the bottom, thus forming the 'T … ' Though it is often similarly compressed within a disk-frame, the second kind of *mappaemundi* is typically much larger and considerably more complicated in presentation. In this more ambitious representation mode, the shapes of the shorelines are described in much greater detail (although not necessarily according to modern standards of cartographic accuracy)." John F. Moffitt, "Medieval *Mappaemudni* and Ptolemy's *Chorographia*," 59.
[61] David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change," 12.
[62] Woodward, 12-13.

No longer represented as a uniform space, Renaissance maps enabled possibilities of scale and proportion. The transition from spherical globe to a flat map, not only suggestive of a geometrical transformation, meant that maps represented multiple viewpoints rather than just one, single viewpoint. For Renaissance cartographers and military strategists alike, world and regional maps, now based on a proportioned structure, could register new places as their coordinates became available without stretching or extending the map's scale.

The extent to which militarists utilized regional maps in the field depended on cartographic aspects of offense and defense. While both drew on the stock of printed maps, town views and plans, and commemorative prints of sieges and battlefields, none of the material in this stock was produced as an aid to military planning before 1640.[63] Attack cartography led to the production of reconnaissance and progress report sketch maps.[64] Defense cartography drew on a more robust inventory of maps and plans concerned with fortification schemes created in peacetime. This kind of military cartography took advantage of regional maps produced for "administrative and jurisdictional purposes that contained far more information about communications and topography."[65] Philip Jones' translation of Albrecht Meier's *Methodus desribendi regions, urbes, et acres* (1587) illustrates the most complete instructional manual for reconnaissance campaigns and cartography. In the fifth section of the text titled "Topographie," Meier describes the soldier's need to record natural features:

> Whether the cittie, towne, village, or what place else so euer it be, be built vpon the top, or side of a hill, or in a low ground. Whether in a wet & marrish ground … Whether within the wals there bee any hils, or little hils, or some places higher, and lower than others … [66]

[63] Hale, 721.
[64] Naomi Miller, "Mapping the City: Ptolemy's *Geography* in the Renaissance", 64-65.
[65] Hale, 721.
[66] Albrecht Meier, *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, 6-7.

As Hale points out, Meier's laborious descriptions underscore the inadequacy of "attack" cartography. While printed maps would become more accurate and useful in the sixteenth century, their conventions were insufficient so far as detailing what materials a commander might need, the shape of the land, and consequently, how to decide the course of action (siege, march) and where (via roads, river crossings, mountain passes), all critical to calculating a strategy dependent upon expediency and materials. Wartime labor, like the labor of shepherds and husbandman, required effective management of time and resources. Military cartographic texts, like books of husbandry, demonstrate how careful, calculated, and precise measurements of natural landscapes came to dominate humanity's relationship to the environment in the sixteenth century.

Women and queer figures, as harbingers and emblems of unpredictable nature in Shakespeare's plays, interrupt man's endeavors to map and multiply. In Shakespeare's war dramas, the extent to which battlefields resemble either particular places or ambiguous spaces depends on early modern understandings of vastness. *Henry V*'s Chorus, for example, prompts this tension in inquiring, "can this cockpit hold / the vasty fields of France? or may we cram / Within this wooden O the very casques / That did affright the air at Agincourt?" The intracontinental scope of the play poses challenges to theater, or perhaps more specifically, the stage. The lines suggest a vagueness, wherein the "vasty fields of France" may be too extensive a space to identify precisely. Yet, at the same time, the Chorus names an exact place, "the air at Agincourt." It is unsurprising that Shakespeare names Agincourt, given its significance in English history and the play's swelling action. By comparison, the nameless French fields, scene to an overwhelming portion of the play, offer an ambiguity necessary to elevate Agincourt's

importance. In other words, Agincourt's status as specific *place*, at least semantically, in part relies on the spatial imprecision of the field as *space*.

Examining similar tensions of the heath in *King Lear*, A.C. Bradley has famously argued that a major complexity of the play is the "very vagueness in the sense of locality … [which] give[s] the feeling of vastness, the feeling not of a scene or particular place, but of a world; or, to speak more accurately, of a particular place which is also a world."[67] As Henry S. Turner clarifies, some genres require "spatial precision: domestic tragedy and city comedy, for instance, tend to specify locations in much more detail than comedies or tragedies attributed to Shakespeare."[68] I argue that, while Shakespeare's war plays often identify scenes of combat by the imprecise designation, "field," these sites in fact embody qualities of both spaces and places that disrupt early modern anthropological impulses for precision.

Contemporary cartographic and military sciences, and husbandry books to some extent, show how spaces like "vasty fields" became finite, mappable places, but still subject to the uncertainty and uncontrollable nature. Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays, specifically, offer opportunities to see how early moderns conceptualized ideas of infinite spaces and finite places. The English language describes fields as blank canvases, vacant spaces for which humanity can imprint their utility (i.e. a cornfield, hayfield, airfield, etc.). Yet, despite these anthropological identifications, fields are indeed ecosystems and biological communities, which, if left untouched by human manipulation or consumption, would otherwise change or evolve through interspecies interaction within their physical environments. The extent to which a field, or more specifically, a battlefield is coded as a natural in Shakespeare's plays depends on how natural and the supernatural function within its scenes. Often, what is (super)natural is closely related to

[67] A.C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 216.
[68] Henry S. Turner, "King Lear *Without*," 164.

representations of gender, namely queerness. I argue that looking at Shakespeare's women or gender-queer figures on the battle-field, a space more commonly coded as masculine, informs a reading of "the field" as an ecosystem independent from human influence working cooperatively or at least, unantagonistically with humanity. Examining *Henry VI*'s Joan la Pucelle and Margaret of Anjou suggests that these spaces can be read not as blank expanses primed for battle, but rather, living, changing, and often unpredictable ecosystems.

Chapter 2

Pastorella Captive: Deforestation and Spenser's Logic of Extraction

> The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future – these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative.
>
> -Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*

Land tells a story. If we are willing, as Seamus Heaney's poem "Toome" instructs, to "push into a souterrain" deep enough, we unearth the "loam, flints, [and] musket-balls" of centuries passed.[1] Digging deep uncovers an alluvial concoction of geological, archeological, and political history. Dig down roughly 250 million years into the karstic landscape of the Burren in Ireland's County Clare, for example, and the chemistry reveals the disappearance of sandstone resulting in limestone exposure to acidic water.[2] During this time in Ireland's Mesozoic history, organic debris in the seas around the island formed natural gas and mineral deposits. Deposits like these remained undisrupted for millions of years off the Irish west coast, until offshore exploration in the 1960s and 1970s made way for commercial projects like the gas fields at Kinsale Head and Corrib field.[3] Ireland's blanket bogland tells the story of Neolithic farmers clearing the island of trees for farming. This cleared land fell into disuse and its increasingly acidic soil made way for new growth. In the sixteenth century, England set its sights on these lush landscapes, as Edmund Spenser claimed, to free the "goodly and commodious soil" from the "stubborn nation of the Irish."[4] To accomplish this goal, the English had to first dismantle the military power that was the key to Gaelic society as it determined succession to political office and control of land and labor. As Hiram Morgan explains, "Gaelic

1 Seamus Heaney, "Toome," 104.
2 "Landscapes for living!"
3 Peter Murtagh, "Natural gas begins flowing from controversial Corrib field."
4 Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 11.

lordships constituted separate polities and the method of political succession [as well as property rights] within them was known to English observers as 'tanistry.'"[5] Because Gaelic society was a series of overarching military despotisms, the crown could exploit dissident groups as collaborators. This political maneuvering was foundational to Tyrone's Rebellion and the Nine Years War (1593 – 1603). In its aftermath, the Flight of the Earls paved way for plantation-era Ireland.[6] Excavated iron fragments in seventeenth century-Cork offer insight into the country's early industrial history. Colonial entrepreneurs transplanted an entire industry, along with its technology and personnel, to Ireland with catastrophic long-term environmental consequences for the native deciduous forests.[7] Twentieth-century data tells a story of deforestation. An island once covered in trees now reports native tree cover of only one percent, the second lowest in all of Europe.[8]

This brief geological survey signals a need to examine Ireland's ecological and colonial histories concurrently. At the root of Ireland's eco-colonial history is war. Contests over the natural resources of this geographical space and others like it often motivated warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Wars were physically fought in the dirt and water for possession of the dirt, water, and other reserves the land provided. As Homi Bhabha insists, nations are indeed narrations.[9] Geopolitical boundaries, like literature, tell a story – often violent, often partial – about a geographical space. English topography of Ireland is one such example. Just as its

[5] Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion,* 18.
[6] The Flight of the Earls (1607) describes Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell's departure from Ulster to mainland Europe with about 90 followers, after their defeat at the Battle of Kinsale (1601) against crown forces. Tyrone's departure enlarged the state's freedom of action dramatically and raised the possibility, which had been inconceivable when the war ended, of "extending to Ulster the standard sixteenth-century settlement-formula of confiscation and colonisation." Aidan Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, "Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603 - 23*,"* 196.
[7] Ireland's industrial workforce largely came from England and Belgium. Colin Rynne, "The social archeology of plantation-period ironworks in Ireland," 248.
[8] "Forestry and Woodland in Ireland."
[9] Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, 1-7.

"constitutional status oscillated between the political categories of kingdom and colony, the assumption of Irish sameness could always produce an image of difference (or vice versa)."[10] English desires to "apply the anatomical tools of chorographic dissection" to Irish land, and to "absorb it into a larger political framework of British nationhood," Bernhard Klein points out, only "affirms what motivated the project in the first place, the existence of an intractable otherness just across the Irish Sea."[11] Victors drew lines on maps to illustrate the results of these contests and the cartographic "proof" of discrete, local military conquests in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland, America, and the Caribbean, as one critic suggests, helped make the world. "Worldmaking," as Ayesha Ramachandran explains, describes the "methods by which early modern thinkers sought to imagine, shape, revise, control, and articulate the dimensions of the world."[12] The cultural practice of "worldmaking" in the early modern period informed the commerce of sailors and merchants, as well as the battles waged across continents for global imperial dominion. Measurement and observation – quickly becoming standards of empirical science in the early modern period – could provide early modern thinkers a record of local details, but synthesis into a global whole required "an act of imagination, a leap of theoretical speculation that left the precision of the sample for the abstraction of totality."[13]

In what follows, I take a brief step back from the global and focus on local land, namely the plantation systems that came to describe Ireland and later, North America's landscape centuries ago. If sixteenth and seventeenth century thought can be described, as Ramachandran suggests, as a pivotal shift from the "precision of a sample" to the "abstraction of totality," there is a crucial need to revisit representations of local ecologies in the literary imagination, and how these specific

[10] Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland*, 182.
[11] Klein, 182.
[12] Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers,* 6-7.
[13] Ramachandran, 7.

ecological units were ultimately duplicated across an entire empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The installation of plantations in early modern Ireland signaled not only the decisive results of military campaigns but ushered in a new way of thinking about land and its native ecology. Colonial war specifically, I argue, should be characterized by the logic of extraction – a logic conceived, hatched, and cultivated on the first plantations in Ireland.

British and Irish historians generally accept that sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland served as a laboratory for empire.[14] In affirming this imperialist experimentation, scholars cite the central government's various strategies – including military conquest, the introduction of common law, English economic practices, interference in land titles, expropriation, and plantation – to establish political hegemony in the country.[13] The Ireland-cum-laboratory hypothesis has taken many forms.[14] For example, Patrick Griffin explores the extent to which Ireland served as a model for colonial America. In this chapter, I reformulate the question to consider, to what extent, Ireland's plantations served as a trial basis for the emerging colonial logic of extraction. To what extent did utopic visions such as Edmund Spenser's post-reformation Ireland, serve as laboratories for the plantation model? What do early modern stories, as conceived in the literary imagination, reveal about the relationship between the plantation system (its inner workings, i.e. its laws, values,

[13] Jane Ohlmeyer, "'Civilizing of Those Rude Partes,'" 130-143.

[14] In its earliest stages of conceptualization, the Ireland-as-laboratory idea dates as far back as David B. Quinn's *The Elizabethans and the Irish*. Its use in Irish Studies today is often attributed to Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580 -1650*. Jane Ohlmeyer revisited the question in Kevin Kenny's edited collection, *Ireland and the British Empire* (2004), revising her earlier claim that indeed "Ireland served as a laboratory for empire." In this updated iteration, the extent to which Ohlmeyer qualifies Ireland as an experimental space rests, in large part, with the complicated position of the Old English – the Catholic descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquerors who perceived themselves as subjects of the English crown, rather than victims or perpetrators of imperialism. While Ohlmeyer estimates that portions of the Irish population, namely dispossessed Catholics, can be viewed as "victims of English imperialism," other Irish Catholics often "proved effective and enterprising colonizers at home and abroad" where they contributed not only to the "development of the English Empire but to the growth of the Portuguese, Spanish, Austrian, and French global empires." For more on this topic see Jane Ohlmeyer, "A Laboratory for Empire?:" Griffin answers this question in the affirmative: "And, of course, the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland served as a laboratory for the first settlement of America. So axiomatic has this last point become … that it lies beyond debate." Patrick Griffin, "Reckoning with the English," 248.

and traditions) and contemporary perceptions of the environment? I answer these questions to argue that English writers such as Spenser imagine the plantation, an artificial environment, as a testament to English ingenuity. This manufactured environment theorized in literature and tested at a regional scale an early version of what would ultimately become the military-industrial complex: the use of military force to ensure large-scale mining of the earth's resources, and capitalization of these resources to fuel a standing army.

Warfare during the early modern period – an era some scholars refer to as the "dawn of modern warfare"[15] – is often associated with widespread use of gunpowder and technological advancements in the use of explosives including artillery and firearms. Increased use of naval tactics, including the use of gunpowder in naval artillery, also characterizes the nature of war in early modern Europe. Because this style of warfare was more common among powerful empires in early modern Europe and Islam, historians have focused less on the military strategies deployed by "rebel" forces in their struggles against cultural and economic oppression. In Ireland and North America, for example, native Irish and Indigenous resistance forces often outmaneuvered English invaders via ambush tactics. This style of warfare, commonly referred to as guerilla warfare, describes a combatant's use of environmental knowledge to avoid open battle with the enemy. Guerilla warfare relies on the element of surprise to achieve successful raids, and intimate familiarity with the landscape to strategically retreat into growth for protection. Foreign intruders did not share this knowledge and many resorted to scorched earth tactics to eliminate the threat they perceived within native environments, namely as cover for resistance fighters. Paul Hammer explains how the Leix-Offaly plantation in Ireland was often susceptible to this kind of attack:

[15] See, for example, Hans Delbrück, *The Dawn of Modern Warfare*.

> The running sore of Leix-Offaly is significant not only because it was the largest colonizing venture by the crown during the middle of the century, but also because it typified the experience of the English army in Ireland, with persistent guerilla warfare, punitive raids and summary executions. For the military officers who led these brutal sweeps, the business of "colonization" was highly attractive: under martial law, those commissioned to execute the law were entitled to onethird the possessions of "dead rebels," which gave them a distinct incentive to increase the body-count of "suspected traitors."[16]

In order for English plantations to survive if not thrive in Ireland, English forces and New English planters sought to make these foreign environments native to themselves, and foreign to the native inhabitants by waging war on native peoples and native environments. This process begins the coterminous histories of environmental injustice and the military-industrial complex. Environmental colonialism, I argue, refers to the oscillatory processes of genocide and environcide. In Ireland, Spenser proposed this strategy as a plan or "final solution" to solve England's "Irish problem."

No texts better demonstrate the colonial roots of environmental injustice than Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596) and *A View of the State of Ireland* (1598). Examining the relationship between war and the environment – or rather, in the case of *A View* – genocide and environcide – is vital to understanding deforestation as a military tactic aiding the colonial establishment of plantation systems in Ireland and later, North America. I argue, as others have before me, that the colonial plantation model transformed humanity's relationship to land. While Spenser's *View* has long been a touchstone for critical discussions of sixteenth-century AngloIrish[17] relations, its fascination with ecological warfare has received less attention. Equally overlooked has been the way the text's form – utopian dialogue –systematically erases

[16] Paul J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars,* 4.

[17] This description – "Anglo-Irish" – is a bit of a misnomer. I use it here (and elsewhere in the chapter) as shorthand for political relations between Ireland and England. Within Irish Studies, the term "Anglo-Irish" is more often deployed to distinguish landed, eighteenth-century Protestant members of the Irish aristocracy, and in later years descendants of this social class termed the "Anglo-Irish," from the Old English (Catholics) or native Irish.

native land knowledge and replaces it with a colonial logic of extraction. In fact, the text's emphasis on "scorched earth" military tactics advances an early example of the *terra nullius* trope to justify mass killing at the hands of English soldiers in Ireland.

Ireland's Colonial Context and Plantation Capitalism

As Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz's groundbreaking text, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* makes clear, settler colonialism, as an institution or system, requires violence or the threat of violence to attain its goals. People "do not hand over their land, resources, children, and futures without a fight, and that fight is met with violence."[18] In employing the force necessary to accomplish its expansionist goals, Dunbar-Ortiz explains, a "colonizing regime institutionalizes violence… Euro-American colonialism, an aspect of the capitalist economic globalization, had from its beginnings, a genocidal policy." [19] The question of genocide is "never far" from discussions of settler colonialism: "land is life – or, at least, land is necessary for life."[20] Settler colonialism is not just a historical event but also a structure to eliminate the Native via physical and political erasure. According to Dina Gilio-Whitaker, the goal of settler colonialism is political control and domination to gain access to territory.[21] From its inception, English invasion of Ireland was about the land – who "oversaw and cultivated it, fished its waters, maintained its wildlife; who invaded and stole it; how it became a commodity ("real estate") broken into pieces to be bought and sold on the market."[22] To accomplish these goals, New English planters and entrepreneurs had to begin with Ireland's native ecologies.

[18] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 7.
[19] Dunbar-Ortiz, 8.
[20] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387.
21 Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As Long as Grass Grows,* 23.
22 Gilio-Whitaker, 23.

While *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) and moments in *The Faerie Queen* (1596) celebrate the simplistic tranquility of one native ecology – the countryside – in the form of pastoralism, *A View* examines the Irish landscape through utopian dialogue. Ireland can only become another mecca of English agriculturalism through New English ingenuity. In examining Spenser's *A View,* Sarah Hogan demonstrates how militaristic and environmental violence can be utopian, and by extension, utopia can also be capitalist.[23] To demonstrate how Spenser's utopic vision functions within an Irish landscape, it is important to first shed some light on the country's unique colonial context.

Utopian capitalism, I argue, can only be accomplished through extensive military presence. Yet, England's ambition and brutal Irish campaigns contradicted fundamental tenets of the just war tradition as well as Christian, humanist petitions for peace. Europe's militaristic revolution, at this point impacting life (and death) at a global scale, required, as war historian Simon Barker suggests, a revision of military theory in the "face of the imperatives that arose from colonial ambition, new economic structures, and a consolidation of the idea of the early modern nation state."[24] Vital to this process was a reformulation of the medieval concept of the "just war" in order to accommodate the changing geopolitical environment that emerged during the era of Reformation and colonialism. The theory of just war postulates that there is a moral reality of war and that this moral reality provides a framework of discussion of the justice of war (*jus ad bellum*) and justice in war (*jus in bello*). In other words, just war theory accounts for the ethical and moral reasons of going to war, as well as the behaviors and actions that may be ethically taken during war. This approach opposes realism in the assumption that wars are not liable to moral judgement and at the same time posits against pacifism that war may be morally

23 Sarah Hogan, "Utopia, Ireland, and the Tudor Shock Doctrine," 461.
24 Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, 39-40.

justified."[25] By Queen Elizabeth I's reign (1558 – 1603), English humanists for a long time had reasoned that "peace at home" accomplished more for true religion (and national strength) than "meddling erratically" in what were ultimately "internal problems of foreign nations and empires."[26] By Christian humanist standards, war was "symptomatic" of a breakdown in an individual's ability to live "harmoniously" with another, a behavior which called for correction.[27]

To maneuver around these facts, colonial entrepreneurs made room for violent conquest in the just war tradition through the rhetoric of civilization, Christianity, and commerce. Before this approach was implemented in the Americas, however, it was tested first in Ireland. In 1607, when Walter Ralegh landed in what today is known colonially as Virginia, England had long been at work disassembling land models based on systems of responsibility both in Ireland and on its own native soil, specifically through enclosure practices. Enclosure practices were met with resistance in Ireland, too.[28] The English understood their landholding system as the basis of civil society. Individual rights and "the attainment of political privileges were guaranteed through property holding and one's place in the hierarchy."[29] When the English introduced common law in Ireland, they did so to change the ways the Irish owned and inherited land, making it easier to systematically collect rents for the Crown. For generations, the English tried to "replace Irish pastoralism with English agrarianism" to create an "orderly landscape of farmers who fenced their land and adopted English common law."[30] As historian Allan Gallay

[25] Franziska Quabeck, *Just and Unjust Wars in Shakespeare*, 5.
[26] Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace,* 304.
[27] Lowe, 304 – 305.
[28] It is worth noting that one of England's first attempts to separate itself from Irish culture and Irish rebellion against English occupation of the country was both an act of enclosure and ecological warfare. In 1471, England began construction of the Pale, a series of dykes and trenches without causeways to cross them, to pen the English in keep Irish aggression out.
[29] Allan Gallay, *Walter Ralegh: Architect of Empire*, 14.
[30] Gallay, 16.

points out, the most potent symbol of English transformation of Irish land customs was the fence. The Irish let their livestock roam freely. Fencing for the English represented self-discipline and the discipline of labor – a master's ability to make his servants work. Even before the English Reformation and the emergence of the Protestant work ethic, many English property owners lived by the basic tenet of the virtue of labor and of disciplining labor to produce for those who possessed capital, that is, the land. Elizabeth granted lands to Ralegh and other English planters like Edmund Spenser in the late sixteenth century, creating the Munster Plantation.

The creation of plantations required, as Rolf Loeber explains, two interlocking strategies. The first requirement was to provide a conceptual and ideological plan that "justified a colonization scheme on both political and moral grounds."[31] The second requirement was a set of actions that could translate such concepts and ideologies into "practical directives to optimize the success of plantation on the ground."[32] In the case of the Munster Plantation, mechanisms were put into place to "nullify grants not actually taken up and 'improved' by the grantees."[33] In other words, the plantations in Ulster, Laois/Offaly, and Munster depended upon British confiscation of Irish lands. This practice was exported to the Americas. As Griffin has observed, the "Elizabethan conquest of Ireland served as a laboratory[34] for the first settlement of America."[35]

For the last fifty years, historians have argued that the origins of English (and, later,

[31] Rolf Loeber, "'Certeyn notes': biblical and foreign signposts to the Ulster Plantation," 24.
[32] Loeber, 24.
[33] Gallay, 16.
[34] Scholars of British history have generally accepted the claim that Ireland was a laboratory for empire to varying degrees. In affirming this imperialist experimentation, historians cite the central government's various strategies – including military conquest, the introduction of common law, English economic practices, interference in land titles, expropriation, and plantation – to establish political hegemony in early modern Ireland. In its earliest stages of conceptualization, the Ireland-as-laboratory idea dates as far back as David B. Quinn's *The Elizabethans and the Irish* . Its use in Irish Studies today is often attributed to Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580 -1650*. Since then, Jane Ohlmeyer has taken up the question and complicated it somewhat, citing the fact that some Irish Catholics participated in colonial projects associated with the Portuguese, Spanish, Austrian, and French global empires. See, Jane Ohlmeyer, "A Laboratory for Empire?."
[35] Patrick Griffin, 248.

British) imperial ideology can be found in English policy towards Ireland under the Tudors. According to this argument, Ireland, though a kingdom after 1541, "should be treated [by historians] as if it were a colony," especially during the "New English" period of settlement beginning in the 1560s; that the English viewed the Irish as "barbarians, comparable to the inhabitants of the western hemisphere encountered by the Spanish;" and that the English had a "duty" to civilize and Christianize (that is, Protestantize) both the Gaelic Irish and the Catholic Old English descendants of the Anglo-Norman settlers of the twelfth century.[36] The "continuity of personnel," similarity of methods and justifications, and "parallel relations" between Ireland and the new settlements of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods together "created a narrative of English colonialism that runs in a straight line from England, through Ireland, to the Caribbean and thence the eastern seaboard of North America."[37] Maritime enterprise therefore transformed state-formation into empire-building in the British Atlantic world along a path running from east to west, and from England to America, with Ireland as the "crux" of a comprehensive English "westward enterprise."[38]

While this characterization offers insight into Ireland's colonial context within a history of westward expansion, Anglo-Irish relations during the sixteenth century were far more complex than accounted for in this narrative. David Armitage, among others, argues that the Irish origins of English colonial ideology could alternatively be examined within the paradigm of composite monarchy. This lens offers productive ways of examining Anglo-Irish relations in terms of foreign policy. In this formulation, Ireland may be described as a province of a composite state, comparable to Bohemia or Naples, rather than as a colony of an emergent

[36] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*,24.
[37] Armitage, 24.
[38] D. B. Quinn, "Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion," 21-32.

hemispheric empire. Ireland had powerful elites, its own sovereign parliament, and thus Tudor Ireland offers a parallel to the provincial estates of other early modern European composite monarchies.[39] The ambiguity of its position – juridically a kingdom, yet treated by the English as if it were a colony – requires seeing sixteenth-century Ireland as "a mid-Atlantic polity having some of the features of both the Old World and the New."[40] While Irish elites were able to leverage their wealthy estates and militaristic might in conflict with English planters, or politically (to some extent) within parliament, their material power was challenged, I argue, most effectively by England's rhetorical power. Treating Ireland "as if it were a colony" despite it juridically being a kingdom, occurred most visibly within New English writing about Irish culture.

But how did England define "colony" in the sixteenth century, and what exactly constituted "colonial warfare?" In considering a concept such as colonial warfare, and specifically colonial warfare in early modern Ireland, it is important to grasp that the adjective "colonial" gained currency quite late in the early modern period.[41] "Colonial," for example, does not feature in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* in any of its versions between 1755, when it first appeared, and the fourth edition, revised by Johnson himself and published in 1773.[42] The modern sense of the word "colony" – and the sense in which postcolonial critics like Edward Said use it – was much closer to the word "plantation" in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. The verb "plant" in this sense dates to the

[39] Armitage, 25.
[40] Hiram Hiram, "Mid-Atlantic Blues," 50 -5; Raymond Gillespie, "Explorers, Exploiters and Entrepreneurs," 152.
[41] Bruce Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550 – 1688*, 1.
[42] Lenman, 1. Johnson did have an entry for the noun "colony," but as Lenman points out, it had a very specific meaning, "much narrower than the modern usage, as Johnson's examples show. It was very close to its classical origin, the Latin *colonia* – which meant a body of persons sent by the mother country to inhabit a distant place, and the specific site, which they inhabited." Johnson cites Carthage, a city, as a "Trojan colony."

fourteenth century and meant the settling a person in a place as a colonist.[43] When Samuel Johnson first published *A Dictionary of the English Language* in 1775, "plantation" was the "act or practice of planting," or "the place planted."[44] In its initial appearance, the idea of confiscation was not central to its meaning. Furthermore, in its early usage "plantation" did not by definition involve the salient features of later plantations, namely "monoculture, slave labor, and mass production."[45]

The word "plantation" first appeared in print in 1586 in the dedication of John Hooker's edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles* to Sir Walter Ralegh.[46] In this early instance, the word was used to celebrate Ralegh who had "made a plantation of the people of your own English nation in Virginia, the first English colony that was planted."[47] Similarly, writing about his 1615 expedition to New France, Samuel de Champlain described "l'honneur … de planter la foy [faith] Chrestienne en un pays incognue et barbare."[48] In these early uses, "plantation" carries both national and religious weight. In the case of Ralegh's Virginia colony, plantation functions as a community of people who share a common country of origin. In New France, the plantation– marketed as both Christian and civilized – replaces a space presumed pagan and barbarous. In this way, as Amy Clukey and Jeremy Wells point out, plantation "hovers" between metaphor and metonym.[49] It represents "metaphorically a system of power in which marginalized (and often racialized) subjects labor for the benefit of others – more specifically, for those who guard the privilege of not having

[43] OED Online, "plant, v." *Oxford University Press*. https://www-oedcom.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/145156?rskey=sPmht2&result=4&isAdvanced=false.
[44] Samuel Johnson, "plantation," *A Dictionary of the English Language.*
[45] Amy Clukey and Jeremy Wells, "Introduction: Plantation Modernity," 1-10.
[46] Raymond Gillespie, "Material Culture and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland," 44.
[47] John Hooker, *The first and second volumes of the chronicle … first collected and published by Raphael Holinshed*.
[48] This roughly translates to "the honor of planting the Christian faith in an unknown and barbarian country." Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages et decouvertes faites en la nouvelle France depuis l'anée 1615,* 97.
[49] Clukey and Wells, 2.

to work so hard for so little themselves."[50] Hooker's inscription to Ralegh captures the "plantation's" metaphorical significance: English colonies in America are an extension of the English nation. For de Champlain, the plantation space holds metaphorical and metonymic power. Planting New France with "civilized" Christians represented French (and by extension, European and/or Western) cultural superiority over a vast, diversity of Indigenous cultures in the New World. In these two instances, European settlers imagine the plantation as a *tabula rasa*, a space where Christianity replaces Indigenous spiritualities, and Western forms of "civilization" and commerce violently *write over* native forms of production, consumption, or trade.

