



Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*: Taming the Spirit of Discontent

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Regrettably, the campaign of the past ten years to re-historicize Renaissance literature has ignored Thomas Nashe's most highly regarded piece of writing, failing to examine its dynamic relationship with the culture that generated it and thereby neglecting to determine what contribution the work made to the process of cultural formation. As a result, recent studies of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler* (1593)¹ have been either structural or rhetorical analyses,² attempting to generate a unifying principle that can transform the novel into a coherent work.

Perhaps *The Unfortunate Traveler* frustrates historical criticism because, while written in the last decade of the sixteenth century, its narrative begins in 1513 with Henry VIII's military campaign in France. Yet despite its peculiar time setting, the work clearly addresses specific Elizabethan social problems from the last two decades of the sixteenth century.

In the pamphlet *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil* (1592),³ Nashe satirizes the increasingly popular "melancholy pose" among young courtiers. Pierce pleads with the Devil not to allow the streets to be "pestered" with the dangerous "counterfeit politician":

Is it not a pitiful thing that a fellow that eats not a good meal's meat in a week, but beggareth his belly quite and clean to make his back a certain kind of brokerly gentleman, and now and then, once or twice in a term, comes the eighteen pence ordinary, because he would be seen amongst cavaliers and brave courtiers, living otherwise all the year long with salt butter and Holland cheese in his chamber, should take up a scornful melancholy in his gait and countenance, and talk as though our commonwealth were but a mockery of government, and our magistrates fools, who wronged

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him in not looking into his deserts, not employing him in state matters, and that, if more regard were not had of him shortly, the whole realm should have a miss of him, and he would go (ay, marry, would he) where he should be more accounted of? (65-66)

This mocking portrayal of the melancholy man reveals Nashe's disposition toward the subject that dominates *The Unfortunate Traveler*. In his travel chronicle, Nashe attempts to diffuse and undermine the fashion for melancholy by attacking the values that generated it.

In the 1580s, there was a sudden fascination among the British with the Italian vogue for melancholy, and the practitioners of this affected pose became so numerous as to constitute a social type that was immediately recognizable on the street. Even those individuals who had never traveled in Italy adopted the carriage and disposition of the melancholiac.⁴ The melancholy man was

slow and heavy in movement and gesture; in character, they were surly, taciturn, bad-mannered, unsociable, envious, jealous and covetous. They were slow to wrath, but if aroused stubborn and cruel in pursuit of their revenge; amorous, but bashful, timid, and uncouth.⁵

Dr. Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholie* was the most likely source for the subject among writers of the age:

The melancholick...is...of color black and swart of substance inclining to hardness, lean, and spare of flesh.... Of memory reasonable good, if fancies deface it not: firm in opinion, and hardly removed where it is resolved: doubtful before and long in deliberation: suspicious, painful in studie, and circumspect, given to fearful and terrible dreams: in affection sad, and full of fear, hardly moved to anger, but keeping it long, and not easy to be reconciled: envious and jealous, apt to take occasions in the worst part, and out of measure passionate, whereto it is moved. From these two dispositions of brain and heart arise solitariness, morning, weeping, and...melancholic laughter, sighing, sobbing, lamentation, countenance demise, and hanging down, blushing, bashful, of slow pace, silent, negligent....⁶

The English fashion for melancholy is believed to have originated with foreign travelers who, having returned from Italy, were discontented with customs of their own country (Babb, 73). While on the continent, these individuals acquired many of the vices of their host nations. He would become associated with Machiavellian intrigue. Having learned the subtle

techniques of Spanish and Italian dueling, he was eager to employ them by taking revenge for the most insubstantial injury. Moreover, while in Italy, the traveler usually led a licentious life, returning home an utterly degenerate and destitute individual.⁷ He dressed in black, as was the fashion of Italy and Spain, assumed a melancholy temperament, posed with arms folded and hat pulled over his eyes, remained solitary, and railed against the world (Fink, 241-242).

