# *Introduction: Women, race, and Renaissance texts*

In 1507 and again in 1508 the court of King James IV of Scotland mounted a tournament of the wild knight and the black lady. Surviving accounts of these splendid occasions constitute a rare record of the representation of African women in the early modern period.

We know that the king was outfitted in black and gold, from his doublet and hood to the weapons he carried and possibly later presented as prizes.[1] His attendants may even have worn silver and gilt horns as part of their costumes, and ridden contraptions rigged up to look like wild beasts. Mounted during a period when James was attempting to pacify the Gaelic Scots of the Highlands, the tournament of the wild knight performed for court consumption a kind of flirtation with the cultural notion of wildness. As the wild knight who wins the black lady and then reveals himself as the king, James symbolically crosses out of the self-consciously civilized and magnificent precincts of his court at Edinburgh, secures a prize from outside the borders of that court through at least partial symbolic appropriation of the tools of the unknown, and then returns home to the admiration and acclamation of his subjects.

This notion of voyaging outward and then returning with knowledge of and booty from the outside gains significance from the position of the black lady as the prize to be won. The part of this black lady may or may not have been played by one "Elen More," one of two African maidservants of James' queen, Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII; the king apparently employed several Africans, including at least one

[1] A description of the tournament can be found in Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the slauchter of King James the First to the ane thousande Fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir*, ed. Ae. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 243–245. It is discussed by Paul Edwards, "The Early African Presence in the British Isles," in Jagdish S. Gundara and Ian Duffield (eds.), *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain From Roman Times to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992), pp. 18–20; and Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: The Arts of Rule in Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 244–264.

family group, as part of his household. These Africans had probably been seized and brought to court by James' privateers in raids on Portuguese shipping; the Portuguese had well established their European trade in West African slaves by 1500. If Elen More did appear as the black lady of the tournament, her status as trade object and prize of war publicly witnessed the king's imperial ambitions, his known desire for a navy of his own and a greater international significance for his Scotland. In this case, the king as wild knight possesses and domesticates the token of wildness represented for the court by the African servant; the kingly, and white, essence beneath the wild man's exterior (wild men were frequently represented in performance as blackfaced, capering "Moriscos") works to accomplish this taming and claiming.

Yet, if it is only proper for the king to defeat rivals in combat and win the black lady, her blackness – sign of her status as designated object of European and masculine gazes – poses a problem for the ultimate accomplishment of union between (concealed) whiteness and wildness. At the tournament, elaborately dressed in a gold-flowered damask gown and attended by two young squires of noble family, she entered the hall carried in a "chair triumphal" decorated in £88 worth of Flemish taffeta.[2] Three nights' banqueting succeeded the staged battles, and the last evening's festivity was crowned by a sensational conjuring trick: "a cloud came out of the roof of the hall . . . and opened, and snatched up the black lady in the presence of them all, so that she was seen no more."[3]

The black lady's sudden disappearance, occurring at the climax of a celebration of the king's authority to tame "wildness," speaks powerfully to me as I mount this book's considerations of the manifestations and disappearances of women's racial identities in Renaissance culture. The black lady's disappearance is augmented by the fact that it is not at all certain that one of the "Moor lassies" (as they are called in the *Accounts*) of James' court actually played the black lady in the tournament. Among the items purchased to outfit the black lady for her appearance were black leather sleeves and gloves. We know that close-fitting black leather masks, leggings, and gloves were early properties of stage Moors and remained so through the Restoration, but if the black lady of James' tournament were played by an African, would she have worn such devices? Records of black men involved in early performance are frustratingly scant, and

[2] Edwards quotes Sir James Balfour Paul's 1902 modern-spelling edition of *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* in his "Early African Presence," p. 19.
[3] Edwards, "Early African Presence," p. 20.

those for black women are apparently nonexistent.[4] We don't know what the conventions governing their stage presentation, outside the elaborate costuming described here, would have been.

So the black lady of James' tournament may have vanished doubly, in the cloud machine and from performance, despite occupying what I have suggested is such a symbolically central place in the spectacle. I do not wish to imply that performance in and of itself grants the actor unproblematic access to enunciative authority – even if Elen More or another of the "Moor lassies" played the black lady in the tournament, she would have been doing so from within her subordinate and supplemental role as exoticized expression of James' visions of glory for himself and his kingdom, a carefully controlled actor within a pageant of royal self-aggrandizement.[5] Rather, what interests me is how the black lady may have been offered and withdrawn, her black skin a necessary accessory to the performance of the king's puissant mastery of the tools of wildness, yet also somehow – if the black lady were played on one occasion by a white court lady in the black leather accouterments listed in the accounts – performable, significatory. Such racial cross-dressing would satisfy Judith Butler's definition of performance as a "bounded" act, marked by mimicry, excess, and denaturalization.[6]

And yet, studying the racialization of women's bodies in early modern culture, I have become aware of how curiously fugitive representation of race can be, despite the centrality of ideas about English and foreign women to the establishment of the period's sexual, economic, racial, and class norms.[7] The effects of this ready (mis)appropriation of the

[4] For discussion of some evidence suggesting the involvement of Africans in Elizabethan performance, see Roslyn Knutson, "A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry," in Tetsuo Kishi, Roger Pringle, and Stanley Wells (eds.), *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 110–126.