With the metonymic and metaphoric currency of "plantation" in mind, I want to suggest that a more accurate description of England's sixteenth century conflicts in Ireland and North America is *plantation wars*. Plantation wars describe military conflict between agents of the English nation-state and Indigenous/native peoples who resist the material establishment of plantation systems and the cultural institution of plantation logic. These wars disrupt colonial programs of land dispossession and/or relocation; resist English attempts to enclose land in the form of borders and boundaries; and assert native knowledge of the land. Ireland's plantation wars take place during the period several historians have termed the "Plantationocene." This period underscores slave agriculture as a key historical moment in an era shaped by relations privileging the endless accumulation of capital. Furthermore, "Plantationocene" accounts for the dehumanization of enslaved peoples and the commodification of plants and animals integral to the plantation system. Donna Harraway suggests that this term

> makes one pay attention to the historical relocations of the substances of living and dying around the Earth as a necessary prerequisite to their extraction… It is no accident that labour is brought in from elsewhere, even if, in principle, there is local labour available. Because it is more efficient in the logic of the plantation system to exterminate the local labour and bring in labour from elsewhere. The

[50] Clukey and Wells, 2.

> plantation system depends on the relocation of the generative units: plants, animals, microbes, people. The systematic practice of relocation for extraction is necessary to the plantation system.[51]

The plantation depends on a specific logic of extraction: extirpate and replace what's local. The plantation, as Sidney Mintz reminds us, is a "synthesis of field and factory,"[52] a "politicoeconomic invention, a colonial frontier institution," combining non-European slaves and European capital, technology, and "managerial skill with territorial control of free or cheap subtropical lands in the mass, mono- crop production of agricultural commodities for European markets."[53] As Katherine McKittrick observes, the plantation's legacy is the is the legacy of "slavery and the labor of the unfree," both which "shape and are part of the environment we presently inhabit."[54] Through processes of land alienation, labor extraction, and racialized violence,[55] the plantation system rearranges life by force, specifically state-sanctioned military force.

Environmental Infrastructure and Scorched Earth Policy

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English colonial efforts to "extirpate and replace the local" in Ireland took two forms. Environmental colonialism, as mentioned earlier, depends on the oscillatory processes of genocide and environcide. Extrapolating from available figures of the Desmond war (1579 – 83), historians estimate that the Tudor conquest of Ireland may have caused as many as 100,000 casualties.[56] The population of Ireland circa 1540 lay somewhere between 0.75 and 1.0 million, suggesting that the conquest ranks as one of the most

[51] Donna Harraway, et al, "Anthropologists are Talking – About the Anthropocene," 557.
[52] Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power,* 55.
[53] Sidney Mintz, "Caribbean Society," 306-319.
[54] Katherine McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," 1-15.
[55] Sophie Sapp Moore, Monique Allewart, Pablo F. Gomez, and Gregg Mitman, "Plantation Legacies."
[56] Hiram Morgan, "'Never any realm worse governed': Queen Elizabeth and Ireland," 308.

destructive conflicts anywhere in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe.[57] England's conquest in Ireland under Arthur Grey, 14th Baron Grey de Wilton, was particularly ruthless. In 1580 Grey replaced the notoriously brutal Sir William Pelham as Lord Deputy of Ireland. As Lord Deputy, he recruited a force of 6,000 to quell the Second Desmond Rebellion. In the same year, Ireland experienced one of England's most violent assaults. Walter Ralegh joined Lord Grey at Smerwick Castle, where Admiral Winter and Vice-Admiral Bingham had blockaded Desmond's six or seven hundred allies. Surrounded on all sides, the garrison surrendered in November 10, 1580. In his *History of England*, James Anthony Froude describes the events of the surrender:

> The men piled their arms outside the walls, and waited defenceless to learn the pleasure of their conquerors … "The Lord of hosts," wrote Grey, "had delivered the enemy to us, none of ours being hurt … Then put I in certain bands, who fell straight to execution." A certain number of the original party had fallen sick, and had been sent back to Spain. With the exception of these and of the officers, the entire party was slaughtered. A few women, some of them pregnant, were hanged. A servant of Saunders, an Irish gentleman, and a priest were hanged also. The bodies, six hundred in all, were stripped and laid out upon the sands, "as gallant good personages," said Grey, "as ever were beheld."[58]

There is some debate among scholars as to whether Queen Elizabeth sanctioned this early exploit of Grey and Ralegh. Lord Bacon, for example, said "The Queen was much displeased at the slaughter."[59] However, Elizabeth's letters to Lord Deputy Grey tell a different story. In a letter dated December 12, 1580 in reply to Lord Grey's dispatch on November 12, 1580, Elizabeth writes that the deed performed was "greatly to our lyking."[60]

[57] It is difficult to determine exact numbers and population figures vary. For more on these estimates, see L.M. Cullen, "Population trends in seventeenth-century Ireland," 149 – 65; Raymond Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy, 1550 – 1700*; R.A. Houston, *The Population History of Britain and Ireland 1550 - 1750*; Sean Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland 1460 – 1630*.
[58] James Anthony Froude, *History of England,* 234. This narrative is also corroborated in John Hooker's "The Supplie of the Irish Chronicle," 321-461.
[59] *Harleian MMS*, vol. 5, 89.
[60] Sir John Pope Hennessy, *Sir Walter Ralegh in Ireland*, 10.

As David Edwards admits, mass killings like that perpetrated at Smerwick are "all very unsettling, to be sure, testimony to the bloody efficacy of campaigns waged by Tudor crown forces in Ireland," but he questions whether these events are "consistent with genocide."[61] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, genocide is the deliberate extermination of a nation, race or ethnic group.[62] Edwards argues that while crown forces killed a multitude in the sixteenth century, this killing does not constitute genocidal foreign policy towards Ireland. Genocide, he adds, "presupposes one nation or race setting about the annihilation of another, but in sixteenth-century Ireland none of the campaigns waged by the crown were simple English versus Irish affairs."[63] Indeed, one major feature of Irish life in the sixteenth century which "affected the whole history of Anglo-Irish relations," as John McGurk explains, lay in the different cultural groups in the population: the native Gaelic Irish, the Old English of the Pale and the towns, the Scots, and the New English, the last being the "newer adventurers who planted the subdued parts of Munster, Leinster and Connaught, and who became the officials of church and state in the Dublin administration."[64] The Battle of Kinsale (1601-2), the climactic event of the Tudor conquest of Ireland, for example, was a "multi-ethnic feat of arms" with the Gaelic Irish earl of Thurmond, Donough O'Brien, and the Hiberno-English earl of Clanicarde, Richard Burke, serving as senior commanders of the victorious crown forces.[65] If genocide presupposes a deliberate element or plan, as Edwards suggests, then Tudor policy in Ireland cannot be described as such. While advocates of a military solution (Grey, Ralegh, Spenser)

[61] David Edwards, "Tudor Ireland: Anglicisation, mass killing and security," 24.
[62] "genocide, n.". *OED Online*. March 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oedcom.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/77616?redirectedFrom=genocide (accessed May 13, 2021).
[63] Edwards, 24.
[64] John McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland,* 3.
[65] Edwards, 24.

secured influence with the crown, historians generally accept that Ireland was conquered piecemeal and that Tudor monarchs preferred non-military initiatives at Whitehall.

As Grey's secretary, it is likely that Spenser witnessed the massacre at Smerwick. While Grey's violence was the source of much debate among courtiers[66] back in England, Spenser fervently defends the Lord Deputy's tactics in *A View*. I argue that while we may not describe England's foreign policy as genocidal, Spenser's "plan" for extirpating the Irish as detailed in *A View* constitutes both a genocidal and environcidal fantasy. This vision of environmental colonialism depends on what Patricia Cahill describes as "eugenic warfare." In her reading of *Edward III*, Cahill examines the biopolitical problem of propagating "pure" English subjects in Ireland, a problem that had long troubled English commentators and that would "assume great importance in the next few decades as the north of Ireland was subject to large-scale plantation."[67] New English polemicists, such as Spenser, condemned Old English alliances with the native Irish, and yet, the Munster plantation was to have failed because the New English settlers did not keep a proper distance from the natives. As Cahill suggests, plantation-era Ireland was a culture "newly enamored" with the "notion of racial purity and opposed to sexual relations across the colonial divide."[68] As such, the Elizabethan conquest raised both the question of race and a specific racialized question: "how *was* Englishness to be preserved and perpetuated in the English colony?"[69]

Critical work over the last thirty years has read New English literature, such as Spenser's *View*, as an early form of "anthropological classification" that located the Irish on a primitive

[66] Lord Burghley, for example, condemned the massacre and spoke out in London against it. Hennessy, 10.
[67] Patricia Cahill, *Unto the Breach,* 129.
[68] Cahill, 130.
[69] Cahill, 130.

level of development.[70] This scholarship draws attention to New English contempt for Irish habits of dress, speech, government, and other cultural and political practices. Jean Feerick adds to this analysis that New English literature about the Irish "problem" also sketches the outline of a theory of race grounded in a sense of the body as a humoral entity. Feerick suggests that New English texts postulate a racialized image of the Irish as a "humorally imbalanced or distempered group," while the English are figured as "civilized and tempered," serving as models of restraint for the "incontinent" Irish to emulate.[71] While scholarly attention to cultural differences has yielded significant insight into early concepts of race, I argue that it is equally important to consider English racialization of the Irish as a method to ensure the future of plantation capitalism. The Irish threat to this colonial project is no more evident than in Spenser's commentary on the degeneration of the Old English, the Catholic descendants of the Norman conquest who claim loyalty to the English crown. Spenser adopts Giraldus Cambrensis' characterization of the Irishman's contagious treachery as detailed in *The History and Topography of Ireland* (c. 1188) but elevates the threat of degeneration by illustrating the consequences he observes in 1596. Englishmen who were brought up with England's "sweet civility" risk degenerating into "barbarous rudeness" when they spend any length of time in Ireland and mingle too closely among its inhabitants.[72] More significantly, the degenerated English become "more malicious" to English planters like Spenser than the native Irish themselves.[73] Spenser frames Irish barbarousness as a contagion to position Irishness as an attack on English values. To convince Queen Elizabeth that the only means of subduing the Irish

[70] Jean Feerick, "Spenser, Race, and Ire-land," 93.
[71] Feerick, 93.
[72] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 48.
[73] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 48.

is through violent oppression, Spenser must show that the English identity and way of life are at risk.

According to Spenser, the two major causes of English degeneration in Ireland are fosterage and marriage. English children who nurse from Irish women learn their "first speech of her," imitating her, and inheriting both the "disposition" and "temperature" of her body."[74] For Spenser, English inheritance of Irish language through nursing poses the following problem: "the speech being Irish, the heart must needs be Irish." Degeneration may begin early in an English child's life in close physical proximity to Irish women. Similarly, in the case of English men marrying Irish wives, Spenser asserts that such matching brings forth an "evil race" because commonly the "child taketh most of his nature of the mother." The degenerated English, or "weeds" as Eudoxos describes them, must be depicted in such a way as to fit within the metaphor of husbandry. As growth that would either need to be pruned, paired, or extracted completely, Spenser can continue with an argument in favor of the English planter's intervention on the grounds of good husbandry, both at a symbolic and literal level. As stated elsewhere, because it is more efficient in the logic of the plantation system to exterminate the local labor and bring in labor from elsewhere, the plantation system depends on the relocation of plants and people. The systematic practice of relocation for extraction is necessary to the plantation system.[75] Spenser's *View* enables extirpation of both Ireland's peoples and its native ecologies to serve plantation capitalism, on the basis of eugenic logic and through the rhetoric of racial purity and degeneration.

War, specifically, disrupts the relationship between environment and society concurrently because humanity is shaped by and in turn shapes the environments it inhabits. In Ireland and in

[74] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* 68.
[75] Donna Harraway, et. al, 557.

North America, the English cleared the land of native vegetation, in many cases via scorched earth policies and deforestation, to make room for English infrastructure. As Emmanuel Kreike explains, the human-shaped environment "constitutes environmental infrastructure because it is neither fully Nature (thence the anthropocentric *infrastructure*) nor entirely an artifact of Culture (thence the qualifier *environmental*)."[76] Rather, environmental infrastructure (homes, fields, fences, crops, orchards, etc.) is a "coproduction of human ingenuity and labor" on one hand and nonhuman actors on the other.[77] For English colonists, transforming Dublin into another London or fashioning the northern east coast of America into "New England" meant maintaining, repairing, or (re)producing environmental infrastructures such as field enclosure or plantation systems. This process, referred to as "environing" by Kreike and others, both grafts on and competes with biological, climatic, chemical, and geophysical conditions. War interrupts environing, making societies vulnerable to human-made and natural disasters.

Environcide describes destruction of environmental infrastructures, or an assailant's attempts to make these infrastructures inaccessible to their native populations. Scorched earth policies – in which military forces target homes, fields, reservoirs, farms, cattle, or forests – constitute environcide because these practices "undermine livelihoods and ways of life, increasing a society's vulnerability to drought and disease" and trigger epidemics and pandemics.[78] The colonial context of environcide via scorched earth military tactics, I want to add, depends on these kinds of deleterious effects in order to eradicate native knowledges and intimacies with the environment. For this reason, Ireland's forests and bogs were as much a threat to the colonial forces as the resistance fighters that took cover in them.

[76] Emmanuel Kreike, *Scorched Earth,* 2.
[77] Kreike, 2.
[78] Kreike, 3.

Making Ireland a Utopia: A Note on Form

Both Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and *A View of the State of Ireland* imagine environcide as integral to the utopian project. English forms of environmental infrastructure – privatization of land through enclosure practices and implementation of plantation systems – cannot be established without first destroying native environmental infrastructures. Genre and form, namely utopia and dialogue, are key to understanding how this process plays out. The two modes merge to create a unique form that in many ways resembles a laboratory setting. The texts themselves are like controlled experiments: the author can test out a contentious hypothesis – i.e. replacing common law with martial law in Spenser's *View* – all under the guise of utopian fiction.[79] Jean-Christophe Agnew has argued that the early modern stage developed formal, narrative, and thematic conventions that effectively reproduced the representational strategies and difficulties of the marketplace, and how the stage "then furnished its urban audience with a laboratory and an idiom within which these difficulties and contradictions could be acted out."[80] I would suggest that the realistic vernacular of utopian dialogue lends a similar authenticity to Spenser's *View*. The credible, yet fictional characters, systematically and methodically educate their listeners about the hypothetical benefits of testing out the hypothesis in real time, participating in a theatrical exchange.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the ancient and medieval worlds, islands were "good places to think with… Their boundedness, as well as their remoteness, made them better suited than mainland to giving free play to European imaginations."[81] Ancient and

[79] For a discussion of medical metaphors in the literature of New English writers, see Nicholas Canny, "Edmund Spenser and the Development of an Anglo-Irish Identity." For more on Spenser's scientific rhetoric, see Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England.*
[80] Jean-Christophe Agnew*, Worlds Apart,* 12.
[81] John R. Gillis, "Taking history offshore," 25.

medieval literature about edens and arcadias depicted these spaces as gifts of nature or divine grace. Spenser's "reformed"[82] Ireland, as proposed in *A View*, however, represents a distinctly early modern vision of utopia: an Ireland ruled by New English planters is a product of human ingenuity and labor. In the sixteenth century, European countries experienced the dismantling of the universal church, civil wars, the effects of climate change, and economic dislocation. Imagining perfection within in its own borders proved difficult for English writers like Spenser. Ireland represented both economic opportunity for unlanded Englishmen, and a national opportunity for England to imagine agricultural reformation outside its own territorial borders: a *tabula rasa*. Frank Lestringant argues that islands emerged "as a privileged element of the new malleable geography that could be reconstructed and reshaped to suit the aims of specific political projects."[83] For writers like Spenser, islands – bounded and isolated – were blank pages on which to scribe fantasies of possession, colonization, and domination. "Imaginary societies," as Frank and Fritzie Manuel have observed, "are situated along the general path of actual conquests, discoveries, and explorations."[84]

Given the relationship between conquest and utopia, then, the following claim by Sarah Hogan may be less counterintuitive or surprising in a colonial context: "violence can be utopian."[85] Spenser's text explicitly proposes and endorses militaristic violence against the native Irish and Old English (Catholic loyalists and descendants of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman conquest), as well as environcide in the form of scorched earth tactics. In *A View*,

[82] Sheila Cavanagh notes that the writings of Elizabethan-era English commentators on Ireland "work to perpetuate an image of the Irish as sufficiently removed from the English in manners, customs, and values to warrant severe and protracted attempts at a 'reformation.'" See, S. T. Cavanagh, "'The fatal destiny of that land': Elizabethan Views of Ireland," 116 – 31.
[83] Frank Lestringant. "Utopia and the Reformation," 164.
[84] Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 21.
[85] Sarah Hogan, "Utopia, Ireland, and the Tudor Shock Doctrine," 461.

Spenser's English interlocuters imagine that manipulation of an island ecology creates the spaces anew. To fashion Ireland into *terra nullius* (nobody's land) and a nations *ex-nihilo*, Spenser makes Ireland native to the foreigner, and foreign to the native.

According to Peter Burke, Renaissance dialogues often fall into four main positions on a spectrum: the catechism, the drama, the disputation, and the conversion. Catechisms, for example, are didactic texts in which the dialogue between student and teacher is "a little more than a monologue, where the student asks the questions or mutters [for example,] 'Yes, Socrates,' from time to time while the master expounds the answer."[86] Edmund Spenser's political treatise, *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* most closely resembles catechistic dialogue. *A View* is a prose dialogue between Euxodus, an Englishman interested in politics but unversed in Irish history, and Irenius, an English courtier speaking from a position of knowledge on the subject and likely representative of the New English agenda. Eudoxus asks the questions and Irenius answers them with frequent digression. Eudoxus dominates the dialogue, and Irenius' comments represent the fear, often expressed in English works on Ireland in 1590s, that if England does not intervene militarily, then Ireland will be the ruin of England, too. Catechistic dialogue is unique among Burke's categories because it is didactic in nature. The drama, disputation, and conversation dialogues imply a certain degree of equality and respectability among the speakers. The purpose of catechesis is to teach, yet it is considered a "democratic" mode of instruction. Spenser's *View*, for example, permits that Irenius' range of views be heard and considered, and there exists a reciprocity between the speakers:

> *Eudox*. Your caution is very good; but now touching the arch-rebell himself, I mean the Earle of Tyrone, if he in, all the time of these warres, shonld offer to come in and submit himself to her Majestie, would you not have him received, giving good hostages, and sufficient assurance of himself?

[86] Peter Burke, "The Renaissance dialogue," 3.

> *Iren*. No, marrie; for there is no doubt, but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done divers times already, but it is without any intent of true submission …[87]

Eudoxus, the teacher of all-things-Irish, praises aspects of Irenius' deductions, and as student Irenius is granted further attempts to reflect critically on the Irish dilemma. Eudoxus is respectful of his learner, giving the effect that he is speaking *with* Irenius, rather than *to* him. The democratizing effect of the dialogue displays two rational minds collaboratively at work. But Eudoxus consistently maintains the authority within the dynamic, punctuating each topic with acknowledgement of Irenius' mastery of the material. Eudoxus' assessments of Irenius' performance confirm Eudoxus' position within the hierarchy: "I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may better satisfie them, whom I have often heard to object these doubts."[88] Eudoxus' colonial scheme for Ireland is the result of "democratic" teaching.

J. C. Davis' definition of utopia offers productive ways of examining Spenser's text. Davis has argued, for example, that ideal world narratives can be classified according to the way in which they negotiate the problem of supply and demand; the problem, that is, of balancing a finite number of materials (food or lodging, for example) with a potentially infinite amount of desire for those materials.[89] But, what distinguishes utopias from these ideal world narratives, Davis suggests, is the utopia's refusal of unrealistic solutions or *deus ex machina* interventions. In utopia, rather, people are as potentially transgressive as they are in the real world and the availability of material gratifications are as limited as in reality. The utopian solution to reality's problems, Davis argues, is to idealize neither man nor nature, but organization: the "utopianist" devises bureaucratic and institutional systems to contain desire and transgression, and thus to

[87] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 108.
[88] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 112.
[89] Susan Bruce, "Introduction," xiii.

apportion a limited supply of material satisfactions.[90] This definition enables readings of *A View* as a text which insists on human solutions to human problems. The "problem" most often examined in early modern scholarship on *A View* is what Spenser described as the "degeneration" of the Old English and Ireland's failure to tend to the land according to English agricultural principles. The "solution" – both shocking and disturbing – has been the topic of less conversation: mass killing of the Irish through starvation and famine, and Ireland's deforestation as a weapon of ecological warfare.

Nina Chordas has pointed out the similarities between dialogue and utopia, both of which might be considered "quasi-fictional genres."[91] These genres' status as "fictional" is complicated because both insist on "being accepted as entities with some agency in the actual, material world – dialogue as recorded discussion, utopia as a geographical place … or, alternately, a space created within the reader."[92] In the early modern period, "fiction" did not operate as it does in our modern sense, but rather denotes a product of the human imagination, falling under the category of what Philip Sidney referred to as "poesy."[93] However, dialogue and utopia should also be understood in the early modern context of a "general distrust of imaginative literature" with its "potentially seductive effect on the rational mind."[96] Ronald Levao describes a growing Renaissance view of culture as "not structured by eternal categories," but as "distinctly human artifact," wherein the "pleasures of feigning are often linked to the darker possibilities suggested by sixteenth-century usage, an equivocation suggested by its etymology: 'fingére,' to shape,

[90] J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society,* 9.
[91] Nina Chordas, "Dialogue, Utopia, and the Agencies of Fiction," 28.
[92] Chordas, 28.
[93] For a sense of the term "poetry" (that is, "poesy") at is used in the early modern period, see Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesy*, in *Sidney's 'The defence of Poesy' and selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, edited by Gavin Alexander.
[96] Chordas, 28.

fashion or contrive, is the root of both 'fiction' and 'figment.'"[94] Sidney produced *Defence of Poesy* within and as a response to this climate of skepticism. More importantly, however, is the tension between the form (dialogue, utopia) and content (colonialism) in Spenser's texts. Chordas prompts us to consider two "urgent factors" present in the early modern period which lend both to dialogue and utopia: the fairly recent discovery of the New World, and a "didactic humanist outlook that believes in the perfectibility of man and values discourse as both a means of teaching and arriving at what is true."[95] When dialogue and utopia adjoin, aspects of credibility cast doubt on their fictional aspect without completely negating it. Along the same lines, Jon Snyder argues that dialogue, "even in its most sophisticated form … shuttles between literary and extra-literary, disrupts the boundaries between fiction and nonfiction, an explores the tension between figure and statement."[96] Similarly, as Roland Greene and Elizabeth Fowler explain, because the dialogue is conducted in prose, it is a "medium that offers itself as a virtual approximation of reality itself."[97] *A View* is written in prose dialogue and can be characterized by "discourses that carry authoritative cultural and historical weight," yet labeling Spenser's text a piece of prose fiction "elides the legal, political, anthropological, [and] historical" discourses it incorporates."[98] As Chordas suggests, utopia as form subverts the view that posits Renaissance fiction as "a site for the working out of real-world problems; rather, in the implementation of utopia, the real is made to work for the imaginary."[99]

[94] Ronald Levao, *Renaissance Minds and Their Fictions,* xvii, xxiii.
[95] Chordas, 28.
[96] Jon Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking,* 9.
[97] Roland Greene and Elizabeth Fowler, eds. *The Project of Prose in Early Modern Europe and the New World*, 1.
[98] Chordas, 31.
[99] Chordas, 32.

An English Poet in Munster

The history and legacy of the plantation system is the history and legacy of the military industrial complex, and any undertaking to understand this process must begin with Spenser and his attitudes towards deforestation of the island. The poet took residence in Ireland as secretary to the Lord Deputy, Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton in 1580. After holding various administrative posts in Dublin, Spenser relocated to Munster around 1584, playing a significant role in the provincial council. In Munster he owned substantial land, occupying the Norman castle of Kilcolman with an estate of over 3,000 acres. Part of Spenser's acreage was confiscated from Irish Catholics after the Desmond Rebellion (1569 – 1573), and this land formed the basis of the Munster Plantation, a scheme in which the Crown encouraged English settlers (New English) to colonize southwest Ireland in order to make the land more "civil" and "governable."[100] The Desmond Rebellion helped introduce warfare to Ireland in the name of "Counter-Reformation," but despite its initial success and faltering aid from Spain and the pope, the rebellion ultimately failed in the face of internal faction (typical of warfare of the time) and extremely harsh military tactics, including the deliberate use of starvation.[101] Upon Desmond's death, New English planters were eager to establish themselves as lords over approximately half a million acres of Irish land. A great deal of these planters consisted of English aristocrats who were well connected, or top soldiers like Sir Walter Ralegh who played a direct role in the military conquest of Irish land.

Desmond Power asserts that we "should not underestimate the influence of the plantation in the development of urbanization in Munster."[102] New landowners, like Spenser and Ralegh,

[100] For more on the formation of the Munster Plantation, see Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation.*
[101] Thomas Herron, *Spenser's Irish Work,* 35.
[102] Denis Power, "The Archeology of the Munster Plantation," 198 – 201.

who benefited from Ireland's rebellions promoted a "market economy that more aggressively than ever before utilized the network of international trade through towns."[103] When Spenser moved to Munster, a vibrant merchant community controlled by the Old English elite had existed there for many years. Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, for example, had long-standing charters that granted them independence from the Crown. While the Old English were and had been loyal to English sovereignty for centuries, Spenser and his contemporaries both mistrusted Old English Catholic devotion and desired to dominate the markets to which the Old English laid claim. To make room in this thriving economy for New English planters, the threat of Ireland's privileged elite had to be eliminated. As Steven Ellis explains, "an extensive Munster plantation" would "secure a strong landed base to challenge Old English power."[104] Spenser's *View* thus attempts to influence opinion in London as Protestant planter propaganda by condemning native Irish culture, especially the customs of the Old English who threatened Spenser's Munster Plantation.[105]

The year 1596 was a busy time for Spenser. He published the second edition of *The Faerie Queene* and began work on a long tract which was designed to help rescue his adopted home from the chaos to which he felt it had degenerated.[106] Spenser completed *A View of the Present State of Ireland* some time before 1598, when it was entered into the Stationers' Register by one of Spenser's publishers. The tract did not appear in print until 1633, in an edition of *Ancient Irish Chronicles* collected by the Dublin historian, Sir James Ware (1594 – 1666), but it circulated extensively in manuscript and was read by prominent political figures in Spenser's time.

[103] Herron, 39.
[104] Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447 – 1603,* 325.
[105] Herron, 41.
[106] Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, "Introduction" to Edmund Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland*, xi.

Spenser's *View* comprises two sections. The first section – in short – summarizes the cultural inferiority of the Irish, condemning their habits and daily life, agricultural practices, forms of government, spirituality, and how they marry and raise children[107] Irenius and Eudoxus conclude the first section in agreement that the Irish and their customs cannot be reformed through civil means. The only effective solution to "rescue" Ireland from the Irish is through military force. Irenius argues that English law cannot affect change in Ireland, and ultimately, Eudoxus accepts Irenius' proposition of merciless violence. Having separated the "bad people from the good land," the second section then outlines Irenius' plan: an English army of 11,000 garrisoned troops will issue ultimatums to the Irish, demanding surrender of lands.[108] Next, English armies will defeat any rebels that remain. During this second wave of violent suppression, the English will destroy all fertile land, all goods and cattle (even goods belonging to those already surrendered) to eliminate food sources from those who could potentially rebel in the future. Irenius' estimates that this scorched earth plan will take approximately one year to complete. As a result of this radical military solution, English settlers could "relentlessly" pursue a plantation scheme that would "overthrow all Irish lords" until all "surviving elements of the Irish population had been incorporated into a refashioned social order dominated by English-born soldier settlers."[109] Spenser, like Ralegh, believed that English civility would promote "the dynamic commercial life which was essential both to civil living and to the conversion of the native population to Protestantism."[110]

[107] Very few of these observations are Spenser's originally. Most of them originate from the twelfth-century writings of Gerald of Wales during Henry II's medieval conquest of Ireland. See, Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*.

[108] Hadfield and Maley, xix.

[109] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British,* 160-1.

[110] Canny, 161.

Historians dispute the extent to which *A View* influenced England's affairs in Ireland during the 1590s, claiming Spenser was too obscure a figure to be taken seriously. New Historicists have traditionally read *A View* as an expression of the "aggressive Protestant mentality of the New English who insisted that only violence would subdue the recalcitrant native Irish and the Old English settlers who had chosen to adopt their lifestyle and manners."[111] Since then, Ciarán Brady, Brendan Bradshaw, and David Edwards have all contributed that *A View* was instrumental in forcing Queen Elizabeth to reintroduce martial law into Ireland after she had made great efforts to abandon such draconian measures and return to the normality of the common law.[112] While postcolonial critics have offered insight into Spenser's obsessions with ethnography, genealogy, degeneracy, and cultural formation, less time has been devoted to the ecological implications of his colonial writing. [113] In light of the aforementioned martial law arguments and Ralegh's influence on Ireland's physical landscape, Spenser's description of Lord Grey's scorched earth tactics must be revisited through the lenses of warfare ecology and environmental justice.

From its first lines, Spenser's *View* squarely focuses on Irish land. Eudoxus opens the text in medias res, responding to Irenius' reports which are inaccessible to the reader. Euxodus offers the first signs of English planter propaganda, commenting on the profitability of Ireland's natural resources:

[111] Hadfield and Maley, xii.
[112] Ciarán Brady, "Spenser's Irish crisis: humanism and experience in the 1590s," 17-49; Brendan Bradshaw, "Sword, word and strategy," 475-502; David Edwards, "Martial law and Spenser's *Vewe*," 311.
[113] See, for example: Christopher Ivic's work on national identity, Gordon Braden on *The View's* implications for British imperialism, Stephanie Elsky's essay on the status of the "foreigner" in British common law, I-Chun Wang on "otherness" and colonial discourse in *The View*, or *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660,* edited by Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley.