The traveler's penchant for seditious activities was certainly his most dangerous characteristic, and the presence of this attribute may have inspired Nashe to attack the fashion for melancholy in *The Unfortunate Traveler*. Lawrence Babb has identified the specific traits associated with the traveler's political inclinations. The disaffected individual usually had an inordinate sense of self-worth and felt unappreciated by his own countrymen, who could not recognize his talents. As a consequence, he became secretly rebellious, seeking to overthrow the existing social order (Babb, 75). This sentiment may have been fueled by the restructuring of social and economic life that was taking place in the final years of Elizabeth's reign. The era itself was one of increased political tensions:

Under the surface of the carefully regulated Elizabethan administration, there was deep discontent and constant danger of revolt.⁸

Other social problems, such as land enclosure that resulted in widespread vagrancy, and population growth which increased "faster than the food supply and job opportunities,"⁹ may also have fostered the spirit of sedition and discontent that took root in the final decade of the sixteenth century (Cheyney, 41-42). Certainly, the phenomenon reached its apex in the abortive Essex rebellion of 1601, which attracted all types of political outsiders: "puritan preachers, papists, soldiers out of employ, adventurers, a miscellany of discontented men."¹⁰

Perhaps the most memorable account of the "melancholy" fashion in the last two decades of the sixteenth century is Robert Greene's description of himself following his trip to Europe in the 1580s:

At my return to England, I ruffed out in my silks, in the habit of malcontent, and seemed so discontent, that no place would please me to abide in, nor no vocation cause me to stay myself in.¹¹

In *The Unfortunate Traveler*, Nashe attempts to discredit the values of the melancholy traveler by creating a persona who, while touring the Continent, experiences a "nightmare of suffering"¹² and is repulsed by the cultures that he encounters, eventually embracing his native customs with enthusiasm and gratitude. Jack Wilton, the chronicle's narrator, journeys to

France, Germany, and Italy. But unlike that of the melancholy traveler, Jack's adventure is full of mishaps, compelling him to return to his own country—where evenhanded justice is dispensed with authority, where deceit is confined to roguish yet harmless pranks, and where values are coherent and consistent. Jack demonstrates the merits of the home. Rather than trying to emulate the customs and attitudes of his host countries—as is the case with the malcontent traveler—he realizes that those of his own land are safer and more meaningful. Jack's experience constitutes the reformation of the discontented traveler and works to expose the folly of his beliefs.

The early events of the chronicle occurring in *Tourney and Turwin* are intended to suggest that England is a "land of coherence," of justice and order,¹³ characteristics against which the chaos of the traveler's host countries is measured. Perhaps Nashe chose the reign of Henry VIII as the work's chronological setting because Henry was a strong and authoritative King who dispensed justice with an iron hand and who would not tolerate the political subversiveness that became prominent in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. Also, the camp scenes in the work's early sections may be intended to demonstrate orderliness because the lines between contending factions are distinct, making it easy to distinguish enemies from comrades. Interestingly, the exercise of the King's justice is against Jack, who plays practical jokes on a number of his fellow patriots; and, when his pranks are exposed, the rogue is subsequently punished for his impunity. Initially, he dupes the company quartermaster by suggesting that the King suspects him of selling supplies to the enemy. He urges the cook to appease the King's anger by generously distributing goods, particularly ale, among the destitute soldiers. The cook takes Jack's advice, allowing the soldiers to drink their fill, but he also sues King Henry for forgiveness, offering his entire estate as a conciliatory sacrifice. The King wonders at the cook's actions and consequently, Jack's deception is revealed; he is "pitifully whipped for... [his] holiday lie."