[5] Edwards sees Elen More and her sister (?) Margaret as contributors of an "exotic touch" to "the grand style" of James' court, "Early African Presence," p. 20.

[6] In *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 234. Butler usefully remarks that "what is 'performed' works to conceal, if not to disavow, what remains opaque, unconscious, unperformable" (p. 234).

[7] Borrowing from the title of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, Michele Wallace uses the term "invisibility" to describe the representational problems surrounding the social figure of the black woman; see, for example, "Modernism, Postmodernism and the Problem of the Visual in Afro-American Culture," in Russell Ferguson *et al.* (eds.), *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1990), pp. 39–50. On contemporary suppression, fragmentation, and representational (mis)appropriations of black women, also see bell hooks, "Selling Hot Pussy: Representations of Black Female Sexuality in the Cultural Marketplace," in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), pp. 61–77; and Ann duCille, "The Occult of True Black Womanhood," in *Skin Trade* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 81–119.

black female body were, of course, most literally visible within slavery, where it was transformed into property, "to be 'taken' and used at will. Such a body is denied even the dignity accorded a wild animal; its status approaches that of mere matter, thing-hood."[8] The legacies of this psychologically and sexually violent dehumanization persisted well beyond the end of slavery and are under continuing excavation.[9] My primary concern in this book, however, is with discovering how women's bodies, white as well as black, and women's writing identities were "taken" and used by early modern cultures of race and colonialism. Allusion and displacement, rather than excess and denaturalization, seem to me to mark a fundamental descriptive axis of the representational practices surrounding race in the early modern period. In the king's tournament,

[8] Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 11. On European views of New World bodies in colonialism, see Denise Albanese, "Making It New: Humanism, Colonialism, and the Gendered Body in Early Modern Culture," in Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dympna Callaghan (eds.), *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 16–43; and Joyce E. Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy and Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997), 229–252.

[9] My thinking on this subject was first stimulated by Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), with its detailed recognition of the sexual ideologies constitutive of white and black women's social identities in the antebellum US south, esp. pp. 20–39. A selected list of similarly important recent titles emphasizing the interrelations of gender, race, and sexuality in the experience of black women in the Americas might include Jacqueline Jones, "Race, Sex, and Self-evident Truths: The Status of Slave Women During the Era of the American Revolution," in Catherine Clinton (ed.), *Half Sisters of History: Southern Women and the American Past* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 18–35; Stella Dadzie, "Searching for the Invisible Woman: Slavery and Resistance in Jamaica," *Race and Class* 32.2 (1990), 21–38; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "Beyond the Sound of Silence: Afro-American Women's History," *Gender and History* 1 (1989), 50–67; Darlene Clark and Kate Wittenstein, "Female Slave Resistance: The Economics of Sex," in Filomena Chioma Steady (ed.), *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1981), pp. 289–299; Thelma Jennings, "'Us Colored Women Had to Go Through a Plenty': Sexual Exploitation of African-American Slave Women," *Journal of Women's History* 1.3 (1990), 45–74; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Black Women in Resistance: A Cross-Cultural Perspective," in Gary Y. Okihiro (ed.), *In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), pp. 188–209; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "African Women in French and Spanish Louisiana: Origins, Roles, Family, Work, Treatment," in Catherine Clinton and Michelle Gillespie (eds.), *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 247–261; and Norma J. Burgess, "Gender Roles Revisited: The Development of the 'Woman's Place' Among African-American Women in the United States," *Journal of Black Studies* 24 (1994), 391–401. Three earlier pioneering discussions of the subject of African-American women's history are Paula Giddings, *Where and When I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Morrow, 1984); Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985); and Angela Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983). The impact of feminism on the historiography of African-American female slaves is surveyed in Patricia Morton's introductory essay to her collection, *Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 1–26.

these practices focus on an African woman's rich figurative valence, to the point where her black body can frequently be made to disappear in the pursuit of the ideas and relationships it is made to embody. This ideological utility is suggested by the ways in which race is communicated as a quantity which can be split, re-formed, erased; at James' court, was the black lady played on one occasion by a white woman in the black leather accouterments, and on another by one of the "Moor lassies" known to be present at James' court? If so, "blackface" impersonation can satisfy the representational requirements of the tournament as well as could the presence of a real African.