> But if that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soyl, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.[114]

While some of Spenser's small audience of English readers may have traveled to Ireland, for the remaining group these lines serve as a first contact with island landscape. The first image of Ireland offered is one that boasts "goodly" and "commodious" soil but is being let go to waste. Eudoxus' comment registers a paternalistic tone that positions native Irish agricultural practices immediately in question. He wonders what has kept the land from being put to "good uses," suggesting that up until this point of New English intervention, Ireland had not been previously used according to English standards of agricultural efficiency or productivity. The text does not begin with a condemnation of the Irish themselves, using this attack as motivation for confiscation of their land, but rather the reverse. The fruitful Irish land is reason enough to dehumanize the Irish throughout the remainder of the text, offering a scapegoat for Lord Grey, Spenser, and Ralegh's scorched earth tactics. Wasting productive land, Spenser's rhetoric implies, is among the gravest of sins and should not be allowed to go unpunished. Profitability of the land is the determining factor of morality. In other words, how one interacts with the land around them is a means to evaluate their character, ethics, or morality. The New English mentality asserts that agricultural productivity is the determinant, not the kind of systems of responsibility practiced among the native Irish and indigenous peoples in the Americas.

England's Timber Crisis and Ireland's Woods

In Ireland and at home, one of the main problems facing the English was a matter of war and ecology. In the late sixteenth century, London experienced a severe shortage of wood and timber due to overextraction, high demand, and inflation. Price catalogues for the sixteenth and

[114] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 11.

seventeenth centuries confirm that wood products were some of the most expensive items consumers purchased.[115] The index of timber prices more than tripled from 1501 to 1601, and, by 1649, the "early sixteenth-century cost index had increased more than sixfold."[116] Timber's rate of increase nearly doubled that of agricultural goods in the first half of the seventeenth century.[117] Similarly, the cost of firewood outpaced the gradual rise in prices for all goods in 1580s London, and between 1633 and 164, its price was over two-and-a-half times higher than the cost of the other products.[118] Vin Nardizzi notes that such statistics about inflation are helpful in framing a range of early modern texts that figure England, especially London, in "the grips of a severe shortage of wood and timber."[119] Due to increased demand and limited supply, London enacted a law in 1581 limiting iron industry near the River Thames. The law stipulated a twenty-two mile boundary around London and its nearby suburbs and reduced the amount of wood that could be cleared for making charcoal. This Elizabethan statute offers an early instance of conservation policy:

> … the necessary provision of wood, as well timber fit for building and other uses, as also other sellable woods serving for fewel, doth daily decay and become scant,
>
> and will in time become much more scarce, by reason whereof the prices are grown to be very great and unreasonable, and in time to come will be much more, if some remedy not be provided.[120]

Elizabethan statute law aimed to conserve precincts of wooded land from abuse by the iron industry and lower consumer prices. Spenser's *View*, like William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

[115] Vin Nardizzi, *Wooden Os,* 10.
[116] Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales,* 846-50; John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier,* 211.
[117] Thomas, Brinley, "Was There an Energy Crisis in Great Britain in the 17th Century?," 127.
[118] Michael Williams, *Deforesting the Earth*, 170.
[119] Nardizzi, 10.
[120] Danby Pickering, *The Statutes at Large,* 341.

(1610-11) and Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), are texts preoccupied with the management of wood and timber resources. In Drayton's poem, England's woods stand undefended against the threat of depletion and over-harvesting: "but of whole Forrests they / That in these impious times have ben the vile decay … Gainst them you move no Power, their spoyle unpunisht goes."[121] Andrew McRae reads in these lines a longstanding concern about woodlands that assumed fresh urgency in the early seventeenth century, and that "proposed solutions which emerged in forestry literature, such as the plantation, articulate radically new conceptions of human control over the environment."[122] Similarly, as David Scott Kastan observes, Gonzalo's first speech in *The Tempest* features an English word "coined for old world domination" in Ireland that had come to be applied to the new world: plantation.[123] Gonzalo muses, "Had I plantation of this isle" and "were the king on't … All things in common nature should produce / Without sweat or endeavor" (2.1.143, 145, 159-60).[124] A scene later, Caliban's arrival with the logs, the "exertions of resource extraction," both display slavery's presence on the island and negate Gonzalo's vision of plantation life.[125] The logic of the plantation depends on the "sweat and endeavor" of Caliban's enslaved labor to transform woodland into timber. It is no wonder, then, as Nardizzi explains, that "promotional literature for colonial expansion imagined the New World as both a quick fix to the present scarcity and a long-term solution to the resource crisis."[126]

Ireland's forests posed a potential solution to England's resource crisis. In a letter addressed to Lord Burghley in the year 1588, George Longe urged the Lord Treasurer to transfer

[121] Michael Drayton, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 28588.
[122] Andrew McRae, "Tree-Felling in Early Modern England," 411.
[123] David Scott Kastan, "'The Duke of Milan / And His Brave Son,'" 273.
[124] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest.*
[125] Nardizzi, 115-116.
[126] Nardizzi, 11.

to Ireland thirteen out of the fifteen glass manufactories then existing in England because "the woods in England will be thereby preserved and the superfluous woods in Ireland wasted, than which in tyme of rebellion her Majestie hath no greater enemy there."[127] In Ireland's woods, England saw a means to solve two problems: eradicate the enemy who took cover there, and a new revenue stream for a dwindling domestic timber industry. The enemy entrenched in Ireland's forests were the native Irish foot soldiers, the kern. The *ceithearnach* (meaning "warband" or "troop") were the "light infantrymen of Gaelic Ireland" who mostly belonged to a relatively "privileged section of Irish society formed of free farmers, lesser tenants and younger and bastard sons of noblemen."[128] They fought with an array of weaponry including but not limited to sword, bow, and a set of javelins or darts. Bearing these arms was proof of status, and although the kern's status may not have been as apparent to English outsiders, the Irish soldiers would have felt themselves to be "men of certain social consequence" outfitted with such armaments. The kern's battle garb in comparison to the highly-armored English was minimal; he often wore a loose tunic, sometimes a short coat, and in more severe weather, merely wrapped himself in a "shaggy cloak or brat," evidence contributing to his reputation as "hardened to the point of indestructability."[129] The Irish infantryman may have also belonged to either of two "sub-types" that existed within the broader classification of "kern:" one was the *buanna*, a "wandering mercenary" often employed by the English for a few months at a time; the other was a "peasant clansman" fighting for a single lord or Irish chief, and who regularly formed a kind of "praetorian guard" defending against foreign enemies and internal opposition alike.[130] As soldiers, the kern relied on speed and surprise; their strategic responsibility involved

[127] Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters,* 159.
[128] Fergus Cannan, "Hags of Hell: Late Medieval Irish Kern," 15.
[129] Cannan, 16-17.
[130] Cannan, 15-16.

reconnaissance work, and alternatively on the battlefield their mission was to raid and ambush the enemy. It was these tactics specifically that eventually collapsed the alliance between the English Crown and kern. When revolt swept Ireland in the sixteenth century, the kern were among the insurgents fighting alongside Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and whose victory at the Yellow Ford in 1598 was one of the most pivotal moments in Irish military history. As a result, the native Irish soldiers of the late sixteenth century were ill disposed in the eyes of Spenser and the English who declared "rebels."

Elizabethan England's most vivid and censorious depictions of the kern occur in Holinshed's *Chronicles of Ireland* and John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*. Both accounts deliver disparaging images of the kern; at best the Irish mercenaries are merely an annoyance to their enemies, at worst they are more dangerous than "venomous serpents." A significant portion of Holinshed's early descriptions of the kern come from Giraldus Cambrensis' original text, *The Conquest of Ireland.* Students of this text quickly learn of Irish affairs:

> You are to have great care and regard that when so ever you do march and take any journey, either for the vanquishing of the enemy, or for the revenging of any wrongs… that you have always an eye backward… For why, the household enemies be always working of wiles, and waiting for an advantage; and do but look when time and place may serve for them to rebel: and therefore you are to have great care and good regard… that you do not suffer the serpent to lurk and hide himself … [131]

According to Cambrensis, the English must stand vigilant guard as not to fall prey to Irishmen taking cover in natural growth and vegetation. The Irish, with centuries worth of knowledge about the native landscape, conceals themselves in the woods, taking advantage of the English army's lack of land knowledge. As assailants, the kern are "nimble and quick of body" and light of foot, seeking safety and advantage in the impenetrable woods and bogs where no properly

[131] Raphael Holinshed, William Stanyhurst, John Hooker, et al., *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 117-118.

armored horseman can follow them. Cambrensis thus entreats his fellow Englishmen to consider the following strategy: "in every wing line your bowmen with your footmen and horsemen, that by them they may be defended from the Kerns, whose nature and conditions are to run in and out, and with their darts are wont shrewdly to annoy their enemies."[132] Albeit a temperate register of the kern's military offensive, Cambrensis identifies Ireland's infantry as a serious threat to the English: he cites unpredictability, ambush tactics, and opportunism among the kern's most dangerous qualities.

In *The Image of Irelande With a Discoverie of the Woodkarne* (1581), Derricke documents the time of Sir Henry Sidney's last posting as Queen Elizabeth's Lord-Deputy from 1575 to 1578.[133] Although his characterization of the kern takes many forms throughout the text, Derricke deeply roots their image in bestial wickedness:

> O Patrick chief of all the karne
> If speak to thee I may.
> What moved thee, the wriggling
> snake And other worms to kill?
> What caused thee on silly beasts To
> work they cruel will?
>
> What thing incensed thee for to strike, Them
> with thy heavy hand?
> When as you leftist most spiteful beasts,
> Within this fertile land.[134]

According to Derricke's portrayal, the kern are even more dangerous and sinister than the snakes St. Patrick drove from Ireland; in fact marginalia explicitly indicates this fact if perhaps the primary text proves unclear: "Irish karne more hurtful than serpents."[135] Furthermore, Derricke's use of the word "fertile" to describe the land suggests English reproach of Ireland's neglected

[132] Holinshed, 230.
[133] F.J. Sypher, "Introduction," to *Image of Irelande,* 7.
[134] John Derricke, *Image of Irelande,* 42-3.
[135] Derricke, 43.

resources. He finds the kern's inhabitance unfathomable (figured above in the image of "spiteful beasts") and thus assigns them the quality of deplorable recklessness. Derricke even goes further to accuse the Irish kern not only of neglecting Ireland's bounty, but for instigating its collapse: "O pleasant land deformed through / the life of Irish karne." From an English military perspective, the Irish foot soldiers are dangerous as enemies not simply because they navigate the woods more adeptly than their counterparts, but also because they do not use the woodlands according to English standards of husbandry. Derricke, like Sidney, Ralegh, and Spenser, viewed Irish land as a commodity for agricultural production.

Ralegh, for example, brought over bands of English woodcutters to remove groves of oak and yew trees on stretches of land wherever the waterway of the Avondue and its tributaries could convey the lumber to ships at Youghal.[136] Ralegh's letters and the Privy Council Records show that he obtained a monopoly for exporting pipe staves[137] to the Continent, and for a few years the wines of France, Spain, and even Italy came to England in hogsheads of Irish wood.[138] The late twentieth-century Irish and British politician and colonial administrator, Sir John Pope Hennessy points to a short passage in Spenser's *Faerie Queen* noting the pastoral description of a castle bearing resemblance to Spenser's home at Kilcolman, imagining what Ralegh might have observed when he visited his friend, Spenser, at the castle:

> bordered with a wood
> Of matchless hight, that seem'd the earth to disdaine,
> In which all trees of honour stately stood[139]

[136] Sir John Pope Hennessy, *Sir Walter Ralegh in Ireland*, 42.
[137] A pipe stave is a thin, narrow piece of wood hooped together to make a cask or similar vessel. "stave, n.1," *OED Online*, March 2021, Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/189390?rskey=98cq3f&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
[138] Hennessy, 42.
[139] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 989.

Hennessy quotes from the description of the fictional Mount Acidale in Book VI, Canto x, which might be plausibly read as an allegorical version of Kilcolman's environs. Few trees were left at "the woody Kilcolman," however, in 1598 during the Nine Years War when Kilcolman Castle was destroyed by the forces of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. Wood clearing as an act of ecological warfare was deployed by both native Irish forces and English troops, but at disproportionate rates. Throughout Cork, Kerry, Tipperary, and Waterford, Elizabeth's military laborers cut down Irish forests because they sheltered Irish soldiers. The full-grown trees that remained on Ralegh's former estates, however, were utilized for a different purpose during King James VI/I's reign (1603 – 1625). In a note in the Carew Papers by John Powey, ship carpenter, he gives the number of Irish trees marked "along the river of Youghal" for the King's ships, in two months of 1611, as amounting to 7,500 trees to be felled.[140] Ireland was not only deforested in the early modern period to supplement England's failing timber industry, but also to fuel its burgeoning military industrial complex. Felling trees scorched out the "rebellious" Irish enemy, and in turn, contributed to King James' naval war machines.

This oscillatory process of war and deforestation, genocide and environcide, is a direct result of native land knowledge and a direct catalyst of environmental injustice. The ancient chroniclers who called Ireland *Fiodha Inish*, the "island of the trees," did so because the area was well wooded by nature, but also because the natives, at a time when little was known elsewhere of the advantages of tree-planting, fostered the art, and especially surrounded the numerous abbeys, the seats of religion and learning, with groves.[141] In his diary (1580), Nicholas White, an acquaintance of Ralegh, reveals a contradiction in the New English obsession with agricultural

[140] Hennessey, 43.
[141] Hennessey mentions Ireland's ancient woods in the context of Ralegh's financial investments in the timber industry, but for a detailed account of Ireland's ancient forests, see Nigel Everett, *The Woods of Ireland.*

principle and acceptable forms of husbandry. He writes: "A fairer land the sun did never shine upon; pity to see it lying waste in the hands of traitors."[142] Yet, as historian James Anthony Froude observed long ago in his *History of England*, "Yet it was by those traitors that the woods, whose beauty they so admired, had been planted and fostered."[143]

Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is not his only text to comment on the woods of Ireland. The wood kern appear frequently as the subject of Irenius' ire throughout *A View*. In fact, Irenius' plan to subdue rebellion is a matter of Irish climate and seasonal change. Because Irish foot soldiers depend on shelter in Irish forests, Irenius suggests that England's war against Irish forces ought to take place in the wintertime:

> Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter time fittest for the services of Ireland? how falls it then that our most imployments bee in summer, and the armies then led commonly forth?
>
> Iren. It is surely misconceived; for it is not with Ireland as it is with other countreys, where the warres flame most in summer, and the helmets glister brightest in the fairest sunshine: But in Ireland the winter yeeldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the kern; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the aire is sharpe and bitter, to blowe through his naked sides and legges; the kyne are barren and without milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them, will they yield him flesh, nor if he keepe them, will they give him food, besides being all with calfe (for the most part) they will, thorough much chasing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose their milke, which should relieve him the next summer.[144]

Irenius notes that Ireland is unlike other European countries in climate, and so war plans must follow an untraditional path, specifically, one informed by seasonal change and intimate knowledge of the adversary's military tactics. Because the kern's guerilla warfare depends on environmental knowledge, Irish forces and independence is most susceptible to defeat when its

[142] Nicholas White, *Diary of the Expedition of June, 1580*.
[143] James Anthony Froude, *History of England,* 225.
[144] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 98-9.

ecological infrastructure – its impenetrable forests – are at their most vulnerable. In the cold winter months, furthermore, kern attempting to evade English military advances will also deplete food reserves (milk, beef) and eventually starve.

Anticipating the kern's vulnerability in the wintertime enables England to enact scorched earth military tactics, both in the forms of environmental devastation and famine, and draw Irish troops out for a final submission. Eudoxus wonders how the war will conclude after famine and total destruction of agricultural infrastructure takes their toll on Irish troops. Irenius explains that ecological warfare is more merciful than all-out assault, and thus the conclusion of the war will be far faster than in traditional wars. In fact, Irenius boasts that the Irish will be so desperate at this point in the war that they will "consume themselves" and "devoure one another."[145] Famine as a result of scorched earth war creates the circumstances for cannibalism, which Irenius interprets as unappealing sight to behold, but ultimately an inevitable and desirable consequence of these tactics. He explains to Eudoxus how he had seen these strategies work:

> in these late warres of Mounster; for not withstanding that the same was a most rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to such wretchednesse… Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves … yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremetie of famine, which they themselves had wrought.[146]

Ireland's trees, unlike England's forests in *Poly-Olbion* or the towering woods of Mount Acidale, are not markers of national pride or beauty, but an apt setting for Spenser's genocidal fantasy of

[145] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 101.
[146] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 101-2.

Irish slow death[147] and decay. The rhythm echoed in the repetitive syntax of "they came creeping … their legges… they looked; they did eat… their graves," further separates an image of native Irishness – defeated and wasting away – from the balanced rhetoric of the English narrator. Irenius' vivid and macabre description of the kern's famished and ghostlike bodies bear the direct marks of scorched earth tactics. Deliberate starvation and ecological warfare are more powerful weapons in Ireland's unique climate than open battle. Desperation draws Irish forces out of their shelter, not only so these soldiers can be suppressed, but so that Ireland's woods can be salvaged and repurposed for profitable industry.

This passage bears resemblance to Spenser's fictional Mount Acidale in Book VI even beyond Canto X's idyllic descriptions of impressive woodlands. When Calidore ventures out into the forest to hunt, he stumbles upon a "lawlesse people," the Brigants "that never vsde to liue by plough nor spade, / But fed on spoile and booty" they acquired from raiding their neighbor's borders.[154] The Brigants, like the Irish kern, ambush their enemies by "lurking" in the woods and ambushing their enemies and targets. They do not labor in the fields like the pastoral shepherds of *The Faerie Queene* or the New English planters in Ireland, but rather in their idleness and wastefulness, resort to thievery. Furthermore, the Brigants are responsible for Pastorella's abduction. The Brigants, as a cypher for Irishness, hold pastoralism captive. In other words, because of the laziness Spenser perceives in the Irish with specific reference to their agricultural productivity, they impede any New English efforts to cultivate Irish land. Pastorella is taken prisoner in the Brigant's dwelling, "a little Island" covered with "shrubby woods, in which no way / Appeared for people in nor out to pas, / Nor any footing fynde for ouergrowen

[147] For more on the colonial implications of famine and environmental colonialism, see Robert Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor.*

gras."[148] Spenser's description of the impenetrable "little island" echoes Cambrensis, Holinshed, and Derricke's frustrations with the kern's guerilla warfare and intimate knowledge of Ireland's forests. When, in Canto XI, Calidore attempts to rescue Pastorella from the Brigants, Spenser describes them as "dreadful shapes" that "doth mongst them stalke" and "hungry dogs ymet / About some carcase by the common way," falling over each other in heaps and desperate to get the "greatest portion of the greedie pray."[149] Like the starving ghosts of *A View*, *The Faerie Queene'*s hungry Brigants leech off the productivity of English pastoralism and agricultural labor.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Old English claims to industry threatened Spenser's Munster plantation and its expansion. Ireland's access to waterways not only produced profitable resources but enabled movement of commodities. Irish woodlands, for Irenius and ultimately Spenser, become an even more appealing market opportunity in light of these facts. It is no wonder, then, that these ecological resources are quickly enumerated early in the text:

> Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their waters, adored with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the world had them, they would soone hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world: also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them…[150]

Ireland is not simply a fertile island "wasted" by the lack of English husbandry and agricultural practice and organization, but in Irenius eyes, an untapped network of industries demanding to be

[148] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen*, 998.
[149] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen*, 1004.
[150] Edmund Spenser, *A View,* 27.

exploited. Ireland's untouched forests are crucial to future business. Timber builds ships, which can then export other exploited native Irish goods to England and elsewhere.

Mining and Extraction

While it is true that land tells a story, it is vital to question who tells the story, who listens, and what power that narrative creates or dismantles. For ecocritics, especially those investigating early modern literature within the ages of what have now been termed the Anthropocene or Plantationocene, confronting geology's recent attempts to adequately decolonize the field must be at the forefront of our scholarship. "As the Anthropocene proclaims the language of species life – *anthropos* – through a universalist commons," Kathryn Yusoff explains, "it neatly erases histories of racism that were incubated through the regulatory structure of geologic relations."[151] Deeming nature as a resource to be mined, or an assailant's military stronghold to be vanquished in the case of Ireland's woods, is a product of the colonial mindset. As Dina Gilio-Whitaker and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz have shown, human categorization (and its subcategory, inhuman) are directly related to the discourse of setter colonialism and the extractive practices of plantation ecology. Kyle Powys Whyte adds that environmental injustice can be seen as an "affront to peoples' capacities to experience themselves in the world as having responsibilities for the upkeep, or continuance, of their societies."[152] Environmental injustice can be seen as occurring when these "systems of responsibility" are interfered with or erased by another society "in in ways that are too rapid for indigenous peoples to adapt to without facing significant harms that they would not have ordinarily faced."[153] Plantations are a result of this interference, as McKittrick and others have argued, and categorize matter spatially, by place,

[151] Kathryn Yusoff, *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None*, 2.
[152] Yusoff, 2.
[153] Yusoff, 2.

land, and separating native peoples from native environments (through displacement, relocation, and transatlantic slavery). Utopic visions, as evidenced by Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and *A View*, tell the story of how English ingenuity and labor can organize land as property – whether public or private, respectively. The material practices of extraction cannot be executed without force. As Ireland's colonial history makes apparent, deforestation is both a tool of ecological warfare deployed by the English to subdue Irish rebellion, and a means to build war machines and continue the oscillatory processes of genocide and environcide. Extractable matter, as passive (awaiting extraction), is the imaginative product of white men like Spenser's Irenius, who see matter's passivity as activated through their own mastery. The military industrial complex, in its earliest stages of colonialism, is the mechanism with which this kind of White Geology can dismantle native and Indigenous environments. Early modern utopic dialogues provide the blueprint.

Chapter 3

The "steel couch of war:" Pastoral Rest in *Othello*

> The cry for service as high as heaven, as wide as human feeling, seemed filling the earth. What were petty slights, silly insults, paltry problems, beside this call to do and dare and die? We black folk offered our services to fight. What happened? [1]
>
> --W.E.B. Du Bois, "Of Beauty and Death"

Readers of Shakespeare's plays need not strain too far for examples of war's impact on sleep. In *I Henry IV,* Lady Percy's concern for her husband's inability to attain a peaceful night's rest has famously, for Renaissance scholars and modern psychologists[2] alike, been a literary touchstone for apt descriptions of Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Hotspur's experiences of war prove painful, disruptive, and bewildering for the soldier's spouse:

> Tell me, sweet lord, what is't that takes from thee
> Thy stomach, pleasure and thy golden sleep? …
> In thy faint slumbers I by thee have watch'd,
> And heard thee murmur tales of iron wars …
> Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin,
> Of prisoners' ransom and soldiers slain,
> And all the currents of a heady fight.
> Thy spirit within thee hath been so at war
> And thus hath so bestirr'd thee in thy sleep,
> That beads of sweat have stood upon they brow
> Like bubbles in a late-disturbed stream … (2.3.39-61)[3]

Based on her nightly observations, Lady Percy suspects that Hotspur's melancholic displays – in waking and sleeping life – are the undeniable consequences of war. It is precisely the unique environment of combat, with all its "trenches, tents … palisades, frontiers, [and] parapets," that haunts Hotspur even in the comfort of his own bed. While he may be far removed by time and geography from the rigorous demands of war, the battlefield's architectural markers (represented

[1] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater*, 113.
[2] Jonathan Shay, for example, has examined Lady Hotspur's monologue line by line, comparing it with modern symptoms of PTSD as designated in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSMQ). For more on the effects of PTSD brought on by the experience of war, see Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*.
[3] William Shakespeare, *I Henry IV*, *Norton Edition*. All citations come from this edition.

by trenches or basilisks) are visible to Hotspur when he sleeps. Dreaming, or perhaps more accurately, *nightmaring,* about war transports Hotspur back to the field, and as Lady Percy laments, his "spirit," too.

Lady Percy's monologue documents the residual effects of war trauma on the veteran come home from war. But, what happens to warriors when they need to rest on the battlefield while in the theater of war? What is it about the combat environment that haunts someone like Hotspur? Is it ever possible to get a good's night rest at camp? While modern military sleep environments and sleep countermeasures have gained significant critical attention, sleeping soldiers in the early modern period have been the focus of far less study. In modern America, military policy and practice have attempted to give sleepy soldiers varied incentives and resources to stay awake for extended periods of time. Military leaders in the U.S. and their civilian advisors, for example, have "attacked drowsiness on the battlefield" with an "armamentarium comprised of punitive measures, administrative practices, chemical stimulants, and other sleep countermeasures."[4] Historian Alan Derickson suggests that World War II was a decisive moment in the "drive to press operations beyond the normal limits of human endurance," and that this enduring practice has since reinforced an "extreme martial ideal of stoic, self-denying masculinity."[5]

However, sleep deprivation as an expectation of war is not altogether a modern phenomenon. To be sure, Elizabethan and Jacobean troops would not have been subject to twentieth-century anti-sleep practices in the form of chemical stimulants, for example, but they would have been familiar with tossing and turning nights at camp. Contemporary pacifist literature sheds light on the difficulty of rest while at war. While the Second World War may be

[4] Alan Derickson, "'No Such Thing as a Night's Sleep,'" 2.
[5] Derickson, 2.

credited with operationalizing sleeplessness to a greater scale, early modern thinkers have explored the limits of human endurance and expectations of masculinity in martial settings. In *Dulce bellum inexpertise* (War is a treat for those who have not tried it), published in the 1515 edition of *Adagia*, Desiderius Erasmus critiques war from a diverse group of perspectives. War, in Erasmus' estimation, has the ability to corrupt humanity away from a Christian God and deliver it into wickedness, cause devastating and irreversible destruction to the environment, and ruin families, among other horrific costs. While a significant portion of the text interrogates the paltry causes of war and its disproportionately negative effects, Erasmus offers short meditations on the daily life of soldiers in the field. In enumerating the labors involved in wartime preparations, Erasmus briefly reflects on sleeping conditions at camp:

> Who could possibly tell how many hardships these idiots of soldiers put up with in their camps? And they deserve worse just for being willing to put up with them: food at which a Cyprian ox would turn up its nose, sleeping quarters that would be scorned by a dung-beetle, few hours of sleep and those not of their own choosing, a tent that lets in the wind from every direction, or no tent at all. They have to endure an open-air life, sleep on the ground, stand in their arms, bear hunger, cold, heat, dust, rain.[6]

Erasmus pities the soldier's barracks, or lack thereof, precisely due to the fact that soldiers must navigate the challenges of environmental elements. The soldier, who receives neither a sufficient amount of sleep nor cover from harsh weather, inhabits a position lower on the Chain of Being than the "Cyprian ox" or the "dung-beetle." Erasmus suggests that life on the battlefield dehumanizes men and brutalizes humanity to its lowest depths.

Military service, often celebrated as one of the most honorable and dutiful occupations a citizen can aspire to, whether in the sixteenth century or today, promises an experience devoid of life's creature comforts. War has the power to permeate every aspect of waking and sleeping

[6] Desiderius Erasmus, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 415.

life, whether the soldier rests his head a mile from the battlefield, or the veteran adapts to sleeping in the comfort of his own bed. Erasmus offers a miserable picture of camp life and Shakespeare's Lady Percy's monologue offers less hope for the soldier returned home. This chapter examines Othello's sleeping environments – the battlefield, the wilderness, home, a citadel –through an ecocritical framework to disentangle the complex relationships between military service, citizenship, and race. These environs are more than settings; these landscapes, while vast and diverse, form the network of spaces unique to the soldier. How the soldier navigates and inhabits these spaces differs from their civilian counterparts (i.e. a senator or duke). To complicate this idea further, as both "Moor" and general, Othello occupies a liminal space in the city of Venice. As the play's subtitle, "the Moor of Venice," intimates, Othello is an "alien" or "foreigner" in his adopted home. As a malleable term in its time, "Moor" could describe a "non-black Muslim, black Christian, or black Muslim," marking Othello as profoundly "other" in an overwhelmingly white and Christian Europe.[7] Yet, Othello is also a ranking officer in the Venetian military. His status as such privileges access to Venetian dukes, senators, and their respective circles of trust. His lifelong experiences as world traveler and career soldier make him an invaluable asset in matters of national security. In what follows, I examine (1) the impact of military service on sleep; (2) the history of sleep deprivation and early formations of race in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and (3) the intricate relationship between race and ideals of "duty," "service," and citizenship during a heightened period of nationalist sentiment in early modern England.

Shakespeare's *Othello*, I argue, is a dramatic display of how one kind of corporeal, racialized violence – sleep deprivation – is smoothed over in the name of military service.

[7] For more on the common connotations of the word "Moor," see Anthony Gerard, ed., *Black Face Maligned Race*, 5-12; John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, 25.

Because Venice is a nation at war and tells the story of a general's undoing, martial ideals of exchange offer an important lens through which to read Othello's movements and motivations. "Exchange" operates as sacrificial duty, a relinquishing of corporeal autonomy. Shakespeare's *Othello* complicates the idea of corporeal sacrifice when we take into consideration Othello's own history of enslavement, slavery as an integral part of the seventeenth-century Venetian economy, and in light of recent critical debates over Elizabethan surveillance and deportation of Black immigrants from England. In this chapter, I reassess the validity of the anti-pastoral mode, which conventionally reads nature as a force from which humanity needs protection. *Othello* subverts this imperative. In the play, the Venetian general resists romanticization of nature as a pastoral escape from battle, insisting instead that sleeping in the unforgiving terrain of tented camps, or what he calls the "steel couch of war," requires consistent work. In accepting the raw and unembellished earth as a "thrice-driven bed of down," *Othello* complicates pastoral distinctions between domesticity and wilderness, rest and labor.