Contrary to the portrayal of Italians in the latter portion of the work, the Englishmen are often motivated by nationalistic zeal and compassion, rather than avarice and self-interest. The quartermaster demonstrates his patriotic fervor and selflessness by insisting that the King take all his possessions despite the falseness of Jack's charges against him. Moreover, Jack's next victim, a captain, is persuaded to become a spy and to infiltrate the French ranks to kill the foreign King simply to ingratiate himself with his own sovereign. In his latter travels, Jack encounters several Englishmen, and each proves to be good-natured and helpful. The Earl of Surrey enlists Jack as a traveling companion, treating him as an equal. Even when Jack usurps the man's title and is later caught by the real Earl, the nobleman is light-

hearted about the situation, bursting into laughter when he sees the astonished look on Jack's face. Moreover, when Jack and Surrey are imprisoned for passing counterfeit gold, an Englishman, John Russell, successfully intercedes on their behalf by enlisting the services of Pietro Aretino. Finally, after Jack is falsely accused of raping Heraclide and in danger of being executed, his salvation is secured by a banished English Earl whose subsequent lectures on the evils of foreign travel become the foundation for the novel's nationalistic rhetoric. The Earl summarizes the prevailing portrayal of Englishmen by calling them "the plainest-dealing souls that ever God put in life." Throughout, Englishmen are representative of stability and order, ameliorating the confusing and often dangerous circumstances of Jack's adventures.

Critics have argued that the chaos of the travel episodes is actually a function of the work's organization,¹⁴ a perception certainly useful in this discussion. The confusion of the travel incidents serves as a contrast to the relative orderliness of the English camp. Indeed, when Jack arrives in Italy, he encounters a host of "panders, prostitutes, thieves, murderers, revengers, corrupt politicians, intelligencers, and a thousand such political monsters." Their avarice, self-interest, and vindictiveness entrap and nearly destroy Jack. Events are further complicated by the arbitrary imposition of law: Diamante is rejected and imprisoned by her husband on false accusations of infidelity, while Jack is wrongfully incarcerated on various occasions for counterfeiting, rape, and thievery. Such a portrayal of countries that prove so appealing to the traveling Englishmen would be appropriate only if Nashe sought to dissuade these men from their wanderings and resulting scorn for English custom.

Should the novel's negative portrait of foreign travel be inadequate in deterring young Englishmen from foreign adventure, Nashe also supplies readers with a model spokesman who mouths the appropriate sentiments. The banished Earl who rescues Jack Wilton from execution proceeds to outline the many evils and few benefits of travel on the continent, and his commentary helps bring coherence to some of the seemingly random events of Jack's adventure.

In his harangue, the Earl addresses those who would journey for the purposes of education, and his commentary seems to address the particular attributes of the malcontent traveler. For example, the traveler commonly adopted the language of his host country, hoping it would give his speech an air of sophistication and worldliness (Fink, 238). Similarly, the banished Earl admonishes Jack for his wanderings, stating that one can learn foreign languages at home as easily as abroad. Furthermore, the Earl addresses those who hope to learn wit through adventure, arguing that intelligence

must be native to the individual: "he [must] have the grounds of it rooted in him before" (343). The naturally astute individual can then learn all that he needs from books in his own home. The event that demonstrates the truth of the Earl's complaints is Jack's visit to the highly regarded university at Wittenburg, which turns out to be the abode of drunkards and fools. During his sojourn, Jack hears two rhetorically complicated yet vacuous speeches in praise of the Duke of Saxony and realizes that there is nothing to be learned in Wittenburg. Moreover, the inhabitants are mere plagiarists:

They imagined the Duke took the greatest pleasure and contentment under heaven to hear them speak Latin, and as long as they talked nothing but Tully he was bound to attend them. A most vain thing it is in many universities at this day, that they count him excellent eloquent who stealeth, not whole phrases, but whole pages out of Tully. (296)

Traditionally, the malcontent traveler was also an individual who led a dissolute life while abroad and brought his vices back home (Fink, 243). Certainly, Jack's escapades in Italy are licentious, and his looseness is the source of much of his suffering. His involvement with the prostitute Tabitha nearly gets him killed, and his jealous rage over the loose behavior of Diamante makes him the subject of "an anatomy." Moreover, Juliana, who rescues Jack from Zacherie's laboratory in order to satisfy her libidinous appetite, makes so many tiresome sexual demands that she forces him to escape. While in Italy, Jack indulges sexually more than is desirable or healthy, and the banished Earl reminds him that "nought but lasciviousness is to be learned here." He further outlines the numerous corruptions that one must embrace in order to become a successful traveler:

He is not fit to travel that cannot, with the Candians, live on serpents, make nourishing food even of poison. Rats and Mice engender by licking one another; he must lick, he must crouch, he must cog, lie, and prate, that either in court or a foreign country will engender and come to preferment. (343)

Jack's desperate escape from Juliana and his abrupt decision to marry Diamante and return home reveal that he eventually recognizes the sagacity of the Earl's lesson. Unlike the malcontent traveler, Jack's return constitutes a reformation, rather than a continuation, of depravity.

The melancholy traveler was notorious for his willingness to revenge the slightest injury and for his skill in dueling (Fink, 240), and the banished Earl warns Jack of the same trait among Italians. He cautions that a momentary glance at an Italian's wife or a rebuke for an injury can cost a

man his life: Italians will “carry an injury a whole age in memory,” revenging it as much as thirty years later. This vindictiveness can be seen in the actions of Cutwolf, who relentlessly pursues his brother’s murderer, Esdras, but who patiently waits for the perfect time to strike. Nevertheless, despite his caution and pains, he is tortured and then executed, a punishment that illustrates the ramifications of such vengeful pursuits, even against the deserving. This appalling scene is the catalyst that drives Jack toward the English camp in France, causing him to abandon his wandering style of life.

The experiences of the melancholiac in Italy often caused him to lose faith in his native religion, becoming instead an atheist (Fink, 244), “papist,” or Puritan.¹⁵ In *The Unfortunate Traveler*, the banished Earl warns that one of the only lessons to be learned in Italy is “the art of atheism” (345). Indeed, Jack’s experience with foreign faiths during his travels is not a positive one. In Germany, he witnesses the “well deserved” slaughter of the Anabaptists and spends a considerable amount of time delineating the falseness and presumption of all Puritans, concluding, “Hear what it is to be Anabaptists, to be Puritans, to be villains” (286).

His experiences with Catholicism are no more rewarding. The pope is portrayed as being in league with the Spanish villain Esdras, a man who enters the homes of plague victims only to rape and steal, and who has previously carried out assassinations on the pope’s orders. The pope’s reputation is further tarnished in the episode involving his Jewish surgeon Zacherie. To rescue Jack from the surgeon’s laboratory, the pope’s concubine, Juliana, places poison in one of Zacherie’s healing potions. When the pope’s official taster drinks the medicine and dies, the pontiff orders the execution of every Jew in Rome. Although he eventually is persuaded to banish the Jews instead, his vengefulness is unbecoming a man of God.

The ostentatious appearance of the melancholy traveler becomes the focus of the Earl’s denunciation of foreign manners. However, he attributes the pose to French custom, rather than Italian:

... I have known some that have continued there by the space of half-a-dozen years, and when they come home they have hid a little wearish lean face under a broad French hat, kept a terrible coil with dust in the street in their long cloaks of grey paper, and spoke English strangely.... to wear a velvet patch on their face, and walk melancholy with their arms folded. (344)

The Earl goes on to satirize Spanish fashion as well, clearly attributing to them the “affected negligence” commonly associated with the melancholiac’s dress.

Finally, the banished Earl attacks the widely held perception that Italy

is an earthly paradise, describing it instead as a den of iniquity, defiling the young Englishmen who visit there:

Italy, the paradise of the earth and the epicure's heaven, how does it form our young master? It makes him to kiss his hand like an ape, cringe his neck like a starveling, and play at heypass, repass come aloft, when he salutes a man. From thence he brings the art of atheism, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, and the art of sodomitry. (345)

He indicates that it has become a cliché to explain the actions of a "notorious villain" by saying he "hath been in Italy." Certainly, the events of the chronicle bear out this conception. Perhaps the most powerful episode revealing the false picture of Italy as a demi-paradise is that involving the Roman banqueting house which Jack describes upon his arrival. He explains that its beauty "could not be matched except God should make another paradise." Within the hall, the heavens are depicted in perfect harmony and balance; plants are so vividly painted on the wall they look real; numerous species of birds are represented perched on the limbs of artificial trees; and finally, the beasts of the field are portrayed as being in complete harmony. Of course, the banqueting house signifies the world before the Fall, yet its obviously artificial composition undermines the notion that Italy is an earthly paradise; such beliefs are merely human inventions as counterfeit as the Garden itself. Moreover, the Edenic banqueting house is immediately juxtaposed with realistic descriptions of the plague-infested city and the rape of Heraclide (Leggatt, 32), revealing that, in Rome, God's creatures do not reside together peacefully, as the false myth of the Garden suggests.