Early Modern Sleeping Environments

How does the soldier's sleeping quarters differ from his civilian counterparts? What constituted a "good night's sleep" in early modern England? In the household, sleep was managed much like it is today with moderation of bedtimes and sleeping hours; routine cleaning of bedsteads, bedding textiles, and sleeping environments; as well as administration of medications to prevent sleep loss.[8] The consensus amongst contemporary medical practitioners and ordinary householders was that a cool and fresh environment was essential for cultivating a healthy sleep environment and a restful night. As Sasha Handley explains, sleep was understood in physiological terms as a process in which "the body's extremities were cooled as its heat was

[8] Elaine Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," 145-6.

drawn inwards to the body's organs."[9] Keeping the body cool at night regulated the sleeper's inner organs and humours, stopping the body from overheating and waking up prematurely. Neurological healthcare practitioners thought that sleep helped reduce the sensibility of the body's nerves, as well as maintain the vital tensions of the muscles, joints, and nerves which kept both the body and brain strong.

The familiarity of one's sleeping quarters also provided a level of comfort, routine, and rejuvenation. In January 1666, for example, Samuel Pepys describes his sense of relief upon returning home to his Seething Lane bedroom after riding out the 1665 plague outbreak with his wife, Elizabeth, in Greenwich. Pepys' diary entry registers the value he puts on the maintenance of his sleeping environment: "Being come home, my wife and I to look over our house and consider of laying out a little money to hang our bedchamber better than it is, and so resolved to go and buy something to-morrow, and so after supper, with great joy in my heart for my coming once again hither, to bed."[10] Looking forward to the familiar sights, smells, and textures of the bedchambers contributed to a comforted mind and body. The sensory pleasures of sleeping in a familiar bed each night "epitomized the physical and psychological satisfactions of home."[11] Uninterrupted sleep fulfilled a biological need for refreshment and the environments in which sleep took place shaped its rhythms, routines, and quality.[12]

However, sleep wasn't always considered restorative. In some early modern medical literature, sleep is often defined as the suspension of corporeal, sensory activity. The sixteenth-century medical scholar, Thomas Cogan, describes sleep as "an impotencie" of the senses: the

[9] Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England*, 40.
[10] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* 7.
[11] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 2.
[12] Handley, 109.

eyes are unable to see, "the eare to heare, the nose to smell, the mouth to tast."[13] In *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton labels sleep a "binding" of the senses.[14] In either instance, sleep is a potentially dangerous activity leaving the sleeper vulnerable to imperceivable threats lurking in the sleeping environment. As one might imagine, soldiers' attempts to sleep in the open air, exposed to the elements, in military encampments or barracks could likely exacerbate the capacity to sleep soundly in less-than-ideal circumstances. Images of soldiers roughing the terrain, however, are often romanticized in literature. Garrett A. Sullivan offers a helpful example of how tensions between the body and its sleep environment surface in epic and romance literature. In Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), for example, Armida's nymph seduces the great warrior, Rinaldo, away from battle into "the pursuit of pleasure over duty."[15] The nymph rebukes Rinaldo's heroic values – "honour, glory, praise, renown, and fame" – and encourages Rinaldo, instead, to embrace his vegetal vitality by resting in the lush landscapes: "So nature saith, yet 'gainst her sacred will / Why still rebel you, and why strive you still?"[16] In Tasso's view of epic heroism, the human exists "in a relation of agonistic superiority both to other forms of life and to the environment," where the "landscape of the *locus amoenus* is to be mastered, neither succumbed to nor passively mirrored (as in romance)."[17] Here, Tasso contrasts nature, signified in the calm stream of fishes, or the "birds in sunshine play" with the battlefield. Devoid of flora and fauna, the open field of war, with its cannons, fortifications, and encampments, does not fall into a category of "natural landscape" for Tasso. Despite the battlefield's very material exposure to rain, snow, mud, or flooding, for example, the nymph's

[13] Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health*, 231.
[14] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 153 (1.1.2.7).
[15] Garrett A. Sullivan, *Sleep, Romance and Human Embodiment,* 14.
[16] Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, 14.63.1-64.4 and 14.62.1-8.
[17] Sullivan, 16.

lush resting environment is a space entirely separate. For Tasso, sleeping in nature becomes part and parcel of the pastoral fantasy. In offering Rinaldo a resting place far from the pangs of war, the nymph reinforces the "unthreatened stability in nature," untouched and unproblematized by the tensions combat and camp life.[18]

In reality, however, adapting to sleep away from one's home posed significant physiological and psychological challenges for soldiers preparing to enter camp life. After a soldier's enlistment, he was often required to march with his new brothers-in-arms to the theater of war. Troop fatigue was less the product of reliable food stores, and more dependent upon the daunting travel terrain that lay ahead. European road networks were unsuited to the kind of use imposed by passage of even small troops. Surfaces, once damaged, "rapidly collapsed, turning the roadbeds into a sea of rock fragments embedded in either dust or mud, depending on the season and the weather, and setting march schedules at defiance."[19] Aside from combat itself, moving large bodies of men was one of war's most demanding tasks. Since this task often took several days to accomplish, soldiers were expected to sleep at the roadside in the open air, vulnerable to attack and at the whim of English weather, or at best, inside wagons used to transport war preparations. To complicate the psychological burden, early modern armies faced a more insidious medical problem at camp, variously called *mal du pays*, homesickness, or nostalgia.[20] By today's standards, *mal du pays* resembles clinical depression, but is better understood as a "dissociative reaction to finding oneself completely isolated or removed from an entire environment supportive and reassuring by its familiarity."[21] The homesick soldier protected himself by withdrawing or shutting down emotionally. A common coping mechanism

[18] Terry Gifford, "Pastoral, Antipastoral, and Postpastoral as Reading Strategies," 47, 52.
[19] Dennis Showalter and William J. Astore, *Soldiers' Lives through History: The Early Modern World*, 119.
[20] Showalter and Astore, 120.
[21] Showalter and Astore, 120.

amongst these soldiers was heavy drinking, but as alcohol's numbing effects diminished over time, physical symptoms surfaced, such as loss of short-term memory, impaired speech, and sleep disturbances. The inability to sleep soundly longing for his home, the soldier, like Pepys, underscores the challenge that unfamiliar sleeping quarters posed for troops in the field.

It's in this context of war that I suggest we examine Othello's (in)ability to sleep. Early modern scholarship has most commonly examined Othello's somnial behaviors through the lens of domesticity and matrimony, or from the perspective of medicine and psychiatry as indicative of Othello's undiagnosed epilepsy. Both approaches offer invaluable insight into the effects of Othello's insomnia both in Venice and Cyprus. However, reading the history of Othello's sleeping habits, as a soldier among his comrades in military camps, exposed to the diverse climates and rough terrain of war, provides new ways of understanding the relationship between sleep and the environment. While Othello's narratives of past wars enamor both Brabantio and Desdemona, they also offer a glimpse at Othello the soldier's unique relationship to sleep, a topic much overlooked in criticism of the play. The general's attitudes toward sleep resist both the conventions of epic and romance literature. Othello neither resists the comforts of nature's bed like Tasso's romantic hero, nor sacrifices his commitments to service, duty, or sacrifice.

After the Duke entertains Brabantio's case against Othello and issues a verdict, the counsel turns straight to orders of military business. The Duke refocuses attention to Othello's experience and, specifically, his comprehensive knowledge of Venice's military outpost at Cyprus. The "fortitude of the place is best known" to Othello among the other "sufficient" candidates who might lead this mission (1.3.221-224).[22] Othello is the safest, most capable option given his experience and years in service. Othello accepts the mission stoically:

> The tyrant custom, most grave senators,

[22] William Shakespeare, *Othello*, Norton Edition. All citations come from this edition.

> Hath made the flinty and steel couch of war
> My thrice-driven bed of down. I do agnize
> A natural and prompt alacrity
> I find in hardness, and do undertake
> This present wars against the Ottomites (1.3.228-233).

Othello, unlike Tasso's Rinaldo, resists romanticizing nature as pastoral escape from war. Neither does he glamorize the harsh realities of sleeping at camp. Rather, Othello embraces the battlefield's rigorous terrain precisely because of its "flinty" inflexibility. Acceptance of war's landscape and its unforgiving sleeping environment requires active, practiced labor. Othello does not equate the "flinty and steel couch of war" with a "thrice-driven bed of down," but instead explains that it is a customary act to "make" otherwise uninhabitable spaces tolerable to oneself during war ("They tyrant custom … Hath *made*"). As a soldier, versed in the customs of war, Othello acknowledges ("agnize") in himself a readiness, or willingness ("alacrity") to confront the unique hardships a war with the Ottomites will likely entail.[23]

Sleeping on the raw and unembellished earth would conventionally be burdensome or uncomfortable to a person uninitiated with the life of a soldier. Making steel armor into a suitable sleep environment is unfamiliar work for members of the Venetian counsel, likely the kinds of noblemen who might rest their bodies upon a "thrice-driven bed of down" nightly. Othello's life in the military and his consequent altered relationship with sleep may be suggestive of the challenges veteran face upon assimilating back into civilian life after being in theater. For the initiated soldier, "comfort" translates to routine:

> Mikhailych and Arkasha take first watch while we get undressed and lay down on clean, crisp sheets. My God, how long it's been since I slept like a human being! I've grown so unaccustomed to it, and it's kind of hot under the blanket, that the pillow seems useless and the bed too soft. Altogether rather uncomfortable,

[23] "Liveliness, sprightliness; briskness, speed; cheerful readiness or willingness. Also: an instance of this." "alacrity, n.". *OED Online*. September 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/4507?redirectedFrom=alacrity (accessed October 22, 2021).

> nothing like a sleep bag under a bush. Uncomfortable, but nice nonetheless, clean and fresh.[24]

Arkady Babchenko's memoir of his experiences during the First and Second Wars in Chechnya (1995- 1999) affirm Othello's attitudes toward sleep. Comfort is found in the repetitive rituals of the "tyrant custom" of war.

Tyrannical Customs: War and Tudor Conscription

While Othello's tolerance of this "tyranny" offers insight into his measured perception of war, he paints a bleak picture of life as a soldier. War, like a cruel despot, usurps the routine comforts of civilian life and inverts them. The "tyrant custom" seizes control of both waking and sleeping life, dictating and redefining the soldier's daily structure. "Tyranny," however, also resembles contemporary attitudes towards compulsory military service in the early modern era. For most of the medieval period, military service was based on land ownership. Within the feudal system, land holders or nobles were obligated to accept knighthood and perform military service for their feudal overlord. Individuals could avoid military service, however, by paying scutage, a fine which was used to hire mercenaries. The structure of feudal tenure required that nobles provide a certain number of soldiers to the king, and that they would be obliged to campaign for a minimum of forty days per year. This amount of time was often too little to successfully complete a campaign. Gradually, the feudal system of raising armies gave way to a contractual system. Paid, contractual infantries were raised by commissions of array. The king agreed to pay nobles to serve in order to assemble a cavalry. Eventually, the king contracted out recruitment to military entrepreneurs. In the late medieval period, then, land was no longer the cost of military service.

[24] Arkady Babchenko, *One Soldier's War*, 267-8.

When Elizabeth assumed the throne in 1558, she inherited a weak economy and a feeble military. Both were the direct result of events which occurred during the reigns of her father Henry VIII (1509 – 1547), and her half-siblings Edward VI (1547 – 53) and Mary I (1553 – 8). Henry VIII invaded France in 1544, marking (1) England's first war against a major European power in almost twenty years, and (2) a revealing execution of the king's new "imperial" style of rule. Imperial kingship meant Henry recognized no intervening authority in his kingdom between himself and God, including the pope, which resulted in his seizure of control over the English Church, the dissolution of Catholic monasteries, and an extensive increase in the power and wealth of the English crown.[25] War was central to this image of kingship. While Henry enjoyed years of peacetime early in his reign, he still surrounded himself with all the chivalric trappings of war, including the continued stockpiling of munitions and frequent visits to commissioned warships like the *Mary Rose*,[26] all in preparation for the "next round of conflict."[27] Henry fashioned himself a "warrior-king" who, like the aristocrats of medieval and early modern Europe, placed an "enormous premium upon martial exploits" because by their valuation, prolonged peace represented "stagnation, moral decline, and the loss of opportunity to display skill and courage."[28] Like his late medieval predecessor Henry V, the king desired a decisive victory in France, one that could match if not surpass the feats done on Saint Crispin's day at Agincourt in 1415.

[25] Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars* 5. Hammer adds that one of the major reasons for Henry's eagerness to expand royal authority was, ironically, Elizabeth's birth and the king's need to "override papal opposition" to his marrying Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, in 1533.
[26] The *Mary Rose* warship was built in Portsmouth, England, between 1509 and 1511 and served in the Royal Navy until it was sunk in 1545. The vessel carried 60–80 guns and had a crew of 400–500 men. The carrack-style vessel was involved in three campaigns against France. Construction of the *Mary Rose* was a dramatic undertaking, using approximately forty acres worth of timber to build. This ship is representative of the exceptional emphasis Henry put on military exploits. For more on the construction and use of the *Mary Rose*, see Amy Tikkanen, "Mary Rose."
[27] Hammer, 10.
[28] Hammer, 10.

About halfway through Henry VI's reign in 1453, England lost all its French lands but Calais. Twenty-four years later, the Burgundian ruler of the Netherlands – England's ancient ally – yielded the Somme towns, Picardy, and the ancestral Duchy of Burgundy itself to France. In 1492 after Henry VII took the throne, the Duchy of Brittany was annexed to the French crown. These shifts in the English landscape greatly impacted the country's relations within the continent. Most significantly, these changes "stripped away the wide belt of possessions and friendly or satellite territories across the Channel that had served [England] as a land buffer against invasion."[29] As a result, England's borders in the first decades of the Tudor period played a more prominent role in national security. The country's strategic situation under Henry VI changed so greatly during the period between 1453 and 1492 that England began to abandon its "medieval ambition" to win and hold dominions upon the continent of Europe, the continentalist policy based upon land power which it had pursued through most of the later Middle Ages.[30]

Medieval English military institutions were purposefully diminished under Henry VI's governance in his determination to impose the authority of the crown on the nobility.[31] He prohibited private armies of retainers with few exceptions. He failed to replace the abolished medieval source of troops with any source of royal military organization. There are two major reasons for this inaction. First, Henry VI's situation differed significantly from European monarchs in that he did not require a royal army to suppress rebellious subjects.[32] Furthermore, his cautious and economical approach to foreign policy eliminated the necessity of large

[29] R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada*, 11.
[30] Wernham, 11.
[31] Correlli Barnett, *Britain and Her Army 1509 – 1970*, 3.
[32] Barnett argues that the "traditional powers and authority of the English monarchy were much stronger than those handed down by struggling medieval European kingships. Englishmen – even jealous nobles – stood more in awe of the Crown and the law than Europeans, whose great vassals exercised almost independent rule over their own lands. English society itself was more closely knit and loyal, less divided by caste and localism" (3).

expeditionary forces. By the time Henry VIII was crowned king in 1509, the English late-medieval military system had vanished without replacement, except for a royal bodyguard of 200 men, The Yeomen of the Guard.[33]

In comparison to its European counterparts, England's military was nonexistent. The end of the fifteenth century marked extensive changes in military strategy and technologies, sparked by the Great Italian Wars (1494 – 1559), the first modern war fought between European nation states. European armies held a more permanent role. Standing armies on the continent were unlike militia, called up temporarily for brief emergencies and then dismissed. European nation states maintained permanent armies because they were fighting in permanent wars.[34] Henry VIII's new wealth and resources offered new opportunities to pursue military success. Henry's dissolution of the monasteries and his newfound authority as head of the Church granted him the power to tax the clergy. He also controlled a "vastly increased crown estate, which provided hefty rents and a much larger pool of tenants who could serve as royal soldiers."[35]

Henry VIII's war efforts in France, then, represented a return to the kind of medieval ambitions his father eschewed. However, since Henry did not have the luxury of satellite territories like England's medieval kings before him, his French wars were, in large part, informed by a desire to sure up border security.[36] The king's break from the Catholic Church in

[33] Barnett, 4.
[34] Bartnett, 9.
[35] Hammer, 13.
[36] Hammer, 11. Politics before and during Henry VIII's reign were far more personal than in the Elizabethan era. Hammer offers the king's relations with Scotland as one example: "One might wonder … how far Henry VIII's consistent underestimation of the Scots reflected his sense of being the head of a family in which James V (the song of Henry's older and less-favored sister Margaret) was a subordinate member – although a sovereign in his own right, the Scottish king was also Henry's nephew." While the concept of a "state" or "nation" was beginning to develop in the sixteenth century, matters of national and international importance were more often decided according to "gut instincts" and calculations of individual hereditary rulers. Politics was informed – in large part – by personal relations and rivalries. This approach to governance, I suggest and elaborate on elsewhere in the chapter, distinguishes Queen Elizabeth's reign from her fathers. The idea of border security becoming matter of *national* security, becomes a more prominent issue during Elizabeth's reign.

Rome exacerbated tensions between England and Europe's continental superpowers: France I (under Francis I), and the Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. The threat of an alliance between Francis I and Charles prompted Henry's massive program of coastal fortification, and his refocus on diplomatic relations with German Protestants. By the end of 1540, however, it became apparent to Henry that Charles and Francis were inching closer towards war with each other, giving England a strategic edge. Henry was able to leverage an alliance with the emperor to reestablish England's place in European affairs, firmly securing his role as an "imperial" sovereign at once equal with France and Charles V. Going to war with France signaled an end to English diplomatic isolation and continental inferiority. Military success, furthermore, would solidify Henry's enhanced royal power and secure his place among a long history of great English monarchs.

With Henry's improved reputation abroad came a growing threat of invasion from a French enemy. The king ramped up military training efforts and increased defenses along the border. By the end of 1540, 24 new fortifications were built and manned. This new system of defense transformed England's most vulnerable coastlines, now permanently screen by gun emplacements. One year into the French war, a large English raiding party was ambushed and annihilated by Scottish forces at Ancrum Moor in February 1545. Eight hundred English raiders were killed and 1000 were taken prisoner.[37] In the wake of this mounting death toll came news that French troops would be dispatched to reinforce the Scottish army. As a result of this potential threat, England assembled an army of 27,500 soldiers from its northern counties, and upwards of 3000 foreign mercenaries were shipped into Newcastle to strengthen English military presence at the border.

[37] Hammer, 21.

The king's wars with France required consistent replenishment of troops and as such, many of Henry's soldiers were foreign mercenaries with questionable loyalty. At this point in England's military history, "service" lacked the symbolic weight of "duty." As "soldiers for hire," a significant group of the English army fought for pay, rather than a sense of personal or national pride. One of Henry's veteran captains, for example, described replacement English recruits as "callow boys" whose officers were "weak, cheerless and senseless."[38] Furthermore, mercenary horsemen were paid more than the English cavalry. Unsurprisingly, disproportionate pay occasionally instigated tensions between English and mercenary troops, offending English soldiers who risked their lives for lower pay.[39]

In contrast to the Henrician levies of the 1540s, when militia troops had been sent to France and Scotland under the leadership of local landlords, the Elizabethan system relied upon local authorities executing specific numerical targets, almost "regardless of how the recruits were raised."[40] The queen's reign established new procedures for "impressing" soldiers for military service abroad. Even though 1558 legislation maintained a legal ban on members of the county militia from being forced to fight abroad, Elizabeth's government dismissed this statute and assumed that the monarchy could supersede such statutory limitations "by virtue of military necessity."[41] Unfortunately, for men aged between 16 and 60, a devastating majority of the aristocracy, landed gentlemen, and town officials supported the Elizabethan policy. The queen's increasing need for military service overseas meant that levies of men combined a minority of volunteers, and a larger number of soldiers who were involuntarily conscripted ("pressed") by

[38] M. B. Davies, editor, "Boulogne and Calais," 21-22, 31. Cited in Hammer, 24.
[39] D. Potter, "The international mercenary market in the sixteenth century," 24-5; G.J. Millar, *Tudor Mercenaries and Auxiliaries, 1485-1547*, 139-42; Charles Greig Cruickshank, *Henry VIII and the Invasion of France*, 91.
[40] Hammer, 66.
[41] Hammer, 66.

local authorities, whose job it was to fill required quotas of new recruits. The Elizabethan recruitment system caused years of complaints amongst the privy council and field commanders. However, it accomplished England's need for a "great mass of raw human material" for the armies sent overseas during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign.[42] Service, in the context of sixteenth-century warfare, was not the ceremonial, reverent sense of duty associated with the warrior code of classical antiquity, but more frequently, the result of coerced pressure.

"My services which I have done the signiory"

Othello's commitment to the Venetian war effort complicates realities of military service in early modern England. Camille Wells Slights suggests that his sense of personal and social identity is based on individual achievement and merit. Othello "owes his position in Venetian society to personal ability and the chances of war."[43] Furthermore, the play's setting in Venice reinforces the values associated with an independent republic. Othello operates as a military hero "participating in a civic community characterized by values of justice, public service, and individual merit."[44] When Iago alerts Othello that Roderigo and Brabantio question his reputation, Othello and Iago share their respective attitudes toward service. Iago offers insight into the complexities of warfare and martial and civilian life:

> Though in the trade of war I have slain men,
> Yet do I hold it very stuff o' the conscience
> To do no contrived murder: I lack iniquity
> Sometimes to do me service: nine or ten times
> I had thought to have yerk'd him here under the ribs. (1.2.1-5)

Iago acknowledges that the unique circumstances of war often demand sanctioned violence, but in civilian life, the post-deployment veteran must rely on individual or societal codes (i.e.

[42] Hammer, 67.
[43] Camille Wells Slights, "Slaves and Subjects in *Othello*," 379.
[44] Camille Wells Slights, 379.

conscience) for problem solving. Iago alleges that if it wasn't for his individual identity, "lacking iniquity," he might otherwise accomplish the task of self service. Of course, Iago speaks deceptively, as he both fuels Roderigo and Brabantio's hatred for Othello and manufactures scheme after scheme against his commander throughout the play. Iago warns Othello that Brabantio may "put upon [him] what restraint and grievance / The law … will give him cable" (1.2.15-17). Othello puts faith in his own personal history:

> Let him do his spite:
> My services which I have done the signiory
> Shall out-tongue his complaints. 'Tis yet to know,--
> Which, when I know that boasting is an honour,
> I shall promulgate--I fetch my life and being
> From men of royal siege, and my demerits
> May speak unbonneted to as proud a fortune
> As this that I have reach'd: for know, Iago,
> But that I love the gentle Desdemona,
> I would not my unhoused free condition
> Put into circumscription and confine
> For the sea's worth. (1.2.18-28)

Othello appears unconcerned with the accusations brought forth against him, opting instead to let his military history and dutiful service speak for him. While Othello may trace his lineage from "men of royal siege," his "demerits" ("deserts"[45]) are just as honorable and worthy of praise as his family's rank. Here, Othello holds his commitment to the Venetian State in highest esteem, confident that his military service is invaluable currency in negotiations with the Duke about Brabantio's false accusations.

Shakespeare likely drew some of his details about Venetian government and culture from Gasparo Contarini's *De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum* (1543). Venetian society, he

[45] "a. Merit, desert, deserving (in a good or indifferent sense). Frequently in *plural*. *Obsolete*." "demerit, n.". *OED Online*. September 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/49646?rskey=AMVnNm&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed October 24, 2021).

writes, is hierarchally ordered, with power corresponding to "nobilitie of lineage" rather than "estimation of wealth," but insists that political power derives from civic virtue:

> … all which were noble by birth, or enobled by virtue, or well deserving of the commonwealth, did … obtain this right of government … yea and some forrain men and strangers have beene adopted into this number of citizens, eyther in regard of their great nobility, or that they had been dutifull towards the state, or els had dome some notable service."[46]

Contarini's vision of service has significant implications for Othello's position in Venice. By Venetian standards, Othello even as a foreigner (i.e. "the Moor of Venice") accomplishes the status of "nobility" by his civic virtue and commitment to the war effort. His military service purchases him citizenship. As Goran Stanivukovic reminds us, early modern culture defined heroic virtue and honor according to the Roman models of Cicero and Seneca, and also by the following the concept of *virtu*, or the manly virtue.[47] *Virtu* involves, in one sense, both military bravery and a sense of duty, or as Machiavelli states, "good discipline and a sense of security born of many victories."[48] But, virtu also carries with it the qualities of moderation and humbleness. When Iago admits that, if not for his aversion to "iniquity," he might otherwise have "yerk'd" Roderigo "under the ribs," Othello, despite being the misdirected target of Roderigo's animosity, Othello advises Iago that it "'Tis better as it is" (1.2.6). Othello puts his trust in the Venetian ideals of humanism, anticipating that the Duke's reasoned council will acquit him of the charges. Here, Iago's overreaction to these false charges (of which he played a deliberate role) contrasts Othello's, measured, moderate insistence to let the events play out among a jury of his peers.

[46] Gasparo Contarini, *De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum*, 18.
[47] Goran Stanivukovic, "'The blushing shame of souldiers'", 42.
[48] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, 495.

A Civil Servant Never Sleeps

In the middle of night, as part of his devious machinations, Iago leads a group of torch-wielding guards to Othello's home. Iago exploits Brabantio's racist anxieties and the Venetian noblemen responds by demanding Othello's seizure. Despite any lack of evidence or "ocular proof," Brabantio takes Iago at his word and assembles a counsel of Venetian senators to interrogate Othello's alleged trespasses: marrying Brabantio's daughter, Desdemona, in secret. When Brabantio and his gang of officers enter the general's private residence with torches, lights, and weapons, they draw their swords on Othello who is ambushed and unarmed. Othello does not resist. The general does not put up a fight but rather goes out of his way to reassure his aggressors of his wish to remain peaceful.

> Brabantio: Lay hold upon him! If he do resist, / Subdue him at his peril.
>
> Othello: Hold your hands, / Both you of my inclining and the rest! / Were it my cue to fight, I should have known it / Without a prompter. Wither will you that I go / To answer this your charge?
>
> Brabantio: To prison, till fit time / Of law and course of direct session / Call thee to answer.
>
> Othello: What if I do obey? / How may the Duke be therewith satisfied, / Whose messengers are here about my side / Upon some present business of the state, / To bring me to him? (1.2.81-93)

What ultimately saves Othello's life in this moment is his duty to service. In the same moment, he is desired by two opposing agents of the state: Brabantio, a Venetian senator, and the Duke of Venice himself. The Duke's request to see Othello on matters related to state supersede Brabantio's accusations and fervent demands to imprison Othello. While it is difficult and perhaps futile to imagine how the events of the night might have transpired had the Duke's not also sent for Othello, the threat of imprisonment or worse lingers in the background of the scene.

Conflicting motivations within the Venetian counsel wake Othello from rest. By nature of civic duty and *virtu*, Othello, as a lifelong soldier and Venetian general, is always attending to

and responding to others' emergencies and urgencies. He must always be in a constant of alert and readiness. This scene is remarkable, especially in light of Contarini's observations about foreigners assimilating into Venetian society for their notable contributions to the state. Othello maintains his sense of civic duty even when confronted by a governing body that criminalizes him based on trumped up charges of sorcery. His stoicism stands in stark contrast to state representatives who demand immediate access to his body and ignore his basic needs (sleep) because of the state's sanctioning of Brabantio's anti-Blackness. What is notable about Othello's character in this early scene is that despite the state's violations, he still consents to serve Venice in its desperate time of need.

When the Venetian senate assembles to strategize a military offensive against a Turkish fleet sailing towards Rhodes, the discussion is temporarily misdirected towards news of Othello and Desdemona's marriage. The text provides clear indication of Brabantio's feelings on the matter. In her father's eyes, Desdemona's interracial relationship has not only led to her "abuse" and "corruption," but to her metaphorical death. Brabantio rejects the possibility of nature's error in the couple's courtship: "For nature so preposterously to err -- / Being not deficient, blind, or lame of sense -- / Sans witchcraft could not" (1.3.63-5). Nature bears little responsibility, leaving occultic intervention as the likeliest candidate. While Brabantio's perception of nature as pure and unadulterated is often quoted in scholarship as evidence of early modern attitudes toward miscegenation, less attention is paid to Othello's impressions of the natural world. The difficulty in reading Othello's natural philosophy is perhaps due to the fact Othello's language in the scene is more narrative in tone and less reactionary than his Venetian peers. The general's oral history sharply contrasts the Duke's interrogative diction or Brabantio's emotional declarations of absolutes. If we want to learn how Othello thinks and feels about the vast

diversity of climates and ecologies he has interacted with throughout his great many travels, we must meander through Othello's tales along with him with an attentive ear. "Such," as Othello states himself, "was [his] process" (1.3.142).

The fact that Othello can tell his tales to Desdemona and her father is in part due to a life in the military. Since age seven, Othello has spent his life in the battlefield: "For, since these arms of mine had seven years' pith, / Till now some nine moons wasted, they have used / Their dearest action in the tented field" (1.3.84-6). Othello's vision of the world is greatly influenced by a life of service: "And little of this great world can I speak / More than pertains to feats of broil and battle" (1.3.87-8). War is both the source of Othello's alluring chronicles and paradoxically, his own reason for an inability to tell these tales alluringly. The soldier, unlike the courtier studied and practiced in the arts of rhetoric and romance, is "rude" in speech, and "little blessed with the soft phrase of peace" (1.3.82-3). If we take Othello at his word, he appears to be telling his listeners that they should not expect poetry from him. His reflections on the world and its various environments will unlikely be a pastoral meditation on nature. His tale will be "unvarnished," that is plain and direct and stripped of embellishment, according to the rhetorical spartanism of the soldier.