When the Earl finally pauses in his tirade, Jack seizes the opportunity to leave, but the traveler acknowledges that his failure to take the Earl's advice, by returning to his native country, is the cause of his subsequent perils: "God plagued me for deriding such a fatherly advertiser" (347). He is immediately accused of thievery by Zadoch and is eventually sold to Zacherie for a dissection, and these events constitute Jack's worst experiences, ones from which he only narrowly escapes. When he does manage to flee from this entanglement, he encounters Cutwolf on the executioner's wheel, confessing with relish his murder of Esdras and awaiting his own death. The final image of Italy involves the hideous slaughter of Cutwolf, intended to equate Italy with torture and perdition.

Jack travels to the English forces in France, indicating that his perils have persuaded him to reform:¹⁶

To such straight life did I thenceforward incite me that ere I went out of Bologna I married my courtesan, performed many alms-

deeds, and hasted so fast out of that Sodom of Italy, that within forty days I arrived at the King of England's camp. (370)

His return to France creates a circular organization for the chronicle, not only because it concludes in the same location where it began, but also because it restores the coherent social structure of English society. Indeed the final image of Henry VIII involves his feasting with the French King, suggesting his triumph over his enemies and a resolution of differences between the two countries, the banquet being a common symbol of social harmony. Moreover, King Henry's feast is in direct contrast to the empty and artificial banqueting house in Rome, where harmony between mortal enemies is only a dream. Finally, Jack promises "never to be outlandish Chronicler more while I live." Thus his return is a "validation" of the "banished Earl's repudiation of travel" (Wenke, 32).

The didactic conclusion of *The Unfortunate Traveler* seems well-suited for a writer whose usual mode of discourse was the pamphlet, a genre which usually addressed social concerns by advancing a particular point of view. Nashe's efforts to mitigate the numerous corruptions of his age can be seen in his pamphlet, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*. In our own age, critical theory maintains that the literary text actively participates in the shaping of "national consciousness."¹⁷ That is, literary work not only reflects but, in turn, produces culture. Stephen Greenblatt has labeled that element of the text responsible for cultural formation "social energy," for the text has the ability to "arouse disquiet, pain, fear, the beating of the heart, pity, laughter, tension, relief, [and] wonder."¹⁸ By being able to manipulate the disposition of its audience, literature becomes part of the ideological apparatus, forming and re-forming "social subjects," allowing them "to perform as conscious agents in an apparently meaningful world."¹⁹

If one accepts the thesis that literature participates in the generation of ideology and social custom, then it remains to be determined what *The Unfortunate Traveler* had to say in the last decade of the sixteenth century in England—and how it participated in that country's cultural formation. Nashe's most celebrated work is more than just another manifestation of anti-Italian sentiments by an Elizabethan writer. I believe it to be a conservative attempt to ameliorate the political tensions brought on by the vexing social problems of the age, and by the increasing number of discontents who, having traveled abroad, lost respect for British traditions and practices. That Nashe addressed the work to the noblemen in Elizabeth's court, specifically the Earl of Southampton, one of the chief players in the Essex rebellion, is further testament of its role as a vehicle for social change. With the example of Jack Wilton, Nashe tried to demonstrate that travel can be an unpleasant and often dangerous experience; that the values so highly

regarded by these wanderers are often degenerate, contributing to social chaos; and that although England may not have been paradise—there are wars and plagues—the country was characterized by stability and justice. Thus, Nashe tried to manipulate the fears of his audience, arguing that foreign customs are really inferior to British traditions. By doing so, he helped reinforce the predominant ideology through repudiation of the melancholy traveler and his subversive foreign values.



Notes

¹ Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveler, The Unfortunate Traveler and Other Works*, ed. J.B. Seane (1972), 251-370.

² Some structural studies of *The Unfortunate Traveler* are the following: Louise Simons, "Rerouting *The Unfortunate Traveler*: Strategies for Coherence and Direction," *SEL* 28 (Winter 1988): 17-38; Susan Marie Harrington and Michal Nahor Bond, "'Good Sir, be Ruld by Me': Patterns of Domination and Manipulation in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *Studies in Short Fiction* 24 (Summer 1987): 243-250; Raymond Stephanson, "The Epistemological Challenge of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *SEL* 23 (Winter 1983): 21-36; Madelon S. Gohlke, "Wit's Wantonness: *The Unfortunate Traveler* as Picaresque," *SP* 73 (1976): 397-413; David Kaula, "The Low Style in Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *SEL* 6 (1966): 43-57; Barbara C. Millard, "Thomas Nashe and the Functional Grotesque in Elizabethan Prose Fiction," *Studies in Short Fiction* 15 (Winter 1978): 39-48.

Some works that include rhetorical analyses are the following: Ann Rosalind Jones, "Inside the Outsider: Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveler* and Bakhtin's Polyphonic Novel," *ELH* 50 (Spring 1983): 61-82; Margaret Ferguson, "Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveler*: The 'Newes of the Maker' Game," *ELR* 11 (Spring 1981): 165-182; Reinhard H. Friederich, "Verbal Tensions in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *Language and Style* 8 (Summer 1975): 211-219; Richard Lanham, "Opaque Style in Elizabethan Fiction," *PCP* 1 (1966): 25-31.

³ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil, The Unfortunate Traveler and Other Works*, ed. J.B. Seane (1972): 49-145.

⁴ Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady* (1959), 74.

⁵ J.B. Bamborough, *The Little World of Man* (1952), 96.

⁶ Dr. Timothy Bright is quoted in Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan's "Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright," *PMLA* 41 (1926): 673-674.

⁷ Z.S. Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveler," *PQ* 14 (1935): 138-140.

⁸ Edward P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (1926), 35.

- ⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1967), 21.
- ¹⁰ J.B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1959), 439.
- ¹¹ Theodore Spencer, "The Elizabethan Malcontent," in *J.Q. Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. J.G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and E.E. Willoughby (1948), 148.
- ¹² Alexander Leggatt, "Artistic Coherence in *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *SEL* 14 (Winter 1974): 41.
- ¹³ John Wenke, "The Moral Aesthetic of Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *Renaissance* 34 (Autumn 1981): 24.
- ¹⁴ Raymond Stephanson, "The Epistemological Challenge of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*" *SEL* 23 (Winter 1983): 21-36; and Ruth M. Stevenson, "The Roman Banketting House: Nashe's Forsaken Image of Art" *Studies in Short Fiction* 17 (Summer 1980): 291-306.
- ¹⁵ Brigit Gellert Lyons, *Voice of Melancholy* (1971), 18.
- ¹⁶ Alexander Leggatt argues that Jack Wilton is not a developing character because he is rogue at the beginning of the narrative and his theft of Juliana's possessions demonstrates that he is still a renegade at the end of the work (38-39). I obviously disagree with Leggatt's assertion, because it assumes that Jack's escape from Zacharie's laboratory and Juliana's sexual tyranny is the event that inspires his reformation, and although the experience is certainly harrowing, it is actually the torture of Cutwolf that compels Jack to return home. Leggatt agrees with J.J. Jusserand (*The English Novel in The Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1890, 380) who suggests that a return of Juliana's possessions would have been the appropriate indication of his rehabilitation; however, such an action would be both impractical and dangerous, since Juliana has by this time been poisoned and Jack's return to the scene of theft would certainly end in his incarceration and subsequent torture. Thus such an action on the part of Jack would strain credibility.
- ¹⁷ Louis Montrose, "Renaissance Literary Studies and the Subject of History," *ELR* 16 (Winter 1986): 7.
- ¹⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* (1988), 6.
- ¹⁹ Louis Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veaser (1989), 16.