Othello's stories capture both Desdemona and Brabantio. In fact, we learn from Othello that it was Brabantio's interest in Othello's travels that lead to Othello's interactions with Desdemona: "Her father loved me, oft invited me, / Still questioning me the story of my life / From year to year: the battles, sieges, fortunes / That I have passed" (1.3.128-131). Othello's life is an open book for this Venetian family, one sought out and consumed by Brabantio himself. The need to voyeuristically consume a history and world outside Venice informs Brabantio's interrogation of Othello's life. Brabantio exoticizes Othello, and while Othello believes

Brabantio loves him and has good intentions, Othello indeed feels the stress of Brabantio's voyeurism: "I ran it through, even from my boyish days / To th' very moment that he bade me tell it -- / Wherein I spoke of most disastrous chances" (1.3.133-4). Not only does Brabantio request these stories, but "bids" Othello to speak, a word carrying with it its own military usage: "to offer battle to, challenge to fight."[49] Othello's account suggests an obligatory exchange, a pressure to tell of his most dangerous feats. Othello must recount his most grave and traumatic memories, exposing them to his Venetian senator and senior for the purpose of entertainment.

Despite Brabantio's obsession with the purity and preservation of the laws of nature, he and Desdemona are attracted to things abnormal in nature. In recounting his story to the Venetian counsel, Othello explains how his descriptions of the Anthropophagi, specifically, interest Desdemona:

> It was my hint to speak – such was my process –
> And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders. This to hear
> Would Desdemona seriously incline …
> She'd come again, with a greedy ear
> Devour up my discourse (1.3.142-150)

Desdemona, like the Anthropophagi, consumes and devours Othello's story. Her appetite for more is so "greedy," in fact, that Othello "dilates" the chronicling of his "pilgrimage" to satiate her desires. While there are some unwritten laws of nature that the Venetians abide by (marrying outside one's years or race), some disruptive actions (cannibalism) are sanctioned as entertainment or allowable under the European gaze at the exotic. These "dangers" are precisely what attracts Desdemona to Othello and the reason their love is reciprocal: "She loved me for the

[49] "bid, v.2 a". *OED Online*. September 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/18728?rskey=62xvwy&result=2&isAdvanced=false. (accessed October 25, 2021).

dangers I had passed, / And I loved her that she did pity them" (1.3.167-8). It is due to the fact that Othello, as a soldier, experiences his interactions with nature as emblems of life and death that he is able to connect emotionally with Desdemona. While his speech may be "rude" as a result of his military training, he is endowed with a unique perspective of the world unshared or unembodied by Venetian laypeople such as Brabantio or Desdemona. It is the experiences themselves, the narrative's crafting that entices Desdemona. Desdemona seems to suggest that any man could in fact tell the same story and she would be wooed: "She thanked me, / And bade me, if I had a friend that loved her, / I should but teach him how to tell my story / And that would woo her" (1.3.162-166). The Duke even admits that this tale would woo his own daughter, too, suggesting that it is the story, a product of military service and duty, that is compelling not so much as Othello himself. The Venetians wish to consume and devour Othello's story like a book, using him only for his travailous history but not for himself.

Black Soldiers Then and Today: Early Modern Race and Immigration

Othello describes various battle-ridden landscapes through the eyes of a seasoned soldier, but also as Black foreigner in Venice whose history of slavery also informs his relationship to sleep and the environment. Earlier reflections in this chapter on the Roman ideals of *virtu* and Venetian conceptions of civic duty help to answer the question of how soldiers make meaning of a difficult physical and psychological life. Yet, they offer little insight into why Othello might persevere in a life-threatening occupation on behalf of a government whose participants call his reputation into question based on race alone. The "cry for service," as W.E.B. Du Bois writes, is "as high as heaven." There is something transcendent that beckons Othello, like Du Bois, to answer the call. What does it mean to be Black and fight for an adopted country? What can Othello teach us about "serving while Black?" Like the Moor in early modern Venice,

Black Americans in WWI were insiders and outsiders at home. They were not accepted totally by their peers and countrymen but were expected to serve the nation. In segregated America, African American soldiers lacked many of the basic rights afforded to their white counterparts, but yet still committed to the war effort. While Othello and Du Bois positions are not identical, they are analogous in that they operate in liminal spaces: they possess power on the battlefield overseas but are confronted by the ugliness of white supremacist ideology at home.

Emily Bartels sheds light on the current debates surrounding constructions of racism and race within English literature of the period. While some critics read Elizabeth's letters as "the visible signature of the imperial metropolis's nervous writing out of its marginalized other,"[50] Bartels suggests, rather, that the result of Elizabeth's articulations may be the "inscription and predication" of a racist ideology that defined or derogated "Black" subjects categorically.[51] For Bartels, the "marking of race and color" is not the only issue at stake in examining Elizabeth's deportation attempts. When considering the "late divers blackmoores … brought into the realme," Bartels argues that England's ongoing war with Spain provides important context. While England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 is often the heralded in contemporary literature as symbolic of England's imperial strength, the Anglo-Spanish conflict largely played itself out in privateering ventures which often brought "blackamoors" into England. Elizabeth's plan to reverse immigration emerged, then, as a practical solution to reclaim English prisoners from Spain. Bartels writes:

> … from what we can tell in each case, the queen intended to exchange "blackamoors" for the captive English. From the start, then, the "Negars and Blackamoors" selected for deportation were caught not simply in a binary opposition with England's "own liege people" but also in a triangulation with the

[50] Imtiaz Habib, *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period*, 92.
[51] Emily C. Bartels, "Too Many Blackamoors: Deportation, Discrimination, and Elizabeth I," 306.

> Spanish – a triangulation defined by the practicalities of war and, in many ways, inattentive to boundaries of race and color.[52]

Elizabeth's transactions, as evidenced in her letters, display a nascent color-based racist discourse, and specifically one shaped by the political and economic circumstances of war and global encounters.

This context is crucial to understanding the transitional moment in which *Othello* was written and first performed. Camille Wells Slights proposes that the play emerges between a world "where all people were to some degree subject to others and enslavement was a misfortune anyone might suffer" and one where "the enslavement of certain groups of people was scientifically justified as natural."[53] As Ania Loomba has noted, the slave population of Europe "consisted of Tartar, Greek, Armenian, Russian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Circassian, Slavonic, Cretan, Arab, African (Mori), and occasionally Chinese (Cathay) slaves."[54] However, Slights' attention to the interacting ideas of personal identity and slavery in the early modern period complicates the history of race. While early modern slavery was not immediately racialized, the profitability of slave labor in the Americas created a need to "rationalize the dehumanization of Black-skinned Africans."[55] In the early modern period, the "drive for control" and the "fear of isolated that characterized disengaged selves," Slights suggests, encouraged understanding the "socially dead slave" as "inherently other," and understanding slavery as the "product of natural baseness" rather than as a conditional possibility.[56] Following Orlando Patterson's argument that the practice of slavery is constitutive of the idea of freedom,[57] Slights adds that the freedom

[52] Bartels, 307.
[53] Camille Wells Slights, 389.
[54] Ania Loomba, "The Color of Patriarchy," 29.
[55] Slights, 385.
[56] Slights, 385.
[57] Slights quotes Patterson in footnote no. 30: "Before slavery people simply could not have conceived of the thing we call freedom. Men and women in premodern, nonslaveholding societies did not, could not, value the removal of restraint as an ideal" (340).

of self-defining subjectivity was constitutive of the ideology supporting racialized slavery. While this ideology may have begun to inform racism in the seventeenth century, race and slavery were distinct in the early 1600s. *Othello* is an important historical text because it blends self-identity, race, and slavery in an "unstable and explosive combination" only occasionally, suggesting that their "subsequent identification was not inevitable."[58]

What complicates readings of race in *Othello* further is the differing attitudes towards slavery in Shakespeare's London and the Venetian setting of the play. Recent strides in archival studies have challenged the idea that early modern England was entirely unaccommodating to Black people. In *Black Lives in the English Archives*, Imtiaz Habib offers evidence in the form of 448 documented records that Britain was home to numbers of Black people between 1500 and 1677. These men, women, and children worked often as servants, but also in a variety of occupations such as trumpeter, diver, prostitute, needle-maker, and soldier.[59] While Othello's status as "soldier" may not have been uncommon in England, it was less common in early modern Venice. As Matthew Steggle observes, one aspect of the play's Venetian setting that differentiates it from Shakespeare's London is its attitude toward slavery. Steggle reminds us of Shylock's "startling complaints"[60] about the long-established Venetian institutionalization of slavery in *The Merchant of Venice*:

> You have among you many a purchased slave,
> Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
> You use in abject and in slavish parts,
> Because you bought them. Shall I say to you,
> 'Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?
> Why sweat they under burthens? let their beds
> Be made as soft as yours and let their palates
> Be season'd with such viands?' You will answer
> 'The slaves are ours:' so do I answer you:

[58] Slights, 385.
[59] Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives*, 4.
[60] Matthew Steggle, "New Directions: Othello, the Moore of London: Shakespeare's Black Britons," 107.

> The pound of flesh, which I demand of him,
> Is dearly bought, is mine, and I will have it.
> If you deny me, fie upon your law!
> There is no force in the decrees of Venice. (4.1.88-102)[61]

Shylock's speech at the beginning of the courtroom scene "suddenly defamiliar[izes]" Venice for an English audience, whose attitudes towards slavery in this moment more closely resemble Shylock's reflections.[62] English attitudes towards slavery, as many scholars have shown in recent years, are complex and conflicted. While England tolerated slaving activity abroad, for example, English law prohibited the institution at home. Take for instance English clergyman, William Harrison's position featured in *Holinshed's Chronicle*s (1577, 1587): "As for slaves and bondmen, we have none; nay, such is the privilege of our country by the especial grace of God and the bounty of our princes." Harrison continues, "that if any come hither from other realms, so soon as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of servile bondage is removed from them."[63]

In Venice, however, as Shylock's speech makes clear, slaves are not entitled to the rights and luxuries of Venetian citizens. In *Othello*, Brabantio confirms this fact when he protests Othello's marriage to Desdemona, suggesting that if their union goes unpunished, "Bond-slaves and pagans shall our statemen be" (1.3.98-9). Othello, once "taken by the insolent foe / And sold to slavery," not only escapes the clutches of slavery but ascends the ranks of a Venetian military particularly hostile to both non-Christians and enslaved peoples (1.3.139-140). For Brabantio, even a former status of "bond-slave" is sufficient enough proof to suspect Othello of wrongdoing. Paradoxically, however, it is precisely Othello's liberation and "redemption thence" that enables him to take residence at Venetian court and share his "travels' history" with

[61] Steggle quotes Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, Bloomsbury edition. All citations quoted from this edition. [62] Steggle, 108.
[63] William Harrison, *The Description of England*, quoted in Michael Neill, *Putting History to the Question*, 13.

both Brabantio and Desdemona who so desperately wish to hear. For Brabantio, the unique circumstances of Othello's narrative of bondage and freedom are a source of entertainment: the senator does not see Othello beyond these experiences for the man and general he is but suspends him as a "bond-slave" of his past. Brabantio loves Othello for his stories. Desdemona loves Othello in acknowledging these events for what they are: the general's formative years and his tumultuous history. She loves Othello precisely because these are "dangers [he] had *pass'd*" (emphasis mine).

Considering Shylock's speech beside Brabantio's lines offers insight into early modern perceptions of the relationship between slavery and sleep. When Shylock offers the court a litany of hypotheticals concerning Venetian attitudes toward its slaves, his questions imply that each should illicit a negative response ("Shall I say to you, / 'Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?)." Slaves, he suggests, are not to enjoy the same freedoms or luxuries as their masters. In Shylock's estimation, sleep may be a basic human need, but quality of sleep is a luxury determined by one's individual wealth: "let their beds / Be made as soft as yours." Here, the relative "softness" of one's bed represents their respective quality of sleep, implying that one's status in a hierarchal society dictates – to some extent – their ability to rest. Bondslaves, as members of a lower caste, may be allowed to sleep, but the quality of their sleep should not equal or exceed that of bondsmen. Furthermore, sleep is a necessity that a slave master may weaponize to control over enslaved peoples. When Shylock anticipates the likely response to his queries – "The slaves are ours" – he intuits that Venetian slaveholders exploit slave labor ("Why sweat they under burthens?"), rest ("let their beds / Be made as soft as yours"), and sustenance ("let their palates / Be season'd with such viands?") as tools of biopower.

It is from this liminality of being that I suggest we approach Othello's reflections on the environment and his experience of natural landscapes if we are to understand how sleep becomes a particularly potent tool in Iago's armory in his efforts to take down a soldier such as Othello. We must see Othello in all of his complex and contradictory positions: veteran, liberated slave, respected citizen of Venice, non-Christian foreigner, committed civil servant, the target of anti-Blackness. In his essay, "Of Beauty and Death" Du Bois narrates the events of a 7,000 mile road trip across the United States, beginning in the Rocky Mountains and ending in Acadia National Park and it is this text, I suggest, offers insight into Othello's unique situation. The idea of traveling cross-country or abroad posed greater difficulty for African Americans in the early twentieth century. Some of the nation's most epic natural landscapes proved inaccessible. "Why do not those who are scarred in the world's battle and hurt by its hardness travel to these places of beauty and drown themselves in the utter joy of life?" Du Bois asks his readers.[64]

> Do you ever see a 'Jim-Crow' waiting room? … usually there is no heat in winter and no air in summer; with undisturbed loafers and train hands and broke, disreputable settees; to buy a ticket is torture; you stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the "other window" is waited on.[65]

The very thought of domestic travel is exhausting, and yet, the cry for military service in the First World War, for Du Bois, is "as high as heaven." The "petty slights and silly insults" of racial intolerance shrink in comparison to the American soldier's call to action. Why travel, why volunteer for this country? "Manifestly," Du Bois responds, when a minority group is thus "segregated and forced out of the nation," they can in reason do but one thing – "take advantage of the disadvantage. In this case we demanded colored officers for the colored troops."[66]

[64] Du Bois, 111.
[65] Du Bois, 111.
[66] Du Bois, 114.

It would be anachronistic to compare Othello's experience as a Black officer in the Venetian military to African American soldiers in World War I. A general of Othello's rank and nobility, unlike his modern counterparts, would not have been challenged by systemic racism in the form of segregation within the military. Nor is Othello's motivation for military service racially-motivated by "taking advantage of a disadvantage" in Venetian society. However, he is a non-Christian foreigner serving in a predominately white, Christian military where "petty slights, silly insults, [and] paltry problems" describe many of his daily experiences in Venice. His father-in-law's racist accusations of sorcery set the tone for the entire play. Iago capitalizes on these racial anxieties, of which he himself also harbors, to bring Othello down. These attacks are more than "paltry problems," they are assaults on Othello's character and reputation, which he himself holds in the highest esteem. Racial aggressions at home, military service abroad, and a history of enslavement, I suggest, inform how Othello reads the environment.

Perhaps the Black soldier's experience in early modern Europe is more similar to modern military service than we'd like to admit. Throughout his text, Du Bois contrasts the "ugliness" of Jim Crow America with beauty he witnesses in the natural landscape. Upon looking down into the Grand Canyon, these two worlds collide:

> It is a sudden void in the bosom of the earth, down to its entrails – a wound where the dull titanic knife has turned and twisted in the hole, leaving its edges livid, scarred, jagged, and pulsing over the white, and red, and purple if its mighty flesh, while down below – down, down below, in black and severed vein, boils the dull and sullen flood of the Colorado… It is not red, and blue, and green, but, ah! the shadows and the shades of all the world, glad colorings touched with a hesitant spiritual delicacy.[67]

Racialized violence at home and war abroad colors the description. In the epic cavern, Du Bois sees the flesh of a body torn apart. The Colorado River is not the idyllic setting of one's escape

[67] Du Bois, 115.

into nature, but rather conjures up horrific images of bleeding bodies, victims of Jim Crow lynchings and massacres.[68] On this point, John Claborn observes that rather "than cover over the trauma of civil war, Du Bois seeks to expose it by de-naturalizing segregation and naturalizing integration in defiance of Jim Crow and early environmentalist discourse."[69] Du Bois' experience of nature cannot be separated from his lived experiences as a Black man in Jim Crow America. The very setting of Du Bois ruminations, Grand Canyon National Park, is the site of racialized violence. The National Park System aimed to give Americans the experience of uninterrupted, untainted wilderness. However, to accomplish this goal, Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from these lands to make way for visitors. As Brian McCammack argues, Du Bois' "understanding of nature's importance was fundamentally informed by race."[70]

We learn how Othello thinks about the environment in moments when he reflects back on his military travels. The war-ridden world has influenced his perceptions of natural life. Othello's "travailous history" includes interactions with the most extreme environments. He recounts his history for the Venetian counsel as he did for Brabantio and Desdemona:

> I ran it through, even from my boyish days
> To th'very moment that he bade me tell it,
> Wherein I spoke of most disastrous chances,
> Of moving accidents by flood and field,
> Of hairbreadth scapes I'thi'imminent deadly breach,
> Of being taken by the insolent foe
> And sold to slavery, of my redemption thence,
> And portance in my travels' history,
> Wherein of antres' vast and deserts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven …
> And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their soldiers. (1.3.134-147)

[68] John R. Eperjesi, "Race, Nature, and W.E.B. Du Bois."
[69] John Claborn, "W.E.B. Du Bois at the Grand Canyon: Nature, History, and Race in *Darkwater*," 123.
[70] Brian McCammack, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the American Environment."

For Othello, many of these landscapes are empty or barren. The "antres" or caverns he recounts are "vast" and the deserts "idle" (1.3.140). While "vast" suggests size, as in immensity, it also carries an additional sense of "void" deriving from the Latin *vastus*. The deserts, too, are "idle," vacant of life or activity. Othello reads these landscapes from the perspective of a soldier. The deserts are far-stretching, they are inhospitable environments for human dwelling, or unforgiving when trying to rest a weary head.

Othello telescopes in and out, offering his listeners a three-dimensional image of his travels. Venetians learn of landscapes big and small: "Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch / heaven" (1.3.141-2). A quarry is a "surface excavation from which stone for use in building and construction is or has been extracted by cutting, blasting, or other means; a place where the rock has been, or is being, removed to be used. Also: a similar excavation for other naturally occurring materials; a mine."[71] These landscapes are noteworthy for their ingenuity and human intervention, unlike a desert or cave, whose size is notable as naturally occurring. In contrast to something less useful like the desert, with little to no resources for mining or extraction, the rock quarry has the potential to provide the resources necessary for war. There is a violence implicit in rock quarrying, a "blasting" that is reminiscent of war, or at least created by similar methods. The violent blasting under the earth contrasts the significant height of the hills. Othello assigns meaning to the hills, personified here, as having "heads" and are notable because they can reach into celestial spaces that humanity does not have access to. Du Bois' descriptions bear some resemblance to Othello's. In both instances, their narratives reach high up to the heavens and dig deep into the earth's expansive caverns. Violence, or the threat of

[71] "quarry, n.2". *OED Online*. September 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/156003?rskey=gj9qQ6&result=2&isAdvanced=false (accessed October 25, 2021).

violence, never strays too far from their descriptions, the "deadly breach[es]," the "disastrous chances," or being eaten alive by humanity. Othello, like Du Bois, does not gloss over the trauma of war or enslavement, but rather incorporates these histories into a greater narrative of how he experiences the world and its diverse environments.

Othello and Racial Implications of Sleep

Othello makes a career out of roughing the toughest terrains, so much so that his experiences in war's most extreme environments inform his attitudes toward sleep, as I have argued elsewhere in this chapter. In closing, I want to assert that Othello's history of enslavement also informs these attitudes. The State does not let Black bodies rest. As Benjamin Reiss and others[72] have noted, Black Americans, for example, have lacked access to sufficient sleeping environments since slavery. Aboard the ships of the transatlantic slave trade, African captives "were made to sleep *en masse* in the hold, often while chained together," and once they reached the New World, they were usually "still made to sleep in tight quarters, sometimes on the bare floor… Slaveholders systematically disallowed privacy as they attempted round-the-clock surveillance," and enslaved women were "especially susceptible at night to sexual assault from white men."[73] As these examples solemnly remind us, the painful history of Black sleep, or sleeplessness, dates back at least 400 years originating in early European imperialism. While I do not argue that we should read Othello's relationship to sleep in terms of chattel slavery, I do suggest that historically sleep deprivation has been used as a method of racial torture and operates as such in the play.

When we first meet Othello, he has been startled from his marriage bed by Iago with attendants and torches. When Cassio and Roderigo drunkenly quarrel at the citadel at Cyprus,

[72] See for example, Brian Resnick, "The Racial Inequality of Sleep."
[73] Benjamin Reiss, "African Americans don't sleep as well as whites, an inequality stretching back to slavery."

Othello is summoned to calm the tensions and avoid a riot. In this latter example, Othello does try to go back to sleep, but rather resolves himself to pacify the injuries: "Sir, for your hurts, / Myself will be your surgeon" (2.3.231-2). For Othello, his refusal to go back to bed with Desdemona is "the soldiers' life / To have their balmy slumbers wake with strife" (2.3.235-6). Iago takes advantage of Othello's unwavering commitment to military service and the well-being of his troops. As a soldier himself, Iago understands intimately the often incompatible relationship between sleep and military service. When Iago hatches his scheme, he vows to "Make the Moor thank me, love me, and reward me / For making him egregiously an ass / And practicing upon his peace and quiet / Even to madness" (2.1.288-291). Iago contracts out this goal to Desdemona, who unknowingly becomes complicit in Othello's sleep deprivation:

> My lord shall never rest,
> I'll watch him tame, and talk him out of patience;
> His bed shall seem a school, his board a shrift,
> I'll intermingle every thing he does
> With Cassio's suit. (3.3.22-26)

The comforts of home and a familiar bed neither bring Othello peace or rest. Neither Venice nor Cyrpus prove hostipable sleeping environments as a Othello's "steel couch of war."

In his reading of *Othello*, Timothy A. Turner examines sleep deprivation as a form of torture through the lens of Foucauldian biopower. Turner builds on the works of Elaine Scarry and Teresa Macias to demonstrate how race functions in the play. Scarry argues that the central fact about torture is not its efficacy in gathering information, but rather its coercive function. According to Scarry, when torture provokes information from its victim, the victim's forced utterances become the torturer's voice: the "prisoner is now speaking [the torturer's] words."[74] Macias posits torture as a "corporeal technology" aimed at constituting identities and enforcing

[74] Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 36.

social hierarchies.[75] In manipulating Othello through the corporeal technology of sleep deprivation, then, Iago is "not so much inventing race as making it, in the double sense of the term – not only creating it but also coercing it into being."[76] In other words, Turner argues, Othello might "well be understood to present a theory of racialization … Othello is made to speak the torturer's (racist) voice."[77]

Othello, as I have suggested, is not a play about an excluded foreigner in Christian Europe, nor is Othello a character who must "take advantage of a disadvantage." Rather, *Othello* as Matthieu Chapman writes, is a play that "through presenting a Moorish subject, reveals that the separation between the aesthetic and the ontological, which continues to define racial difference at a structural level in the paradigm of modernity, existed in a nascent form in Early Modern England, although the subject's psyche was still coming to grips with notions of embodied abjection."[78] Chapman goes on to argue that recognizing Othello's blackness not as a sign of ontological difference, but as revelational of the anxiety over the Moor's status as "ontologically equal to the English."[79] This realization, I argue in line with Chapman, is most appropriately observed through Othello's filial relations and semiotic reciprocations. Othello's life and history as a soldier is chief among his relationality to the world, and his reciprocation with those around him is uniquely informed by a call to military service and duty. It's a call as "high as heaven" that does not operate on systems of exchange or reciprocity. Othello gives his waking hours, and many of his sleeping ones, too, to the State because "tis the life of a soldier."

[75] Teresa Macias, "'Tortured Bodies': The Biopolitics of Torture and Truth in Chile," 116.
[76] Timothy A. Turner, "Making the Moor: Torture, Sleep Deprivation, and Race in *Othello*," 103.
[77] Turner, 103.
[78] Matthieu Chapman, *Anti-Black Racism in Early Modern English Drama*, 122.
[79] Chapman, 123.

Chapter 4

Military Mining: Playing at Pastoral in *Tamburlaine I* and *II*

Before Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine became the warmongering "scourge of God," he was a Scythian shepherd (3.248). To what extent does this pastoral history matter? Early modern scholars insist that Tamburlaine's original profession does in fact have relevance for the play and that the pastoral framework offers insight into depictions of social mobility, religion, and colonial warfare.[1] In this chapter, I analyze social mobility and colonialism in *Tamburlaine I* and *II* through the lens of ecocriticism to reveal a paradox of the pastoral mode. Louis Montrose has argued that Elizabethan poets who "oppose pastoral goodness to courtly vice" create shepherds who exemplify the "ideals of gentility."[2] This kind of poetry is less concerned with embracing the Elizabethan husbandman or his egalitarian ideals, but with reconstructing an "elite community" in pastoral form. Ambitious Elizabethan gentlemen can create an imaginative space wherein "virtue and privilege coincide" in contrast to the courtly society that simultaneously excludes them and defines their existence. In observing Tamburlaine's insatiable bellicosity, I argue that the plays reveal the pastoral's paradox of social mobility. More significantly, however, the pastoral paradox uncovers important new ways of understanding the nature of warfare ecologies and resource extraction in the early modern period. Martial eco-spaces (battlefields, trenches, mines) are uniquely suited for the kind of literary analysis I propose in this chapter. The pastoral paradox in *Tamburlaine II* is less about contrasting "pastoral goodness" and "courtly vice," as Montrose and others have suggested, than about the nature of cultivation itself.

[1] See for example, Lisa Hopkins, "Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might': Tamburlaine and Pastoral" and David McInnis's recent edition, *Tamburlaine: A Critical Reader*. For a reading of necropower in the play, see Patricia Cahill, "Marlowe, death-worlds, and warfare."
[2] Louis Adrian Montrose, "Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form," 427.

From the perspective of English agricultural standards in the early modern period, the proper cultivation of land required human intervention in the form of shepherds and husbandmen. “Good” pastoralism and “good” husbandry meant the “the action or an act of preparing and using the land for growing crops; tillage,” or “the action or an act of growing and improving a plant, especially for commercial purposes.”[3] Embedded within this vision of “good pastoralism,” as I will show, is the myth that the leisurely and simplistic life of rural landscapes represents proximity to a “golden age” wherein humanity lived in harmony with nature, a proximity that can be lost. As I show, the *Tamburlaine* plays acknowledge this myth and presents a war-torn world where any semblance of golden age has been irredeemably lost as a result of ecological annihilation. Yet, Marlowe appropriates the language and form of pastoralism to show that in his apocalyptic vision of a world consumed by warfare, conquerors and soldiers redirect their cultivating impulses not to agricultural production, but war. In fact, Marlowe returns to a Virgilian vision of pastoralism that acknowledges war and land dispossession outright. Tamburlaine, however, does not possess the motivation to cultivate war for commercial purposes. Rather, Marlowe presents him as the extreme antithesis and counterexample of proper wartime cultivation. Tamburlaine does not put extracted materials to use in the name of industry or profit, but rather squanders them as a result of ecophobia. Marlowe warps the pastoral vision of shepherd-as-laborer in the figure of Tamburlaine, a Scythian shepherd once himself.

[3] "cultivation, n.," *OED Online*, December 2022, Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/45728?redirectedFrom=cultivation (accessed January 20, 2023).

Setting the Stage: Ecophobia and Virgilian Pastoralism in Tamburlaine I and II

In his *Apology for Poetry*, Sir Philip Sidney famously describes the "golden world" of poetry; a domain composed of poets who are not merely unhindered by the limitations of Nature, but rather those are emboldened by her creative invention:

> Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection [to Nature], lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect into another nature, in making things either better than Nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in Nature, as the Heroes, Demigods, Cyclops, Chimeras, Furies, and such like: so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit … [Nature's] world is brazed, the poets only deliver a golden.[4]

This passage, as Lucy Potter suggests, is key to understanding Marlowe's engagement with ekphrasis[5] throughout *Tamburlaine I* – the way he invites audiences to view Tamburlaine "not as a man, and even less as a quasi-historical figure," but as a "work of art."[6] In the Prologue to *Tamburlaine I*, as Potter observes, Marlowe aligns the play's poetic project with theoretical works on prosody such as Sidney's *Apology*. Unlike the "jigging" and "rhymed" verse practiced by "mother-wits" who write about trivial subjects, *Tamburlaine* aligns the play with theorists like Sidney who respect poetic decorum by properly representing in "high astounding terms" matters which arise from "the stately tent of War."[7] The Prologue promises, as Potter argues, that the play has been purified of the crude impurities that degrade poetry, a "disease" more often visible in English drama. Thus, when the audience *sees* the Scythian shepherd conquer the world as "the scourge of God," they *hear* Tamburlaine cleaning up poetry figured in the degraded kingdoms he

[4] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, 100.
[5] Potter draws on Murray Krieger's formulation of ekphrasis: a verbal description of a visual work of art that momentarily "freezes" the action of the main narrative and, through the dynamism of energeia (intensity of description), "use[s] words to yield so vivid a description that they – dare we say literally? – place the represented object before the readers' (hearer's) inn eye." Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis: The Illusion of the Natural Sign*, 7 and 14.
[6] Lucy Potter, "Christopher Marlowe's 'Golden World,'" 37.
[7] Potter, 39.

vanquishes – Tamburlaine, as Potter suggests, is a "walking hyperbole" and characters, such as Menaphon, describe him as such:

> About [his arms] hangs a knot of amber hair
> Wrapped in curls, as fierce Achilles' was,
> On which the breath of heaven delights to play,
> Making it dance with wanton majesty;
> His arms and fingers long and sinewy,
> Betokening valour and excess of strength;
> In every part proportioned like the man
> Should make the world subdued to Tamburlaine (*Tamburlaine I*, 2.1.7-30)[8]

As Menaphon's speech illustrates, Tamburlaine's enemies and admirers alike consistently construct and deconstruct him.[9] Indeed, Mark Thornton Burnett's reference to Tamburlaine's "stature," argues that Menaphon's pun on stature and statues represents an aestheticization of Tamburlaine that is "drawn along [Bakhtin's] 'classical lines' in a way that forces the play's audiences to 'look up.'"[10] In Menaphon's speech and elsewhere, as Potter argues, intervenes in the tradition of ekphrasis, "constructing Tamburlaine as a work of art that the play's audiences can see in their mind's eye, and momentarily freezing the action of the main narrative as they pause to imaginatively 'look up.'"[11] Tamburlaine's comparison to Achilles highlights the conqueror's "potential *normativeness*" which Jonathan Crewe suggests "not merely opposes but paradoxically represents cultural norms, thus re-establishing a 'lost' or eclipsed state of perfection."[12] Marlowe thus makes good on the promise of the Prologue, fashioning a golden world that freely ranges "only within the zodiac of his own wit" in bringing forth a "Hero, a Demigod," a form "quite anew … such as never [was] in Nature."[13]

[8] All quotations from *Tamburlaine I* and *II* come from the following edition: Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine, Parts One and Two*, edited by Anthony B. Dawson.

[9] Sara Munson Deats, *Sex, Gender and Desire in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe*, 135.

[10] Mark Thornton Burnett, "Tamburlaine and the Body," 33.

[11] Potter, 40.

[12] Jonathan Crewe, "The Theatre of Idols: Marlowe, Rankins, and Theatrical Images," 325.

[13] Potter, 40, quoting Sidney's *Apology*.

Indeed, the Tamburlaine plays fashion golden worlds, but I argue that they are more literally "golden" than previous scholarship alleges. Gold as a natural resource is central to Tamburlaine's global conquest. As such, I suggest that an ecocritical lens enables us to read Marlowe's tented camps, battlefields, mines, and guarded citadels as martial eco-spaces that reveal the plays' extractive logic. However, Tamburlaine is simultaneous hungry for and indifference to gold. This irony indicates a complex interplay between the literal and metaphorical status of gold in the play, one which paradoxically reinforces a pastoral vision of a "lost state" of perfection made anew and cautions against idealization of natural resources and the ecological terror of wartime destruction.

In the *Tamburlaine* plays, ecological terror most often takes the form of ecophobia. Ecocritics, such as Simon Estok, define the term "ecophobia" as "an irrational and groundless fear or hatred of the natural world, as present and subtle in our daily lives and literature as homophobia and racism and sexism."[14] Zümre Gizem Yilmaz argues that Tamburlaine, as ultimate conqueror of the Earth, illustrates how the ecophobic attitude prevails in "human practices towards nature since the desire for conquest equates the colonial enslavement and rape of the earth with the desire to conquer the world."[15] This human desire to control the environment, as David Macauley contends, has long been visible in mining technologies and the timber industry, which have adversely affected air, earth, and water:

> The quest for mercury, lead, and arsenic – which contributed to bone, brain, and blood diseases – often caused streams to be directed, dried up, or contaminated. The removal of forests visibly scarred the landscape. Herodotus, for example, took note of the fact that an entire mountain was upended in search of gold. Emerging metallurgy emitted smoke and poisonous gases into the air in addition

[14] Simon Estok, *Ecocriticism and Shakespeare,* 4.
[15] Zümre Gizem Yilmaz, "'The Sweet Fruition of an earthly crown'", 81.

> to the wood and charcoal burned as fuel. And high noise levels were often reached in urban centers.[16]

As Yilmaz points out, humanity often directs ecophobic control towards the body. Because the human body is permeable to natural elements, it is humanity's only extension into earthly materials. However, as Jane E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi have demonstrated, the human body is always contaminated, showing how "even live human bodies prove earth-like because they are host to creatures that we typically imagine as burrowing through the soil's layers, worms."[17] Because the body is home to various microorganisms, it also becomes a source of fear and hatred. Yet, anthropocentric longing for environmental control in the early modern period had harmful ramifications, like those outlined above by Macauley. These damaging repercussions, certainly the result of human practices, are linked to the wrath of nature, demonstrating how ecophobia works. Therefore, the "main reason" for environmental destruction is a "denial of elemental agency:" when humans acknowledge the elements as living entities with potential to act independently upon the human realm, the elements themselves are "targeted as the source of fear and hatred."[18] As Yilmaz compellingly suggests, ecophobia comes to the fore in the scene showing Tamburlaine's confiscation of Theridamas' crown. Theridamas describes the crown decorated with early jewels and gold:

> A god is not so glorious as a king.
> I think the pleasure they enjoy in heaven
> Cannot compare with kingly joys in earth:
> To wear a crown enchased with pearl and gold,
> Whose virtues carry with it life and death;
> To ask, and have; command, and be obeyed;
> When looks breed love, with looks to gain the prize –
> Such power attractive shines in prince's eyes. (2.5.57-64)

[16] David Macauley, *Elemental Philosophy*, 128.
[17] Jean E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi, "Swervings: On Human Indistinction," 9.
[18] Yilmaz, 83.

What this scene shows is that Tamburlaine's efforts to separate from the material world are unsuccessful, for he needs worldly objects to solidify his title as conqueror of the earth. Tamburlaine thus displays his anthropocentric power in possessing earthy materials. But as Yilmaz suggests, natural materials such as gold or pearls establish social identity, thereby revealing that in fact, discursive formations are bound to material and natural ones. In order for Tamburlaine to proclaim both social and discursive superiority over land he requires a symbol adorned with earthly materials.

Tamburlaine II goes even further insofar as it suggests Tamburlaine's need for elemental materials signals not his desire to conquer the world, but more accurately, his desire to monopolize earth's natural resources. Having conquered much of the world by the end of *Tamburlaine I*, the Scythian shepherd recasts his sights more narrowly on accumulating wealth, targeting high-value assets hidden by sovereigns behind stone walls and underground – wealth he has little intention of turning into industry or profit. Tamburlaine's hoard of worldly goods serve as symbolic spite against his vanquished foes. After Techelles, one of Tamburlaine's followers, enumerates his own victories in Tamburaline's name – "I left the confines and bounds of Afric / And made voyage into Europe, / Where by the river Tyros I subdued / Stoka, Padalia, and Codemia" – Tamburlaine declares his plans to celebrate his spoils of war:

> Then will we triumph, banquet and carouse,
> Cooks shall have pensions to provide us cates
> And glut us with the dainties of the world,
> Lachryma and Christi and Calabrian wines
> Shall common soldiers drink in quaffing bowls,
> Ay, liquid gold when we have conquered him,
> Mingled with coral and with orient pearl.
> Come let us banquet and carouse the whiles. (1.4.81-83, 91-98)

When Tamburlaine and his "common soldiers" "glut" upon the "dainties of the world," Tamburlaine signals a complicated relationship to earthly materials and worldly goods. Common

infantrymen, for instance, will drink sweet wines of Italy fit for kings. Whereas the jewels and gold of Theridamas' crown purchase social superiority for Tamburlaine in the first part of the plays, the symbolic worth of worldly delicacies are debased in the bowls of inferior men in *Tamburlaine II*. Furthermore, "glut" suggests indulgence in its most extreme form: "to feed to repletion."[19] Tamburlaine's motivation for such a feast is not to boast his accumulated wealth to his enemies, or to bolster the economy of his burgeoning empire, but merely to decorate his banquet table and squander such goods in the stomachs of gratified, indulgent bodies. In this scene, Tamburlaine's ecophobic impulse contradicts itself. Tamburlaine does not possess fear or hatred of earthly materials because they infect a permeable body: the locus of his fear and hatred is the body itself and its ability to debase or make common priceless earthly materials.

Tamburlaine makes his fear and hatred towards the human body most explicit as his wife Zenocrate's health deteriorates. When Zenocrate conveys the state of her failing body, Tamburlaine's response is enraged: "Proud fury and intolerable fit, / That dares torment the body of my love / And scourge the Scourge of the immortal God!" (2.4.78-80). As Zenocrate takes her final breaths, Tamburlaine unleashes his multidirectional wrath on the earth and heavens:

> Techelles, draw they sword
> And wound the earth that I may cleave in twain,
> And we descend into th'infernal valuts
> To hale the Fatal Sisters by the hair
> And throw them in the triple moat of hell
> For taking hence my fair Zenocrate.
> Casane and Theridamas, to arms!
> Raise cavalieros higher than the clouds
> And with the cannon break the frame of heaven,
> Batter the shining palace of the sun
> And shiver all the starry firmament,
> For amorous Jove hath snatched my love from hence,

[19] "glut, v.1,"*OED Online* (2022), Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/79310?rskey=BuRCnn&result=7&isAdvanced=false, accessed January 18, 2023.

Meaning to make her stately queen of heaven. (2.4.96-108)

Resorting to military power, Tamburlaine attempts to revive her. Earth's terrestrial and celestial destruction is a means to an end. Rather than cast his blame and hatred toward the earth itself, Tamburlaine seeks retribution from what lies below and above it ("infernal vaults," "frame of heaven."). The human body in all its frailty and permeability is too weak a vessel to contain the divine Zenocrate, or the military prowess of the "Scourge of the immortal God." Having lost his most precious jewel and earthly possession in fair Zenocrate, Tamburlaine unleashes a ruthless apathy towards the earth as he boasts elaborate displays of worldly accumulation.

If, as Marlowe suggests in his prologue, that the "stately tent of war" is a suitable place of poetic decorum in *Tamburlaine I,* in *Tamburlaine II* martial eco-spaces offer early modern critics fertile ground on which to reexamine the pastoral vision. In revisiting Virgil's *Eclogues*, the shepherd's poetic voice reveals that the deleterious effects of war on local ecologies are central to the pastoral theme of lament for better days gone by. As I will show, Marlowe warps the pastoral vision of shepherd-as-laborer in the figure of Tamburlaine, a Scythian shepherd once himself. Tamburlaine, and his host of digger-pioneers, might be termed *anti-shepherds*: land laborers whose terrestrial knowledge is put to use for environmental destruction, rather than cultivation. The anti-shepherd, unlike the shepherd of traditional pastoralism, does not seek proximity to a metaphorical "golden age" when humanity lived in unity with nature, but instead acknowledges that war and conquest require ecological devastation. *Tamburlaine II* thus idealizes not nature but natural resources – not a Golden Age, but gold itself.

In looking back at Virgil's foundational pastoral texts, a clearer image of the anti-shepherd comes into view. I situate Marlowe's dramatization of war in a period characterized by increased use of gunpowder weaponry, developments in maritime navigation, conquest in the

New World, England's growing naval presence, and persistent threats of war with Spain and Ireland. The early modern period's unprecedented engagement in global warfare echoes Virgil's own experiences of civil war. Thus, his *Eclogues* offer a productive analogue to early modern war pastoral literature. After securing an alliance with Pompey and Crassus in 60 BC (the "first triumvirate"), Julius Caesar became consul in 59. Virgil, born near Mantua in 70 BC, came to Rome near the end of the fifties. By this time, Crassus had died and civil war between Pompey and Caesar was imminent. Caesar invaded Italy in 49 from his province of Gaul, defeating the Pompeian forces over a series of battles, and finally emerged victorious in 45. His martial success and increased political influence threatened the likes of "liberators" such as Brutus and Cassius, whose assassination plot Shakespeare dramatizes in *Julius Caesar*. Caesar's death in 44 created a power vacuum, with various parties vying to succeed him. As a result, Mark Antony, Lepidus, and Caesar's adopted son and heir, Octavian (Augustus), formed the "Second Triumvirate." In 42 BC Antony and Octavian defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi and Julius Caesar was "officially declared a god."[20]

Virgil most likely composed *Eclogues* between 42 and 39, during which time Antony was charged with settling the Eastern provinces while Octavian governed Italy. As R. O. A. M. Lyne explains, the "invidious task of finding land on which to settle discharged soldiers" fell to Octavian.[21] Farmers were dispossessed of their lands, an unpopular policy which Virgil critiques in *Eclogues* I and IX. War and the pastoral vision are inextricable in Virgil's very first lines:

> Tityrus, here you loll, your slim reed-pipe serenading
> The woodland spirit beneath a spread of sheltering beech,
> While I must leave my home place, the fields so dear to me.
> I'm driven from my home place: but you can take it easy

[20] R. O. A. M. Lyne, editor, *Virgil: The Eclogues and The Georgics*, xi. All quotes from Virgil taken from this edition.
[21] Lyne, xi.

> In shade and teach the woods to repeat 'Fair Amaryllis'.[22]

In Virgil's allegory, Meliboeus stands for an evicted farmer, and Tityrus, a farmer who sought and gained reprieve from dispossession. Here, the poet explores contemporary moral and political issues, a trend he continues in *Eclogue* IX with suspicious cynicism: "But poems / Stand no more chance, where the claims of soldiers are / involved, / Than do the prophetic doves if an eagle swoops upon them."[23]

In the Virgilian corpus, the impact of war rarely strays too far from the shepherd's mind, and similarly, the pastoral vision haunts the *Aeneid's* martial protagonist. In Book II, Aeneas witnesses the sacking of Troy from far outside the city. Troy's walls cannot detain the groans of war, now echoing throughout the countryside. Urban political conflict spills out into the rural landscape:

> Meanwhile the howls of war confound the city.
> And more and more – although my father's house
> was far, withdrawn, and screened by trees – the roar
> is sharper, the dread clash of battle grows.[24] (408 – 411)

Aeneas compares himself to a shepherd taken by surprise, and the clash of war to wildfire and flash flooding. Helpless and defenseless against natural disaster, Aeneas, like his pastoral counterpart, watches as the elements wreak havoc on the environment.

> I start from sleep and climb the sloping roof
> above the house. I stand, alerted: just
> as when, with furious south winds, a fire
> has fallen on a wheat field, or a torrent
> that hurtles from a mountain stream lays low
> the meadows, low the happy crops, and low
> the labor of the oxen, dragging forests
> headlong – and even then, bewildered and
> unknowing, perched upon a rock, the shepherd
> will listen to the clamor. (412 – 421)

[22] Virgil, *The Eclogues and The Georgics*, 3.
[23] Virgl, 38.
[24] *The Aeneid of Virgil* 38. All lines come from this edition.

It is unsurprising to find the author of the *Eclogues* pausing his war epic to reflect, if briefly, on the shepherd's response to ecological destruction, especially since, as illustrated above and as Paul Alpers has noted, Virgil's first eclogue "explicitly refers to contemporary Rome, and concerns a countryside disrupted by the aftermath of civil war… [the] shepherds fittingly represent those whose lives are determined by the actions of powerful men" and "circumstances over which they have no control."[25] Virgil's works reflect the world around him: the war epic and the pastoral mode are rarely separate. Shepherds and warriors acknowledge their relationships to the earth – cultivation and devastation, respectively – and each other's unique forms of labor.

Virgil's *Eclogues* propose that the shepherd, and accordingly a pastoral vision of Rome, can only be redeemed by the end of civil war and the promise of a Golden Age when the "uncultivated earth" of a war-torn landscape pours forth "wandering ivy," Egyptian lilies" and cattle who "will not fear huge lions" (4.19-22). Virgil's description of a post-war landscape as "uncultivated earth" suggests that the most pressing consequences of battle on the environment is not utter destruction and annihilation of flora and fauna, but quite the opposite. From the perspective of Virgil's shepherds, the Roman soldier is an anti-shepherd: his ignorance of agricultural practice threatens Rome's productivity. In the shepherd's mind, there is such a thing as *too much* growth. When Rome evicts its farmers and replaces them with soldiers, it also evicts a knowledge of the land thereby causing it to grow wildly without cultivation, tillage, or care. Whereas the *Eclogues* illustrate the commercial risks associated with land dispossession in a post-war setting, the *Aeneid* captures the ecological toll of war *in medias res* as it spills forth from urban into rural landscapes. Virgil's texts illustrate many of the ways in which war

[25] Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?*, 24.

obscures boundaries between city and country, epic and pastoral poetry, soldier and farmer. More broadly, war complicates clear and obvious characterizations of "nature."

While significant critical attention has accounted for various treatments of the pastoral mode in early modern literature (re: pastoral, anti-pastoral, counter-pastoral, etc.), far less has focused on what I call *war pastoral,* building off Jane Haber and Edna Longley's conceptions. Haber argues that pastoral has always been a reflexive mode that work[s] insistently against itself, problematizing both its own definition and stable definitions within its texts. Since its inception, dating back to antiquity, Haber suggests, "presence, continuity, and consolation have been seen as related to – indeed as dependent upon – absence, discontinuity and loss."[26] Longley points to the pastoral mode's "remedial capacities," and asks, "Has modern war overwhelmed the traditional resources of pastoral … Or have poets been able to exploit and extend the pastoral repertoire?"[27] I suggest that if we extend our characterizations of the pastoral mode beyond poetry to include drama – specifically Marlowe's two-part drama – we can observe an extension of its repertoire in an age of pre-modern warfare.

More importantly, if the pastoral encompasses "the natural world or the human footprint on that world," as Longley suggests, then, in my estimation, perspective is of critical importance. For instance, if the pastoral is dependent upon "absence, discontinuity and loss," we might inquire, *who* or *what loses*? Traditional pastoral literature registers losses experienced by the poet, the dispossessed farmer, or the city-dweller escaped to the countryside. But, in *War Pastoral*, I want to consider what nature *gains* as a result of the shepherd's absence or his lack of interference with ecological processes. War pastoral literature, as I re-conceptualize it, re-centers the earth under the soldier's feet, or the adjacent rivers, lakes, and streams where he gathers

[26] Jane Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 1.
[27] Edna Longley, "War Pastorals," 462.

resources. In other words, war pastoral also considers the ways in which martial eco-spaces that become arenas to war resist pastoralization. Rather, these environments, are not imagined as resources, reserves, a means of supplying an army's deficiency or need, or assets in support war efforts: they are eco-systems governed by their own logic and processes which endure parallel to, and often regardless of the war machine's determination to extract them. As Marlowe's play makes clear, it is precisely this ecological self-governance that prompts Tamburlaine's attempt to control them. Natural environments, if left undisturbed, play by their own rules, reinforcing ecophobic impulse.

Tamburlaine's ecophobic impulse is dependent upon an extractive logic inextricable from military mining in the early modern period. As Samuel Johnson's definition and Shakespeare's *I Henry IV* make plain, extractive military mining is emblematic of martial masculinity. Samuel Johnson's definition of extract – "to get out (the contents of anything) by force, effort or contrivance" – clarifies that the word's earliest uses had to do with a specific action: to take from something of which the thing taken was a part, "the chief parts drawn from any thing."[28] Thus, extracting earth's resources for the purposes of war implies that the earth is comprised of natural environments, or extractive parts, which if left uninterrupted would otherwise remain intact. Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* offers a striking example of this logic when a neat and trimly-dressed lord, "fresh as a bridegroom" disparages the crude use of gunpowder and laments that "This villainous saltpeter should be digged / Out of the bowels of the harmless earth," and the bellicose Hotspur scorns the lord's critique of extraction as "bald unjointed chat" (1.3.34, 60-65).[29] For Hotspur, a ruthless and masculine figure, military success demands mining the earth for weapons of war. As figured in the lord, caring for the earth and criticizing the extraction necessitated by

[28] Samuel, Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language,* vol. 1, 742.
[29] William Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV*, *The Norton Anthology.*

war, is gendered feminine, youthful, and lacking. Marlowe echoes this toxic masculinity in *Tamburlaine II*, when the Scythian shepherd disparages his son Calyphas: "bury this effeminate brat, / For not a common soldier shall defile / His manly fingers with so faint a boy" (4.1.161-163). In Shakespeare's play, the lord's description of the earth appropriates the vocabulary of surgical extraction, comparing the earth to a human body, and more specifically, its vital organs which are "digged" to an invasive act of surgery. Earth, characterized as "harmless," is free of guilt and innocuous. The earth is a passive entity, capable of being acted upon by an external force, and incapable of reacting with vengeance or malintent. This image of the earth in Shakespeare's play offers further credence to Estok's conceptualization of ecophobia. The earth and all of its constitutive parts are unpredictable energies humanity must control. Because the human body was thought to be a permeable vessel susceptible to earthly elements, we may expect to find subterranean earth here compared to the bowels of a stomach.

But, how accurate is the lord's description of the earth? In a history play which dramatizes competing martial masculinities (i.e. Prince Henry vs. Henry Hotspur, England vs. its rebels, Lancaster vs. Percy), the lord's unsolicited pacifism interrupts the business of war. As a feminized figure and the target of Hotspur's misogynistic derision, the lord's alliance with the earth positions him as an antagonist to efficient management of resources, incompatible with the surgical precision of conventional wartime maneuvers. In other words, from the point of view of martial masculinity dependent upon extractive relationships with the earth, ecological conservation undermines not only battle strategy, but disrupts traditional gender stratification. Moreover, Virgil's image of the shepherd requires that he cultivate land and protect Roman agricultural productivity. To allow the Roman landscape to remain uncultivated, that is, to let rural fields live or die according to the rules of their ecosystems, would deem the shepherd

unnecessary. In the Virgilian imaginary, shepherds, and the anti-Shepherd soldiers who replaced them, have always stood as figures of industry in opposition with earth's natural processes. What Marlowe illustrates in *Tamburlaine II*, then, is a return to a Virgilian vision of pastoralism. However, Tamburlaine and his pioneers (i.e. anti-shepherds) stand not in direct opposition to earth's natural processes, but European standards of agricultural production, natural resource economies, and nation-building.

Lessons from Pitch Lake: Colonial Mining in Early Modern Trinidad

Marlowe's *Tamburlaine II* offers a grim vision of war without limits – it illustrates the results of war left uncultivated by English hands. In Act 5, a messenger shares news with the Governor of Babylon that Tamburlaine's armies have begun their siege of the city. Despite the messenger's appeal that defeat is likely, the Governor angrily refuses to surrender. The Governor rejects the messenger, his citizens, Theridimas and Techelles' petitions to stand down. Inevitably, Tamburlaine's forces swarm the city. At Tamburlaine's request, Techelles drowns thousands of war prisoners in Asphaltis lake. Marlowe's description document's warfare's imprint on the natural environment:

> Thousands of men drowned in Asphaltis lake
> Have made the water swell above the banks,
> And fishes fed by human carcasses,
> Amazed, swim up and down the waves,
> As when they swallow asafoetida,
> Which makes them fleet aloft and gasp for air. (5.1.201-207)

Here, Techelles describes the physics of water displacement: thousands of corpses submerged in the lake cause it to overflow to make room for Tamburlaine's victims. Tamburlaine's war crimes disrupt the lake's natural ecology. This violence not only produces flooding but introduces a new form of organic matter and food source for the lake's aquatic life. Techelles compares two uncommon fish food sources: human flesh and asafoetida, a resinous gum with a pungent smell

often used in cooking and medicine. Consumption of flesh and gum "amazes" the fish, causing them to jump out of the water and "gasp for air," a tragic act of desperation for gill-bearing animals.

Marlowe's attention to organic life is notable not simply because it registers Asphaltis Lake as a martial eco-space, but because it attributes a vicious cycle of life and death to a "blue world" notorious for its inability to sustain organic life. Known more commonly today as the Dead Sea, ancient Greeks and Romans called the lake "Mare Asphaltitus," meaning the "Clay Sea," due to patches of clay or asphalt floating atop its surface. Since life in this lake has been deemed impossible, Europeans have since referred to the body of water as the "Dead Sea." The Dead Sea's salinity levels make it uninhabitable to fish, although small organisms such as bacteria and algae can survive in this environment. Mosaics from the Byzantine era, for example, illustrate fish swimming to the Dead Sea from the Jordan River and rushing furiously back toward fresh water sources, fleeing the inhospitable sea region.

Early modern texts similarly describe Lake Asphaltis. Hugo Grotius's biblical history, *Christ's Passion* (1640), depicts Syrian peoples feeding on the lake's "forbidden fish." Asphaltis is a "deadly lake" on which "No Tempest on that Sea provailes," and all that are struck by the lake's breath "fal[l] down and die."[30] For Grotius, Asphaltis' "sulphurous Bitumen" and salt make it a hellish and desolate wasteland. In *Pederewe of Heretiques* (1566), John Barthlet likewise characterizes the lake as "perillous and noisome," whose streams "whereof, al Christendome is infected."[31] Marlowe's Asphaltis Lake, like Grotius and Barthlet's, affirms this

[30] Hugo Grotius, *Christs Passion a Tragedie*.
[31] John Barthlet, T*he Pedegrewe of Heretiques Wherein is Truely and Plainely Set Out.*

blue world[32] as a site of maldevelopment: it infects biological life rather than sustains it and its major export is death, not proliferation. More significantly, reading Marlowe beside Grotius and Barthlet's anti-Islamic rhetoric anchors the lake's geographical location in the Middle East (ancient Babylon, just south of present-day Baghdad) to Western conceptions of wartime industrial production. In other words, Grotius and Barthlet's texts associate Babylon's geography with agricultural stagnancy and unproductivity. Babylon is not only a desolate wasteland where nothing grows, it is precisely a location where Christianity cannot thrive. Because this "infected" land is unconducive to industry indicates that Tamburlaine's ability to make a "golden world" out of nothing, is all the more awe-inspiring and impressive. Like Spenser, whose Englishman Eudoxus demands in *The Present State of Ireland* that Ireland's fertile fields be confiscated from the unproductive Irish (see Chapter 2), Marlowe offers us in *Tamburlaine II* a vision of the extreme consequences – national, secular, ecological – of proto-industrialism mismanaged by non-English colonial entrepreneurs. England's history with asphalt lakes begins roughly around the time Marlowe composed and staged *Tamburlaine I* and *II* (1587, 1590). The colonial history of asphalt bitumen manufacturing and production in South America to enable of reading of Tamburlaine's references to "liquid gold" in part II. Tar asphalt and other natural resources appear frequently throughout the text and have historically played a crucial role in wartime extraction. More importantly, references of gold and liquid gold (asphalt) in their poetry, specifically connect Marlowe and Raleigh's pastoral visions to colonial mining.

After his imprisonment during the Anglo-Spanish War (1585 – 1604), Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to rekindle favor with Queen Elizabeth, promising her a "gold-rich empire more

[32] For further reading on "blue worlds" and Blue Studies in early modern literature, see Steve Mentz, "Toward a Blue Cultural Studies"; Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean*; Steve Mentz, "Shakespeare and Blue Humanities"; Daniel Brayton, *Shakespeare's Ocean.*

lucrative than Peru."[33] The queen granted Raleigh's request and he set up an expedition under John Whiddon, a Justice of the Queen's Bench, to find the fabled city of gold known by the Spanish as El Dorado. Raleigh's fascination with the legend started when he captured the governor of Patagonia, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, in 1586. Gamboa, disregarding Spain's policy to conceal the country's navigational data, shared Spanish maps with English cartographers. In Gamboa's documents, Raleigh learned the account of Juan Martinez de Albujar, who claimed that in 1570, the Indigenous peoples colonially known as the "Caribs" (Taíno) of Lower Orinoco, escorted him blindfolded to El Dorado. As a result, Albujar could not name the precise location of "golden city" but recalled that it was near a large lake. Enamored with the story, Raleigh went to work scouting possible sites, eventually narrowing his expedition to Manoa, situated on Lake Parime in Guyana.

Queen Eilzabeth authorized Whiddon to sail to Trinidad in 1594. He was received there by the Spanish governor of the island, Antonio de Berrio. Whiddon pressed de Berrio about El Dorado, who responded in anger and ordered the execution of Whiddon's small English party. Fleeing the island and execution, Whiddon returned home to England where he shared his encounter with Raleigh. Interpreting de Berrio's outrage as possible evidence of El Dorado's existence, Raleigh quickly arranged his 1594 expedition to Trinidad, where he planned to capture de Berrio, who was well-acquainted with the island's geography and travel routes along the Orinoco River. Raleigh arrived in southern Trinidad in 1592. Reportedly smelling tar in the region, Raleigh sailed to Tierra de Brea where Taíno peoples led him to Pitch Lake, among the largest of the world's three natural asphalt lakes. Raleigh details this exploration in his travel account, *The Discovery of Guiana* (1596):

[33] Mary C. Fuller, "Raleigh's Fugitive Gold: Reference and Deferral in The Discoverie of Guiana," 42.

> At this point called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche* there is that abundance of stone pich, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and wee made trial of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sunne as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for ships trading the south partes very profitable.[34]

Raleigh quickly realized the profitability of asphalt, recognizing its ideal quality for caulking battered battleships, and took several barrels back to England.[35] Today the indigenous peoples of Trinidad and Tobago recognize the La Brea Pitch Lake as a sacred site. According to their creation stories, the lake was formed out of their ancestors' wartime hubris. Prevailing victorious in battle against a rival tribe, the Taíno were carried away in celebration, cooking and eating the sacred hummingbirds they believed held spirits of their ancestors. In punishment of their indiscretions, their winged god opened up the earth and "conjured up a lake of nasty pitch to swallow the entire village."[36]

Raleigh's excursion to the La Brea Pitch Lake is notable for several reasons, chief among them the insight it provides into early modern warfare ecologies and how they inevitably inform our current climate change crises. First, Raleigh recognized asphalt's profitability on the European continent in the form of extraction and environmental colonialism. Keila McFarland Dias of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law describes environmental colonialism as a multigenerational legacy including:

> Indigenous genocide, the dispossession of native communities, and their displacement, are reflected in the environmental crisis, as it compounds the "racialised inequalities between the winners of the rapacious global capitalist system and those who are impoverished by it; those who make claim to 'global' resources and those whose claims to territory, livelihood and wellbeing are extinguished at the local level; those whose luxury is being protected and those whose survival is being sacrificed."[37] Present-day resource extraction is rooted in

[34] Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discouerie of the Large, Rich, and Bevvtiful Empire of Guiana,* 10 – 11.
[35] Paul R. Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower,* 222.
[36] "La Brea, Pitch Lake."
[37] Institute for Global Sustainable Development at The University of Sheffield.

> colonial logic, as communities in developing countries seldom hold political power over their land and resources. This is accentuated by what activists have termed colonial conservation. Under the banner of environmental protection and natural preservation, governments and conservation charities are seizing land owned by Indigenous populations.[38]

At the time of Raleigh's excursion, Trinidad was a Spanish colony: de Berrio had founded the principal settlement of San José de Oruña in 1592. In the early sixteenth century, demand for slaves to supply the pearl-fisheries in nearby Isla Margarita led indigenous Trinidadians to be declared "Caribs" by European settlers, leaving them vulnerable to enslavement. As such, Spanish slavers targeted indigenous Trinidadians for slave raids to supply labor in the fisheries.[39] Raleigh attacked the settlement of San José de Oruña in 1595 and captured de Berrio. During his interrogation of the governor, Raleigh learned about the island's major resources, including tobacco, sugar cane, and asphalt, and gained indigenous land knowledge from the Taíno peoples' chieftain (*cacique*), Topiawari.[40] The island remained a Spanish colony until 1797, although increased interest from French and Dutch explorers inundated the island with European invasion throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Trinidad became an official British colony in 1802. Under British occupation in the early nineteenth century, Trinidad became a haven for asphalt exploitation. In the 1840s, for example, Canadian physician and geologist Abraham Gesner first obtained kerosene from a sample gathered from Pitch Lake bitumen.[41] Later, in 1887, the American businessman and founder of Barber Asphalt Paving Company, Amzi Barber, secured a forty-two-year monopoly concession from the British Government on Trinidad's Pitch Lake. Asphalt's economic potential, although more fully recognized in the eighteenth century, remained small scale and predominately local in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[38] Keila Mcfarland Dias, "Environmentalism and the Legacy of Colonialism."
[39] Aldemaro Romero, "Death and Taxes," 1016.
[40] Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*, 1–4.
[41] Abraham Gesner, "A Practical Treatise of Coal, Petroleum, and Other Distilled Oils," 26-28.

Production greatly increased with the "worldwide demand for road-surfacing material due to the rise of the automobile from the mid- to late-nineteenth century."[42] Mechanical diggers were introduced in 1956, inevitably increasing yields exponentially.[43]

This history of Tierra de Brea illustrates colonialism's environmental legacy. Colonial war and conquest, dating back to at least Raleigh's invasion, has in part fueled the effects of climate change on Trinidad's local ecology. Recently, Trinidad and Tobago's Prime Minister, Dr. Keith Rowley, called upon the international community to increase efforts to mitigate the effects of coastal erosion and coral reef deterioration:

> TT is a small island developing state already experiencing the effects of climate change. Loss and damage are already clear in the aggressive erosion of our coastline and the bleaching of our coral reefs… We need funds like the Green Climate Fund to establish specific streams for loss and damage finance to ensure that this is prioritised in the same way as mitigation and adaptation.[44]

Since 2021, Trinidad and Tobago have made efforts to move the islands toward renewable energy sources. This energy transition relies significantly on the closure of the fossil-fuel industry, once central to European and American colonial entrepreneurship involving the extraction and exploitation of the islands' large asphalt deposits. The first commercial oil wells, for example, were drilled west of Pitch Lake in 1903, eventually leading to offshore drilling in the midcentury.[45]

Pitch Lake's creation story is just as significant in understanding how native Trinidadians perceive their relationship to local ecologies, shedding light on the incompatibility of settler colonialism and Indigenous land knowledges. When ancient Taíno peoples crossed a sacred

[42] Joanna Ostapkowicz, et. al, "Black pitch, carved histories," 343.
[43] The early modern war machine did deploy diggers in the form of pioneers, and I read these figures as pre-mechanical miners.
[44] Ria Chaitram, "What climate change means for Trinidad and Tobago and the world."
[45] P.R. Woodside, "The Petroleum Geology of Trinidad and Tobago," 10.

boundary in consuming the spirits of their ancestors (in the form of hummingbirds), their deity intervened to illustrate a fundamental error. Pitch Lake's origin represents an expression of social laws that articulate proper and improper Taíno conduct; the exuberant celebrations of wartime victory contradict the expectations of acceptable Taíno behavior.[46] For Indigenous Trinidadians, these ancient transgressions established that boastful displays of victory and unchecked indiscretion may lead to penalty in the form of ecological instability (i.e. the emergence of a "nasty" pitch lake "swallowing up" a village). Because Pitch Lake holds didactic importance to Taíno social laws and ways of life, it is not merely a natural resource to be extracted, but a sacred site foundational to understandings of sound wartime judgement and communal respect for the earth and its non-human inhabitants. As Apache elder Annie Peaches reminds us, "The land is always stalking people. The land makes people live right."[47] The specifics of a geography, like Pitch Lake, and its community, early Taíno peoples, matter for how environmental education can and should be engaged. In attending to the conditions of settler colonialism in early modern Trinidad, land education calls into question European and American claims to natural resources like asphalt, and local blue ecologies like Pitch Lake and coastal oil deposits, as property. Reframing Pitch Lake's significance as a sacred ancestral site, then, "intervenes upon settler colonial narratives of land by refusing accounts of the past, present, and future that are only accountable to settler futurities" [48] (i.e. Raleigh's "re-discovery" of Pitch Lake and Trinidad's current climate crisis).

Furthermore, in recognizing indigenous relationships to Pitch Lake, early modern scholars can challenge how settlers have historically and inaccurately understood Indigenous

[46] Samuel M. Wilson, *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, 143.
[47] Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places,* 38.
[48] Eve Tuck, Marcia McKenzie, and Kate McCoy, eds., *Land Education: Rethinking pedagogies of place from Indigenous, postcolonial, and decolonizing perspectives*, 8.

peoples "as repositories of static forms of cultural knowledge."[49] Given asphalt's utility as an adhesive and waterproofing agent, indigenous peoples in the Americas had sustainably mined asphalt from pitch lakes for thousands of years. Archaeological digs illustrate that the Chumash people of the California coast and offshore islands, for example, caulked their driftwood-carved sea canoes, or *tomols*, with tar from Rancho La Brea in the Los Angeles Basin and other regional seeps.[50] It's important to note here that while archeological evidence often and overwhelmingly proves that Indigenous land knowledges have historically been anything but "static," in the twentieth century, the history of archaeology promoted an idealized image of archaeological practice in colonized territories. Historians have often omitted the political implications of archaeology, and in many instances, justified the appropriation of material culture from colonized places.[51]

Marlowe and Raleigh's Pastoral Gold

The second half of Marlowe's war drama makes reference to gold nearly twenty-five times, most often as emblems of social and military superiority amongst rivaling sovereigns. When Tamburlaine's prisoner, Callapine, son to Bajazeth, the Turkish emperor of *Tamburlaine I*, dialogues with his keeper, Almeda, he makes such a boastful display of his worldly goods. Callapine plots his freedom with the aid of a clandestine galley he harbors in Alexandria's bay. When the fleet saves Turkey's heir apparent from Tamburlaine's imprisonment, Callapine promises Almeda gold in several forms:

> Amongst so many crowns of burnished gold,
> Choose which thou wilt, all are at thy command;

[49] Tracy L. Friedel, "Looking for learning in all the Wrong Places: Urban Native Youths' Cultured Response to Western-oriented place-based Learning," 531 – 546.
[50] Ethan Shaw, "Nature's Time Capsules: A Guide to the World's Pitch Lakes," *Atlas Obscura*, January 5, 2015, https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/nature-s-time-capsules-a-guide-to-the-world-s-pitch-lakes.
[51] Oscar Moro- Abadía, "The History of Archaeology as a 'Colonial Discourse,'" 4-17. For more on the interwoven histories of archaeology and colonialism, see *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*.

> A thousand galleys manned with Christian slaves
> I freely give thee, which shall cut the straits
> And bring armadoes from the coast of Spain,
> Fraughted with gold of rich America (1.3.30-35)

In this scene, gold functions for Callapine in its most obvious status as transactional proposition: Almeda's participation in Callapine's release will be rewarded with riches. More importantly, gold signals the lucrativeness of war. The gold aboard Callapine's ships was extracted from the Americas and very likely looted, traded, or purchased from Spanish colonizers as a direct result of colonial conquest. American gold arrives in Alexandria via Spain not on cargo trading ships, but *armadoes*, or warships, especially those engaged in or en route to a military encounter.[52] Here, Marlowe not only reinforces the profitability of military extraction, but extends the fantasy of an American "golden world" ripe for mining akin to Raleigh's lust for the fabled city of El Dorado.

The scene also draws upon an explicit relationship between the two poets and their colonial context: Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" (1599) and Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd" (1600) traffic in the transactional properties of gold and earthly resources. In Marlowe's pastoral fantasy, the shepherd promises his beloved "Fair lined slippers for the cold / With buckles of the purest gold" and "A belt of straw and ivy buds, / With coral clasps and amber studs," to which Raleigh's nymph responds indifferently:

> They belt of straw and ivy buds,
> Thy coral clasps and amber studs,
> All these in me no means can move
> To come to thee and be thy love.

Looking for colonial motifs and motivations in Raleigh's poetry broadens "standard readings of his poetry that identify courtly political strategies and realpolitik typical of Elizabethan

[52] "armada, n.," *OED Online*, December 2022, Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/10813?redirectedFrom=armado (accessed January 20, 2023).

Petrarchan lyrics, so as to include colonial, imperial readings as well."[53] As Hannibal Hamlin reminds us, Marlowe's shepherd is "no real shepherd" at all given the speaker's ability to provide not just flowers, "but fine embroidered clothing" and slippers with "buckles of the purest gold."[54] Marlowe's poem describes pleasures that seem outside of time and reality, "envisioning a sort of country-life theme-park or a pastoral playground like the one constructed at Versailles for Marie Antoinette."[55] I argue that colonial warfare makes Marlowe's "pastoral playground" in "The Passionate Shepherd" possible. Without the golden luxuries the New World affords, Marlowe's shepherd offers his love empty promises of earthly riches.

Marlowe orchestrates a similar colonial fantasy of pastoralism in *Tamburlaine II*. The poet maps a shepherd's elaborate address to his beloved onto Callapine and Almeda, respectively. Callapine promises Almeda a pastoral playground with all the trimmings of confiscated, global luxuries:

> The Grecian virgins shall attend on thee,
> Skilful in music and in amorous lays,
> As fair as was Pygmalion's ivory girl,
> Or lovely Iö metamorphosed.
> With naked negroes shall they coach be drawn,
> And as thou rid'st in triumph through the streets,
> The pavement underneath thy chariot wheels
> With Turkey carpets shall be coverèd,
> And cloth of Arras hung about the walls,
> Fit objects for they princely eye to pierce …
> And when thou goest, a golden canopy
> Enchased with precious stones, which shine as bright
> As that fair veil that covers all the world …
> And more than this, for all I cannot tell. (1.3.36-53)

[53] Thomas Herron, "Love's 'emperye': Raleigh's 'Ocean to Scinthia,' Spenser's 'Colin Clouts Come Home Againe' and The Faerie Queen IV.vii in colonial context," 101. For more on the realpolitik of Raleigh's poetry, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*.
[54] Hannibal Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply': Allusion, anti-pastoral, and four centuries of pastoral invitations," 170.
[55] Hamlin, 170.

In *Tamburlaine II*, Marlowe gives dramatic voice to the inherent cynicism of the pastoral fantasy. Shepherds, whose agricultural labor realistically leaves little time for idyllic, leisurely song, lack access to such luxuries as those enumerated in "The Shepherd to His Love" and Callapine's speech. Callapine, like Marlowe's shepherd, only plays at pastoral, as neither he nor the passionate shepherd can deliver upon promises made to their respective interlocutors. Thus, Callipine figures an anti-shepherd in a pastoral fantasy predicated upon colonial extraction through militaristic occupation of new worlds.

While pastoral poetry like Marlowe's and Raleigh's often ignores the material labor of shepherds, war pastoral poetry acknowledges it outright. Militaristic extraction of natural resources necessitates land laborers, and the *Tamburlaine* plays dramatizes the difficult work they undertake. Tamburlaine's army boasts an international array of servicemen. Having conquered much of the world and absorbed its military forces under a single empire, Tamburlaine can deploy the best men to the individual and unique tasks of siege and combat. In one such instance, Theridamas and Techelles strategize their invasion of Balsera (present-day Balazar in Portugal) with the experienced help of "pioneers of Argier in Africa" (3.320). Trench warfare is integral to this campaign, requiring the work of pioneers, or members of the infantry who often precede regiments to prepare terrain for combat. The pioneer or underminer's work includes digging trenches, repairing roads, clearing the battle-field of ecological life, or digging mines during a siege.[56] To sieze Balsera's gold, Techelles calls upon the unique skills of pioneers:

> Then let us bring our light artillery,

[56] "pioneer, n. and adj.", *OED Online*, December 2022, Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/144355?rskey=JWab5p&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed January 21, 2023).

> Minions, falc'nets, and sakers, to the trench,
> Filling the ditches with the walls' wide breach,
> And enter in, to seize upon the gold –
> How say ye soldiers, shall we not? (3.3.5-9)

The pioneers of Argier will "raise a hill / Of earth and faggots higher than thy fort" (3.3.21-22). Utilizing explosives, the pioneers will erect a hill with the blasted remnants of earth. From this elevated position, the pioneers may launch explosive projectiles and breach the city walls. Once they successfully breach Balsera, the pioneers will utilize the wall's ruins to fill up the trench. Techelles threatens not only to unleash the pioneers on Balsera's fortifications, but on its infrastructure, too. He resorts to scorched earth tactics in targeting Balsera's water sources, subjecting its citizens to thirst, famine, and drought should they fail to submit:

> Captain, these Moors shall cut the leaden pipes
> That bring fresh water to thy men and thee,
> And lie in trench before they castle walls
> That no supply of victual shall come in,
> Nor any issue forth but they shall die:
> And therefore Captain, yield it quickly. (3.3.29-34)

The pioneer's skill threatens enemies with more than explosive destruction, intrenchment, and undermining. His labor renders cities incapacitated through environmental warfare. Tamburlaine's quest for gold depends on expert knowledge of warfare ecology. In other words, Tamburlaine's pioneers, or as I term them, anti-shepherds, bear responsibility for effective management of environmental factors during the course of war. They must be in tune with what warfare ecologists characterize as the "concentrated energy flows, severe disturbances, habitat destruction" and the "uncontrolled extraction of 'lootable resources'" that finance militias, deliberate death (both human and non-human), and "disorganization of existing social and ethical systems."[57] Their unique relationship to the earth – digging out its bowels, diverting its

[57] Gary E. Machlis and Thor Hanson, "Warfare Ecology."

irrigational processes, and looting its extractable resources (gold), resists traditional pastoralization of natural landscapes. Instead, their work makes visible the myth of man's ability to live in harmony with nature. Marlowe's pastoral playground, embellished with the extracted resources that conquest and colonialism make possible, is captured not in the leisurely, rustic songs of the shepherd, but bellowed forth in the pioneer's blasts.

The final act of *Tamburlaine II* bears striking resemblance to Raleigh's asphalt extraction in southern Trinidad. In the first scene, the Governor of Babylon mourns Tamburlaine's imminent invasion of his city walls. He learns the status of their destruction from a captain in his regiment, Maximus: "the breach the enemy hath made / Gives such assurance of our overthrow / That little hope is left to save our lives" (5.1.2-4). Babylon's statesmen, like Trinidad's colonial governor de Berrio, immediately identifies his realm's natural resource – asphalt – among the targets of Tamburlaine's wartime maneuvers:

> Have we not hope, for all our battered walls,
> To live secure and keep his forces out,
> When this our famous lake of Limnasphaltis
> Makes walls afresh with every thing that falls
> Into the liquid substance of his stream,
> Making strong than are the gates of death or hell? (5.1.15-20)

The bituminous lake of Babylon, like Tierra de Brea, is a lucrative space for military industrialists. Asphalt has the capacity to reinforce defensive structures like city walls and citadels. The governor's description reflects early modern scientific understandings of bitumen's geological properties. The English physician and chemist, Edward Jorden (1569 – 1632), for example, notes bitumen's congealing properties in early modern smith work:

> Bitumen being sprinkled with water, burns more, and therefore water is a fewel to it: as wee see that Smiths cast water upon their Sea-cole in their Forges: but the reason of this is, because their Coal being small like dust, the water makes it to

> cake and bake together, where otherwise the blast would blow it way: also it hinders the quick burning of it, and so makes it continue the longer.[58]

Jorden's calculations lend credence to the governor's concern. Access to Lake Limnasphaltis' resources would undoubtedly improve the probability of Tamburlaine's victory. Furthermore, bitumen forms a crucial component of the firemaster's military arsenal. In the early modern period, firemasters were artillery officers responsible for manufacturing, inspecting, or testing explosives.[59] In *Five Decades of Epistles of War*, Francis Markham (1565 – 1627) lists pitch and tar among the firemaster's required instruments:

> It is the Fier-masters charge to prouid that he haue alwaies in his Office great store of Pitch, Tarre, Aquanitae, Arsnicke, Mercurie, Brimstone … Lime … and the Oyle of Salt peter … also hee shall haue vnder his charge, barrels of peeblestones, morter-peeces and other Engines of like nature, and with these ingrediens, he shall make his fire-workes according to art, casting some in one forme and some in another, of which there are a world of presidents …[60]

A substantial commodity of war, bitumen in the wrong hands would wreak havoc on Babylonian forces. In Tamburlaine's possession, pitch tar could empower the anti-shepherd to cultivate the ultimate destruction of the world in the form of defensive impenetrability and offensive explosive annihilation.

Recognizing the pitch lake's military abundance, Tamburlaine besieges Babylon with ecocidal and genocidal force:

> Now fill the mouth of Limnasphaltis lake
> And make a bridge unto the battered walls.
> Where Belus, Ninus, and great Alexander
> Have rode in triumph, triumphs Tamburlaine,
> Whose chariot wheels have burst th'Assyrians' bones,
> Drawn with these kings on heaps of carcasses.
> Now in the place where fair Semiramis,
> Courted by kings and peers of Asia,

[58] Edward Jorden, *A discourse of natural bathes and mineral waters*, 35.
[59] "firemaster, n.," *OED Online*, December 2022, Oxford University Press, https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/70549?redirectedFrom=firemaster (accessed January 21, 2023).
[60] Francis Markham, *Fiue Decades of Epistles of Vvarre*, 87 – 88.

> Hath trod the measures, do my soldiers march,
> And in the streets where brave Assyrian dames
> Have rid in pomp like rich Saturnia,
> With furious words and frowning visages
> My horsemen brandish their unruly blades. (5.1.67-79)

Like Sidney's golden poet who makes "things either better than Nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew," Tamburlaine erects bridges where none previously stood. The anti-shepherd appropriates poetic decorum in comparing himself to great military strategies of classical history, but blazes unchartered territory when he cultivates a path to destruction with the aid of the lake's natural resources. In a desperate plea for mercy, the Babylonian governor surrenders his stores of gold to Tamburlaine: "in Limnasphaltis lake / There lies more gold than Babylon is worth … Save but my life and I will give it thee" (5.1.115-118). The governor locates the gold "Under a hollow bank, right opposite / Against the western gate of Babylon" and Tamburlaine sends his attendants to seize it (5.1.121-2). Yet, Tamburlaine does not yield to the governor's pleas and negotiations. With freshly attained access to the lake's rich commodities, Tamburlaine perceives little value in sparing the governor's life: "No, though Asphaltis lake were liquid gold / And offered me as a ransom for thy life, Yet shouldst thou die; shoot at him all at once" (5.1.154-56).

Tamburlaine launches a brutal and merciless assault against Babylon's citizens, ordering his attendants to drown them in the pitch lake. His golden world of war is firmly located in Asphaltis lake's martial eco-space, engendering a paradoxical blue world of simultaneous life and death. Tamburlaine's orders now executed, Techelles reports what can only be described as ecophobic terror:

> Thousands of men drowned in Asphaltis lake
> Have made the water swell above the banks,
> And fishes fed by human carcasses,
> Amazed, swim up and down the waves,
> As when they swallow asafoetida,
> Which makes them fleet aloft and gasp for air. (5.1.201-207)

Techelles visual description conjures an ekphratic vision. The verbal description of drowned bodies and animated fish resembles a visual work of art that momentarily "freezes" the action of the main narrative and, through the "dynamism of energeia" (intensity of the fishes' aquatic desperation), Techelles uses language to yield a picture so vivid that he nearly places the represented object before the audience's eyes.[61] I read Marlowe's poetic work of art as representative of ecophobia's logic. Tamburlaine's mass murder tests the limits of the lake's biome. The lake's fish displaced by the influx of human organic matter, frantically seek solace from the crowdedness of their natural environment. Now food for aquatic life, the lake's human carcasses reinforce the human body's vulnerability to earth's ecological forces. In turn, the ghastly image of man-eating fish emphasizes the unpredictability of nature which humanity must control. Marlowe's ekphrasis creates a poetic golden world anew in the sense that it conjures not a vision of humanity and nature cohabitating in harmony, but one where the ecocidal and genocidal impulses of war result in sublime destruction.

While conceptualizations of the "sublime" are most accurately attributed to aesthetic movements during eighteenth-century Enlightenment, Marlowe's war dramas offered early modern playgoers a proto-sublime sensory experience. The first use of the term "destructive sublime" which is attributed to J. David Slocum and refers to "an intense and even perverse fascination with sensation and death;" it captures the "seductively enjoyable sensations" of watching war's "terrible beauty" from a safe distance.[62] Film and Media Studies scholar, Tanine Allison, builds on Slocum's conception, in examining the tensions between a film's "sensual and sensible appeals" in combat sequences.[63] She argues that in his "Philosophical Enquiry into the

[61] Krieger, 7 and 14.
[62] J. David Slocum, "General Introduction: Seeing Through American War Cinema," 9.
[63] Tanine Allison, *Destructive Sublime,* 11.

Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful" (1757), Edmund Burke suggests that the sublime is founded in yearning for a forceful sensation – "pain and fear are far stronger sensations than pleasure."[64] The destructive sublime for Allison then, describes

> both an experience (the overwhelming sensation of being confronted with the massive destruction on display) and a formal language designed to provoke this experience. Through visual and auditory means, war media seek to emulate the experience of a soldier, caught, like the spectator, in a limbo between life and death, action and stasis, safety and danger … In combat, the usual strictures governing social behavior are suspended, lifting certain taboos, such as the rule against killing. This puts the soldier in touch with the base realities of human experience: life and death, pain and exhilaration.[65]

Allison's reading of the destructive sublime in film studies invites early modern scholars to examine the filmic qualities of *Tamburlaine's* ekphratic image. By overwhelming and engulfing his spectators, Marlowe demonstrates how the destructive sublime works by domination. As Burke suggests, "We submit to what we admire [the sublime] but we love what submits to us [the beautiful]."[66] Techelles plays several roles in this scene. Fist, he serves as Tamburlaine's soldier-executioner in carrying out Tamburlaine's fatal policy. Secondly, he is spectator to the gruesome realities of war, watching the limbo of life and death unfold in Asphaltis Lake. Finally, he is the poetic voice of the ekphratic image, provoking a sensory experience in the audience through language, confronting the listener with an overwhelming image of massive destruction on display. In this scene, Marlowe's poetic decorum relies on the ekphratic power of the destructive sublime, or in other words, it exemplifies a key aspect of the war pastoral: anti-shepherds in both their poetry and practice conjure and cultivate destruction according to little other than their ecocidal and genocidal impulses.

[64] Allison, 11.
[65] Allison, 12.
[66] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 103.

Conclusion: Everyone's a Soldier in the Anthropocene

Tamburlaine's absorption of the world's territories, its earthly goods, and its peoples under the single roof of his dominion illustrates war and its discontents strained to a global extreme. In concluding my reading of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine II*, I turn to postcolonial theorizations of climate change in the age of the Anthropocene, an age when humans act as a geological force on the planet. Dipesh Chakrabarty, for example, argues

> [that if] critical commentary on globalization focuses on issues of anthropological difference, the scientific literature on global warming thinks of humans as constitutively one – a species, a collectivity whose commitment to fossil-fuel based, energy-consuming civilization is now a threat to that civilization itself … Any effort to contemplate the human condition today – after colonialism, globalization, and global warming – on political and ethical registers encounters the necessity of thinking disjunctively about the human, through moves that in their simultaneity appear contradictory.[67]

If the Anthropocene positions humanity as a single, geological force, this proposition complicates the underlying principles of climate justice, which begins with the idea that the causes of global warming were not perpetrated equally by humanity, nor are the impacts of a warming climate experienced equitably among people. I suggest that Marlowe's two-part war saga dramatizes how humanity's ecophobic impulses in the early period threaten civilization on an alarmingly global scale. Tamburlaine simultaneously personifies the anthropocentric desire to consume earth's energy and resources *and* is utterly indifferent towards the ramifications of this desire. While today it would be impossible to imagine humanity's submission to one man's global conquest, Marlowe challenged early modern audiences to confront the apocalyptic consequences of humanity's collective participation in war all over the world, a vision all too real for modern readers. I end with Callapine's final stand against Tamburlaine, as it demonstrates how war coerces humanity to act as "constitutively one:"

[67] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcolonial Studies and the Challenge of Climate Change," 2.

> For we have here the chief selected men
> Of twenty several kingdoms at the least.
> Nor plowman, priest, nor merchant stays at home:
> All Turkey is in arms with Callapine
> And never will we sunder camps and arms
> Before himself or his be conquered.
> This is the time that must eternize me
> For conquering the tyrant of the world.
> Come, soldiers, let us lie in wait for him …(5.2.48-56)

Callapine's best strategy to topple Tamburlaine's global domination is more camps, more arms, more men, and more war. Tamburlaine's defeat, Callapine implies, rests with every man joining his military campaign. Global war erases professional distinctions of "plowman, priest, [or] merchant" and supplants these titles with the role of "soldier." Put otherwise, to end the war, everyone must become a soldier. If colonial conquest enables poets and dramatists – like Marlowe and Raleigh – to merely play at pastoral, it would follow that the pastoral vision could only exist in literature (as a myth functioning as memory). But as the *Tamburlaine* plays show, conquest has very real, material, and ecological concerns as the titular character demonstrates the environmental destruction that results from global war. If everyone is a soldier, no one can be a shepherd. Soldiers displace shepherds in an age of perpetual war, not simply via the dispossession of agricultural land, but poetically and dramatically as well. *Tamburlaine II* signals the death of the shepherd and the rise of the shepherd-soldier (diggers and pioneers) who reimagine rural landscapes (battlefields, trenches, and minds) as the new landscape of wartime production.

Epilogue

Pastoral Lost? Milton and the Military-Industrial Complex

... So violence
Proceeded and oppression and sword-law ...
For in those days might only shall be admired,
And "valor" and "heroic virtue" called.
To overcome battle and subdue
Nations and bring home spoils with infinite
Manslaughter shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory and for glory done
Of triumph to be styled great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods:
Destroyers rightlier called and plagues of men! (*PL* 11.671-2, 689-698)[1]

Milton's Pastoralism and the Glorious Revolution

In Book 11 of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), the archangel Michael offers Adam a vision of the civilized world tainted by war and corruption. Adam responds emotionally to Michael's antiwar sentiment – the sight of martial horror recalls the "Anthropocentric nightmare," when humanity's collective commitment to genocidal impulses swells to the "highest pitch." While Milton's impetus for writing such a speech may signal the poet's disillusionment with the sinfulness of an imperial ruling class and moral degeneration in the late seventeenth century, the lines also emphasize the destructive impacts of martial law ("sword-law") on the environment. The "spoils" of war, pillaged from subdued nations and extracted from the bowls of the earth, style conquerors as "plagues" who infect the world with their infinite lust for capital.

Seventeenth-century England's increasing lust for global resources paired with the country's volatile political landscape offers insight into attitudes towards global and domestic capital. George Yerby offers an ecocritical perspective on the major causes of the English

[1] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, edited by Gordon Teskey. All Milton citations come from this edition.

Revolution: changing relationships to land and processes of environmental change. Yerby locates anti-monarchical sentiment in economic motive, namely the radicalism of the mercantile sphere and the developing claim of "freedom of trade," the basis on which parliament challenged the king's fiscal prerogative.[2] In the middle and late seventeenth century, freedom of trade was associated with rights of consent, often asserted as a guarantee of economic interests and political principle. In 1641, parliament implemented constitutional changes which established freedom of trade through parliamentary control of the customs. The assembly gained a place at the center of affairs, which Yerby identifies as the first requirement of representative government. Parliament, not the monarchy, appropriated state interest through an independent definition of national priorities. During the seventeenth century, England melded into a political, commercial unit. The land, once open and communal during the medieval period, was perceived differently in the seventh century: freedom of trade had an agrarian aspect. A growing class of gentry and yeomanry inhabited consolidated farms, dispossessing and displacing smallholders from common lands. Milton lived in an England aggressively characterized by intensified marketing, a time when an exploitative ethic undermined the balance of relationship with the land.

As I have repeatedly argued throughout *War Pastoral*, for Virgil, the impact of war rarely strays too far from the shepherd's mind. In Milton's epic, Virgil is ever-present. In my concluding thoughts on the war pastoral in early modern literature, I look to *Paradise Lost* and its Edenic landscape to suggest that Milton offers a vision of how the pastoral, too, is lost. Satan's martial machines and multitude of rebellious warrior angels figure a proto military-industrial complex rooted in an emergent capitalist society that insistently views its relationship

[2] George Yerby, *The English Revolution and the Roots of Environmental Change.*

to nature as extractive. Satan's machines and multitudes stand in martial opposition to the supreme shepherd, figured in the Messiah, "for whom [God] had reserved the glory of that victory."[3] Ultimately, I argue that for Milton, a post-lapsarian world dominated by military extraction of natural resources, paradoxically appropriates the pastoral mode to signal its demise.

For decades, early modern scholarship has attended to the status of the pastoral in *Paradise Lost*, and more recently ecocritics have offered insightful readings of proto-environmentalism in Milton's works. Barry Weller, for example, argues that in the opening lines of *Paradise Regained* – "I who erewhile the happy garden sung" – Milton echoes Virgil's line, "I am he who once tuned by song on a slender reed." In these lines, Virgil defines the "shape of a canonical career, moving from pastoral to georgic to epic," which his own works established. For Weller, Milton's use of these lines retrospectively identifies *Paradise Lost* as a pastoral, a poem about "the happy garden" – as opposed to the true epic, *Paradise Regained*, for which he is about to write. While many pastoral theorists like Empson have hesitated to regard all of *Paradise Lost* as a pastoral, Weller suggests that Milton's metageneric discourse in *Paradise Regained* may in fact show how *Paradise Lost* occupies the place of both the pastoral and the georgic.[4] If we understand *Paradise Lost* as the pastoral precursor to *Paradise Regained*, two major topics of the neo-Latin pastoral emerge: the denunciation of political abuses and the disparagement of urban life. *Paradise Lost* appropriates the former trope while reacting vigorously against the latter. As Annabel Patterson suggests, this particular Miltonic accommodation to neo-Latin pastoral, in turn, may be explained in terms of the politics associated with the genre in late Jacobean and early Caroline England."[5] Milton's antiwar sentiment in *Paradise Lost*, then, is an early example

[3] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 135.
[4] Barry Weller, "The Epic as Pastoral," 144.
[5] Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, 159.

of the author's "heteroglot" response to pastoral."[6] In his reading of the "dead shepherd" in Milton's *Lycidas*, Gordon Teskey may offer one explanation for this heteroglossic attitude:

> Since Milton's day we have passed over insensibly from authority to authenticity, that is, from a poetry of erudition, at the center of which is the figure of the *doctus poeta*, the learned poet, to a poetry of interrogation, at the center of which is the figure of the poet as the transmitter of rare insight into a world without answers. Poets are to discover new questions, not, as before, to give the old answers to the old questions … Instead of delivering an experience to us, as an authority, the poet undergoes an experience on our behalf, transmitting a part of it to us.[7]

In his pastoral epic, Milton refuses to offer old answers to old questions. While the author may provide rare insight into the experiences of political abuse most often associated with pastoralism, I argue that *Paradise Lost* is profoundly more concerned with a new line of inquiry: how will earth survive the deleterious effects of the multitude? I align my reading with Sarah Smith's assessment of Milton's epic as a text which presents an "expansive environmentalism, one that, to be sure, privileges humans, but one in which human treatment of matter, even nonliving matter, is a moral issue."[8] To extend this line of thinking further, I suggest that among the moral issues evident in *Paradise Lost*, war and global competition for natural resources, is of chief concern for Milton.

Engines of War: Building Empire in the Seventeenth Century

Daniel Vitkus offers a compelling reading of *Paradise Lost* which contextualizes Milton's epic poem within the age of early capitalism. *Paradise Lost* emerges during a period of British history wherein the domestic and global expansion of the sixteenth century is consolidated: the relative power of traditional landowning aristocratic elites diminishes under the increasing capacity of new capitalist elements of society. Vitkus argues that Milton's treatment

[6] Bruce Boehrer, "The Rejection of Pastoral in Milton's *Elegia Prima*," 182.
[7] Gordon Teskey, "Dead Shepherd: Milton's *Lycidas*," 45-46.
[8] Sarah Smith, "The Ecology of Chaos in *Paradise Lost*," 33.

of science and art must be understood as connected to the powerful inherent forces of empire and war in a capitalist, profit-seeking society, and consequently, *Paradise Lost* teaches readers to resist the appeal of imperial glory, power, and wealth, all of which contribute to a new, early modern world.[9] During Milton's lifetime, the extension of overseas commercial networks and the development of colonial cultures forced on Indigenous societies forged interconnectedness through the expansion of Euro-Christian empires. *Paradise Lost* assesses this history with particular emphasis on aggressive warfare perpetrated by imperial desire. Daniel Armitage suggests that Milton's epics illustrate to contemporary audiences how the pursuit of military greatness (under leaders like Nimrod, Satan, or Cromwell) would unavoidably lead to the loss of liberty for that leader's followers.[10] Like Vitkus, I assert the necessity of reading *Paradise Lost* within the context of emergent capitalism, but like Armitage focus my efforts more squarely on warfare as the *zeitgeist* of seventeenth century imperialism. I suggest that the seventeenth century's new economic world order solidifies the war pastoral vision. I align myself with David Quint who locates empire building as central to the Virgilian epic tradition.[11]

When Heaven's fallen angels disperse throughout hell in Book I, the manner in which they "explore" and "colonize" this new infernal world equates the swarm to Pharoah and his army through epic simile. They are a "militarized multitude" (351) commanded by an oriental despot, a "great sultan" (348) who gathers them behind "Th'imperial ensign" (356). After Satan addresses his army, his speech is interrupted by Mammon, "the least erected spirit that fell / From Heav'n" (670 – 680), who leads a "num'rous brigade" to excavate a gold mind and refine gold ore. Like Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* with his band of digger-pioneers, Mammon allocates

[9] Daniel Vitkus, "'All the Kingdoms of the World'", 38.
[10] David Armitage, "John Milton, Poet Against Empire," 213 – 214.
[11] See, for example, David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*.

precious metals to the erection of an opulent palace, which Milton compares to those of imperial Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon (i.e., Mesopotamia).[12] In Book I, Milton illustrates how imperial power and tyranny are linked to warfare and conquest, which contribute to images of vast wealth. Vitkus' reading of this set of associations – empire, war, wealth – eerily anticipates what modern historians have referred to as the military-industrial complex.

Briefly defined, the military-industrial complex refers to a network of individuals and institutions involved in the production of weapons and military technologies. This bilateral relationship typically attempts to garner political support for continued or increased military spending by national governments.[13] U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower first used the term in his Farewell Address in 1961, warning that the United States must "guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence … by the military-industrial complex," which included members of Congress from districts dependent on military industries, the Department of Defense, military services, and privatized military contractors. Eisenhower worried that the military-industrial complex's increased influence left unrestrained would undermine American democracy. This definition firmly establishes the military-industrial complex as a uniquely modern phenomenon. Yet, the frameworks offered throughout *War Pastoral*, and most visibly here in my reading of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, suggest that the "iron triangle" forged among government officials, legislators, and military contractors originates, at least in some form, in the early modern period.

Milton's engagement with warfare ecologies, and in particular, the use of gunpowder technologies for mining and blasting, warns against a similar kind of unrestrained war power, like that which Eisenhower warned against centuries later. Milton presents Heaven as a fortress-palace, one vulnerable to siege warfare. Indeed, when Satan finally reaches the "wall" of Heaven

[12] Vitkus, 42 – 43.
[13] Rachel N. Weber, "Military-industrial complex."

in Book 3, he finds a fortified construction "inimitable on Earth" (3.503, 509). Milton's Heaven is a protected realm, a "structure high / At top whereof, but far more rich appeared / The work as of a kingly palace gate" adorned with diamond and gold "embellished thick" (3.503-507). Satan's excommunication from the fortress of Heaven provokes his militaristic impulses:

> … Thither let us tend
> From off the tossing of these fiery waves,
> There rest (if any rest can harbor there)
> And reassembling our afflicted powers
> Consult how we may henceforth most offend
> Our Enemy, our own loss how repair,
> How overcome this dire calamity,
> What reinforcement we may gain from hope,
> If not what resolution from despair. (1.183-191)

Here, Satan and his retinue devise plans to undermine God's heavenly fortress. "Undermine" carries both literal and metaphorical weight in *Paradise Lost*. To "undermine" in a literal sense involves digging and excavation: "to make a passage or mine under (a wall, etc.), especially as a military operation."[14] Figuratively, one who "undermines" works "secretly or stealthily" against another, often to "overthrow or supplant by underhanded means." Satan's rebelliousness could be said to undermine God's authority. More significantly, however, undermining – or countermining – also forms an integral part of Satan's militaristic operation.

In Book 6, for example, Raphael tells Adam of Michael and Gabriel's battles against Satan, who "invents devilish engines" to put God's angels to "disorder." God's regiments reciprocate ecological devastation when they, "pulling up mountains," overwhelm both the "force and machines of Satan."[15] Milton dramatizes the ultimate showdown between good and evil, or as I argue, a decisive battle between shepherd and anti-shepherd, the Messiah and Satan,

[14] "undermine, v.". *OED Online*. December 2022. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/211840?rskey=nLNPI0&result=2 (accessed February 17, 2023).
[15] Milton, 135.

respectively. Satan corrupts the natural beauty of Heaven when he forges his "hollow engines" through subterraneous mining:

> Not uninvented that which thou aright
> Believ'st so main to our success I bring.
> Which of us who beholds the bright surface
> Of this etherous mold whereon we stand,
> This continent of spacious Heav'n adorned
> With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems and gold –
> Whose eye so superficially surveys
> These things as not to mind from whence they grow
> Deep under ground, materials dark and crude
> Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touched
> With Heaven's ray and tempered they shoot forth
> So beauteous, op'ning to the ambient light?
> These in their dark nativity the deep
> Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame
> Which into hollow engines long and round
> Thick-rammed, at th' other bore with touch of fire
> Dilated and infuriate shall send forth
> From far with thund'ring noise among our foes (6.470-487)

As Gorden Teskey points out, under normal conditions, when "activated" by the sun's rays, Heaven's materials – plants, fruit – blooms as flowers, gems, and gold. Deprived of "Heaven's ray" underground, however, these materials are made into gunpowder, "rammed" into one end of a hollow cylinder, and ignited from the other end, so that they expand with growing fury.[16] The cannon, invented in the Renaissance, was generally considered a diabolical invention that marked the end of chivalric martial values.[17] For Milton, military industry is a dark business, quite literally and figuratively. Large-scale destruction made possible by Satan's underground machinery materializes independent of Heaven's dominion. Furthermore, Satan's unsanctioned subterraneous extractions undermine (or countermine) Heaven's hierarchical order of power.

[16] Tesky, footnote, *Paradise Lost*, 149.
[17] See, for example, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* 9.91. Orlando, the epitomy of chivalric martial valor preaches against the use of cannons and sinks one into the ocean.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European militaries often utilized mines to breach fortresses. With rocks and soil ejected through explosive charges, troops formed earthen ramps to gain immediate access to the breach. Because demolition often surprised defending forces, explosive mining tactics frequently caused panic and confusion among them. While working in tunnels, miners also looked for the defender's countermines. Attackers attempted to deceive the defender's listening posts by constructing fake "noise" galleries, where they intentionally produced a cacophony of sound to disorient the enemy.[18] Satan's venture underground resembles contemporary mining operations, and specifically, the disorienting use of sound. The "thund'ring noise" of Satan's engines will "dash / To pieces" and "o'erwhelm whatever stands / Adverse" (6.487-490). Raphael laments Satan's invention while noting its novelty: "To be th'inventor missed, so easy it seemed / Once found which yet unfound most would have thought / Impossible" (6.499-501). Raphael anticipates the deleterious impacts of this newfangled artillery on the human race:

> In future days if malice should abound
> Someone intent on mischief or inspired
> With dev'lish machination might devise
> Like instrument to plague the sons of men
> For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent. (6.502-506)

Post-lapsarian humanity, the children of Adam and Eve, will be characterized by increased use of militaristic machinery.[19] Through Raphael's prophetic vision, Milton imagines a world dominated by genocidal and ecocidal impulse.

While Milton would not see the full and lasting impacts of the large-scale military mining he predicted in *Paradise Lost*, the influence and involvement of state administrations in mining

[18] Gert Bode, "Siege," in *International Military and Defense Encyclopedia*, 2421. Cited in William C. Schneck, "Origins of Military Mines: Part I."
[19] In these lines, Raphael rehearses his divination given at 5.237-45.

operations was certainly underway during his lifetime. From the late sixteenth century onwards, the mining of precious minerals shifted towards mass production with the aid of technical developments. Mining, no longer just an instrument of war, formed an integral part of European markets. As historian Christoph Bartels explains, this period of mining marks a general division of specialists and manual workers, and a shift from leadership in single mines towards the development of mining authorities. The Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648) was catastrophic for central Europe, with many regions losing more than thirty percent of their population.[20] The general withdrawal of capital that resulted became a severe problem for mining districts. Governing houses and their administrations attempted to mobilize capital by inviting investment in mine shares. In this process, ownership and administration of mining and metal production "at least partly merged, with the combination of administration and shareholding becoming a characteristic of mining in Europe" from the seventeenth century onwards.[21] European mining in the early modern period, then, was characterized by a "system of privileges" and proximity to political power.[22] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mining administration became an example of "good and modern" administration.[23] The military-industrial complex, or the early modern "iron triangle" involved mass mining of iron to fashion weaponry, weaponry used in service of the imperial project.

As Allison Margaret Bigelow notes, iron metals and minerals are native to the Americas, and were fashioned into a variety of wares in the pre-Columbian era. However, because Indigenous communities "did not use iron in the same ways that Europeans knew and expected –

[20] Christoph Bartels, "The Administration of Mining in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," 125.
[21] Bartels, 125.
[22] Allison Margaret Bigelow, *Mining Language*, 111.
[23] Bartels, 127.

namely, in ferrous metallurgy to produce weapons – many colonial writers concluded that Native people had no knowledge of iron." In pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, iron communicated spiritual principles and cultural beliefs in artisan traditions like painting and mirror making. In Mayan communities in central Guatemala, northeast Honduras, and eastern and southern Costa Rica, religious leaders hung iron-ore mirrors from their necks and backs as "divinatory mechanisms to perceive what could not be seen by human eyes."[24] Bigelow argues that because Indigenous communities did not utilize iron in the same ways as Europeans, colonial writers interpreted the absence of metal weapons into evidence of a New World paradise. Iron, like skin color, became a "visible" fact upon which early moderns founded their conclusions about the "ethos of conquest" and the "colonization of knowledge."[25] Most often, colonial writers characterize tropical "Edens" in terms of untapped wealth and lack. Golden objects that adorned Indigenous bodies "emblematized" the possibilities of colonial wealth; iron metals suggested advanced "metallurgical technologies, sophisticated civilization, and high levels of social organization."[26] Colonizers and conquistadors interpreted the absence of iron tools as evidence of primitive underdevelopment and an easy route to conquest.[27]

Milton's concern with the growing threats of artillery and mining parallels his depiction of the Edenic landscape as a wooded space vulnerable to humanity's ecocidal impulses. Jeffrey S. Theis argues that by representing his paradisal environment as a forest wilderness, Milton engages in critical debates of his day regarding woodland regions.[28] Theis' reading

[24] Achim Lelgemann, "Pre-Hispanic Iron-Ore Mirrors and Mosaics from Zacatecas," 161-178. Cited in Bigelow, *Mining Language*, 113.
[25] Bigelow, 115. For further reading on iron metals as signs of cultural development and markers of human difference, see Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*; Patricia Aldana, ed., *Jade and Iron: Latin American Tales from Two Cultures.*
[26] Bigelow, 115.
[27] Consuelo Varela and Juan Gil, eds., *Cristóbal Colón: Textos y documentos completes*, 60.
[28] Jeffrey S. Theis, "'The purlieus of heaven': Milton's Eden as a Pastoral Forest," 231.

acknowledges the work of J. Martin Evans who argues that Milton's forest echoes descriptions of the New World and engages seventeenth century England's growing imperialist and colonial discourse, but Theis offers compelling evidence to suggest that these descriptions also register contemporary English attitudes towards native land.[29] During the English revolution, debates regarding the environment, especially the forests and wastes of England, reached what Theis describes as an "incendiary intensity" as parliamentarians and the Protectorate sought to finance their debts through the sale of natural resources.[30] Royalists, who had mined land for economic interests during Charles I'S reign, attempted to link their opponents to large-scale environmental devastation while radicals such as Gerrard Winstanley linked their reform projects to the felling of trees on England's commons. As Parliament's "chief propagandist," Milton did not directly address anxiety over deforestation, but his "silence" on contemporary woodland issues is not "due to ignorance."[31] In a letter to Milton in 1659, radical thinker and writer, Moses Wall, connects economic and environmental reform:

> Besides whilst People are not free but straitened in Accommodations for Life, their Spirits will be dejected and servile; and conducting to that end there should be an improving of … native Com~odities, as our manufacturers … Fens Forests and Commons, & Trade at Sea … wold give the body of the nation a comfortable subsistence.[32]

Wall links forest commodities to the revolution's reformist ideals, right in the wake of the Protectorate and Parliamentary rule. While we have no record of Milton's response, the poet's representation of Eden in *Paradise Lost* as a wooded region suggests that Milton engaged – to some extent – radical connections between environmental and human reform.

[29] J. Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic:* Paradise Lost *and the Discourse of Colonialism*.
[30] Theis, 229.
[31] Theis, 229.
[32] Quoted in Theis, 229.

Paradises Colonized: Early Conservationism

Environmental reform, however, possesses its own complicated history, one rooted in early colonialism and conservation efforts. After the fifteenth century, the emerging global framework of trade and travel made possible by the colonial project, provided the conditions for a process by which Indigenous European notions about nature were gradually "transformed, or even submerged, by a plethora of information, impressions, and inspiration from the wider world."[33] European expansion produced a scenario in which the tropical environment was often imagined as the symbolic location for idealized landscapes and western aspirations. William Shakespeare's romance, *The Tempest* (1610-11) and Andrew Marvell's poem, "Bermudas" (1653-4) are significant literary examples of this cultural trend. Ideologically, Judeo-Christian attitudes towards the environment informed early modern conceptions of Eden or paradise. European expansion provided explorers the opportunity to go on the "Edenic search" across the world. Calvinism in seventeenth-century Europe helped galvanize the Edenic search, as knowledge of the natural world began to be seen as a "respectable path to seeking the knowledge of God."[34] The task of finding Eden and reassessing nature was well under way in colonized tropical islands and paradises.

Along with this ideological justification for colonizing paradise came very material threats to the future of colonial settlements. The tropical colonies paint a picture of early struggles and fears of artificially-caused climate change. It is precisely this anxiety at these particular sites that stimulated much of modern conservationist thinking. Awareness of the damaging effects of colonial economic activity, and more specifically, capitalist plantation agriculture, first developed on Portugal and Spain's island colonies on the Canary Islands and

[33] Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism,* 3.
[34] Grove, *Green Imperialism*, 4.

Madeira.[35] The Greek naturalist Theophrastus' essays on deforestation and climate change were translated and widely published during the Renaissance, and it was on these islands that his ideas became especially relevant. Theophrastus' desiccation hypothesis linked deforestation to climate change and rainfall reduction. According to one of his biographers, Columbus feared that based on his knowledge of what happened after deforestation in the Canaries, similar devastation in the West Indies would cause major rainfall decline.

Connections between rainfall, vegetation, and the hydrological cycle were already part of popular discourse by 1571 when Fernandez Oviedo in Costa Rica, followed by Francis Bacon and Edmund Halley in England, began to theorize about these ideas.[36] Halley conducted fieldwork on the island of St. Helena in 1676 while studying at Oxford. His essay, "An account of the watry circulation of the sea, and of the cause of springs" (1694), documents some of the earliest attempts to prevent deforestation and control soil erosion, both serious concerns in the colonies by the end of the seventeenth century. Halley's methods were empirically based and localized and were often unsuccessful when applied. A coherent body of climatic theory did not emerge until the mid-eighteenth century when the complex infrastructures of colonial rule under the British and French provided the information networks necessary to "systematically collate environmental information on a global basis" and to "respond to perceived environmental crises with effective forms of environmental control based on unitary climate theories."[37]

Theophrastus' desiccationist hypothesis reemerged after 1750, particularly in France, as theories linking climate to theories of "cultural degeneration" and human evolution gained traction. By 1760, metropolitan institutes in Britain and France promulgated desiccationist

[35] Richard H. Grove, *Ecology, Climate, and Empire*, 6.
[36] Grove, *Ecology, Climate, and Empire*, 6.
[37] Grove, *Ecology, Climate, and Empire*, 7.

theories. Equipped with this new knowledge, colonial settlers viewed deforestation in temperate Neo-Europes, especially North America, as beneficial. The same was not true of eighteenth-century tropical climates. Climate change, early moderns believed, threatened the economic welfare of a colony and posed hazards to the health of settler populations of plantation colonies in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean.[38] Forest protection and large-scale tree planting was far more significant in the colonies than in continental Europe. The development of colonial forest protection came down to timing: a network of institutions with an intellectual involvement in the colonies occurred at the same time diseccationist ideas were successfully disseminated.

It is important to understand that initial conservation efforts to sustain colonial ecologies abroad arose directly out of the imperialist project. At the core of early European imperialism was an attempt to transform landscapes – forests, savannahs, rivers, coastal plains, and deserts – into productive, legible spaces. These activities had serious environmental consequences: deforestation, erosion, siltation, pollution, disease, and habitat destruction.[39] As a result of these consequences, imperialist nations had little choice but to implement extensive counter-attempts to conserve soil, woodlands, game, and other resources. European imperialism thus "engendered not only new ways to exploit the physical environment, but also new anxieties about the human impact on the rest of nature."[40]

Because modern conservationist thinking shares this long history with colonization and the imperialist project, sustainability efforts or attempts to reverse the effects of climate change must be firmly rooted in decolonization and environmental justice practices. Postcolonial thinkers offer ways of conducting such work in their efforts to incorporate ecocritical

[38] Grove, *Ecology, Climate, and Empire,* 9.
[39] Corey Ross, *Ecology and Power in the Age of Empir*e, 3.
[40] Ross, *Ecology and Power*, 3.

perspectives into theoretical frameworks. In *Postcolonial Ecologies*, for example, Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley revisit Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* and Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* to foreground place in the spatial imagination. For Said,

> "If there is anything that radically distinguishes the imagination of anti-imperialism, it is the primacy of the geographical in it. Imperialism after all is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control. For the native, the history of colonial servitude is inaugurated by the loss of locality to the outsider; its geographical identity must thereafter be searched for and somehow restored … Because of the presence of the colonizing outsider, the land is recoverable at first only through imagination."[41]

Taking Said's conceptualization seriously, DeLoughrey and Handley argue that place has "infinite meanings and morphologies."[42] We might define place, they suggest, in terms of geography, thinking about the expansion of empire; or environmentally, in terms of wilderness or urban settings; genealogically, connecting ancestry to land; or potentially phenomenologically, linking body to place. Historicization is central to their understanding of land and earth when they suggest that to engage a historical mode of ecology and an epistemology of space and time, we must as Wilson Harris has argued, enter a "profound dialogue with the landscape."[43] As such, DeLoughrey and Handley foreground landscapes and seascapes as taking more of an active rather than a bystander role in human experience. A definition of postcolonial ecology must reflect a complex epistemology that recuperates the alterity of both history and nature, without reducing either to the other.

Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* uncovers why native knowledge of the landscape (Harris' "profound dialogue") is crucial to any discussion of postcolonial ecology and the future of conservationist thinking. Fanon writes that during processes of decolonization, or periods of

[41] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 77.
[42] Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, and George B. Handley, *Postcolonial Ecologies*, 4.
[43] DeLoughrey and Handley, *Postcolonial Ecologies*, 75.

"liberation," the colonialist bourgeoisie seeks contact with the colonized "elite."[44] When the colonialist elite realize they are unable to retain domination over the colonies, they decide to "wage a rearguard campaign in the fields of culture, values, and technology."[45] But what the colonizer doesn't understand, Fanon argues, is that colonized peoples are "impervious" to these issues. For the colonized, the most essential and meaningful value is the land: "the land, which must provide bread and, naturally, dignity."[46] Fanon is quick to qualify what he means by "dignity." Dignity is not used here in the sense of morality, because the colonized subject has only witnessed violence on the land at the hands of his colonizer ("All he has ever seen on his land is that he can be arrested, beaten, and starved with impunity; and no sermonizer on morals, no priest has ever stepped in to bear the blows in his place or share his bread"). Fanon locates dignity in resistance to colonialism via the colonial subject's relationship to land. The colonizer may try to steal the native land, or rebrand it as a site of violence, but he cannot change (or has not changed) the fact that the native inhabitant still relates to the land as having inherent value.

While colonialism, imperialism, and by extension capitalism, seek to reimagine the relationship between humanity and nature, many voices – oppressed, poor, native, women – have maintained a "profound dialogue" with the earth, despite the global economy's efforts to disrupt this relationship. However, these groups have also paid a disproportionate price historically and especially in our current environmental crisis. In *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire*, Pablo Mukherjee reflects on the disproportionate number of African American deaths during Hurricane Katrina. Mukherjee argues that Katrina acted as an apocalyptic moment of revelation about how America works – its economy, governance, infrastructures.[47]

[44] Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 9.
[45] Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 9.
[46] Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 9.
[47] Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire*, 4.

Anthropologist Kenneth Hewitt's thesis is fundamental to how anthropologists Mukherjee thinks about the following question: to what extent are natural disasters actually "natural?" Hewitt's studies of hazard and vulnerability suggest that "the destructive potential of a natural agent is actualized only in the context of 'a historically produced pattern of vulnerability.'"[48] Therefore, disasters act as a dramatic exposure of the structure of everyday life of a society. Mukherjee links this kind of thinking to what we might call "disaster ideology" in colonial and imperial state formations, and their continuing power in the postcolonial world order. Naomi Klein has taken this logic a step further to study the intersection of disaster and corporatist power. Klein suggests that governments adopt the "shock doctrine" which leads to "huge transfers of public wealth to private hands, often accompanied by exploding debt, […] and ever-widening chasm between the dazzling rich and the disposable poor."[49] Adoption of the shock doctrine economic policy, however, depends on the prior existence of a disaster event – "the coup, the terrorist attack […] the tsunami, the hurricane" … that often make the shocked societies "give up things they would otherwise fiercely protect" such as individual rights, social equity and collective welfare measures."[50] Klein terms this logic "disaster capitalism:" the conviction that only a "large-scale disaster -- a great unmaking -- can prepare the ground for their 'reforms.'"[51]

For Mukherjee, Klein's theory has value, but he adds that modern capitalism does not opportunistically "follow" disaster events but is co-terminal and constitutive of them. Mukherjee offers the term palliative imperialism to describe this relationship. At the core of the ideology of the imperial adventure (militarism, conquest, trade) was the conceptualization of the tropics as a

[48] Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire*, 8.
[49] Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire*, 10.
[50] Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire*, 10.
[51] Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire*, 10.

disaster zone. Palliative imperialism was "an act of care" to fulfill Europe's missions of "rescuing" the native inhabitants from their own habitat. As my study of early tropical colonies demonstrates, anxieties about natural disasters (at best) and global climate change (at worst) stem from imperialism's overworking and exploitation of indigenous lands, with simultaneous counter-attempts to correct the damage done by colonialist projects. This is the history of modern conservationist thinking come full circle. Projects to correct the effects of climate change efface native and indigenous voices. Vandana Shiva reminds us: ecological crises with commercial causes do not have market solutions.[52] The water crisis, for example, results from "an erroneous equation of value with monetary price."[53] Diverse cultures have different value systems through which "ethical, ecological, and economic behavior of society is guided and shaped."[54] Rather, protection of vital resources demands a recovery of the sacred and a recovery of the commons.

From Shepherds to Stewards

In a secular sense, then, I conclude by asserting that the post-lapsarian world is characterized not by the fall of humanity figured in the devilish seduction of Adam and Eve, but rather by the advent of perpetual war and the desirous natural resources produced by militaristic extraction. For Milton, paradise and pastoral are lost to capitalist enterprise in the seventeenth century, both of which can only be regained with the supreme shepherd's return. We cannot wait for the shepherd. As Eriel Tchekwie Deranger, executive director of Indigenous Climate Action, has stated, "the climate crisis cannot be addressed in any meaningful way without addressing its root causes – capitalism, colonialism, and extractivism."[55] Indigenous climate justice frames the challenge of global warming – along with other environmental injustices – as "inevitably tied to,

[52] Vandana Shiva, *Water Wars*, 15.
[53] Shiva, *Water Wars*, 138.
[54] Shiva, *Water Wars*, 138.
[55] Eriel Tchekwie Deranger, *Indigenous Climate Action*.

and symptomatic" of the ongoing processes of colonialism, dispossession, violence, and violations of Indigenous and human rights.[56] Indigenous peoples have "borne witness" to transformations of the natural environment throughout periods of historical and ongoing colonialism, such as "widespread deforestation and pollution of water sources."[57] These experiences have equipped them with the knowledge of how to navigate catastrophic environmental change. In her reflection on the Standing Rock Sioux's powerful resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), Jaskiran Dhillon reminds us of the stark reality of the current ecological crisis.[58] Yet, in the midst of rising temperatures, ocean acidification, the psychological effects of "eco-anxiety,"[59] and cross-disciplinary debates about the Anthropocene, Dhillon finds hope. Indigenous peoples and "their longstanding resistance to environmental devastation are clear signposts of who should guide us into the future."[60] Standing Rock, she argues, illustrates that a fight for environmental justice must be framed, first and foremost, as a struggle for Indigenous sovereignty. What is required, as Deborah McGregor argues, is a profoundly "different set of logics to attend to the full scale of climate justice and clearly diagnose, assess and then problem-solve climate change."[61] These approaches already exist in Indigenous experiences and knowledges. We cannot wait for the shepherd: his extractive logics have destroyed the planet. Indigenous worldviews are incompatible with pastoral visions of nature. It is time for the pastoral to be lost, as the original stewards of the land have always been here.

[56] Deborah McGregor, "An Indigenous peoples' approach to climate justice."
[57] McGregor.
[58] Kelly Duquette, "Environmental Colonialism."
[59] Zoë Schlanger, "We need to talk about 'ecoanxiety': Climate Change is causing PTSD, anxiety, and depression on a mass scale."
[60] Jaskiran Dhillon, "What Standing Rock Teaches Us About Environmental Justice."
[61] McGregor.

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