If the racialized body is thus curiously subject to abstraction and displacement, it was also and simultaneously endowed with a stubborn materiality. William Dunbar's poem "Ane Blak More," which may have been produced at the same time as the tournament of the black knight and the black lady, is crudely insistent on the bodily in its vigorous description of the lady in question:

> Lang heff I maed of ladyes quyhtt;
> Nou of ane blak I will indytt
> That landet furth of the last schippis;
> Quhou fain wald I descrye perfytt
> My ladye with the mekle lippis.
>
> Quhou schou is tute mowitt lyk ane aep
> And lyk a gangarall onto graep,
> And quhou hir schort catt nois up skippis,
> And quhou schou schynes lyk ony saep,
> My ladye with the mekle lippis.[10]

My point is not that Dunbar's poem is racist in its denigration of the black lady's physicality, although the ugliness of its racial consciousness can certainly be argued, particularly in light of what has been suggested about the court's employment of Africans as exotic indices of the king's greatness. Rather, I bring it up to point to the stubbornness of ideas of the body and the bodily as they attach to African women in the early modern period. These ideas came to be shaped by convictions of the social consequences of this bodily particularity as it was adopted to the purposes of New World slavery.

[10] Edwards translates "mekle lippis" as "thick lips". His version of line six is "thick mouthed, like a monkey." "Gangarall" in line seven could be either "toad" or "vagabond"; "schort catt nois" is "short catlike nose," and in line nine, the lady "shines as if soaped" ("Early African Presence," p. 21). He suggests that the poem's production within the Scots poetic tradition of flyting should prevent contemporary readers from rushing to judgment about its apparent racism, pp. 22–23.

The King of Scots, being royal, had ubiquity, and was not limited in public demonstration of his puissance by the mere color of his skin or the kinds of domestic order he wished to establish. Putting on the mask of wildness, he is able to emerge from disguise as himself, mysteriously amplified. The African woman on whose representation I meditate here was, in contrast, exposed to increasingly rigorous attempts to fix her in a single place.[11] Almost a hundred years after James' tournament, another royal entertainment returned to the figure of the African woman and employed her figure in such a way as to reinscribe her disappearance within a narrative more securely closed through the resources of royal patriarchy and of racial rivalry between men. I refer, of course, to Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones' *The Masque of Blacknesse*, in which the black daughters of Father Niger come to Albion in quest of the magical presence which will have the potency to accomplish the impossible and wash the Ethiop white.[12]

In the masque, two kinds of erasure of the African nymphs' "blacknesse" take place. Not only does the masque conclude with a dance celebrating the "courtship" between Niger's daughters and the "Britain men" which will make the impossible possible, but the roles of the black women were performed by white women of the court in blackface. Here, Jonson's and Jones' work removes the notion of claiming the black lady from the arena of military rivalry between a disguised king and his foreign competitors and situates it within a festival. The king is newly imagined as object of adulation rather than as warrior, and the kind of conflict in which the black ladies are the prize becomes a matter of ritualized courtship display rather than of a demonstration of military prowess. This substitution of love for war transforms the role of the African woman from disputed trade object into eager participant in the mysteries of a court busily disseminating its own convictions of the extent and nature of

[11] Although gender and, to a degree, race, remain submerged subjects here, Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," *Screen* 24 (1983) usefully notes colonial discourse's "dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness" (18) so as to reproduce and recirculate certain convictions about the 'other' which is being discussed.

[12] Discussions of "blacknesse" in Jonson's masque include Yumna Siddiqi, "Dark Incontinents: The Discourse of Race and Gender in Three Renaissance Masques," *RenD* 23 (1992), 139–163; Hardin Aasand, "'To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corse': Queen Anne and *The Masque of Blacknesse*," *SEL* 32 (1992), 271–285; Ann Cline Kelly, "The Challenge of the Impossible: Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse*," *CLA Journal* 20 (1977), 341–350; Joyce Green MacDonald, "'The Force of Imagination': The Subject of Blackness in Shakespeare, Jonson, and Ravenscroft," *RenP* (1991), 53–74; and Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 128–140.

fatherly authority.[13] In the masque, Niger's daughters voluntarily leave their own father and submit themselves to the authority of another, greater fount of royal knowledge and power. They yield themselves to courtship by white men who act as romantic and sexual proxies for their new father figure; as in the tournament of the wild knight and the black lady, the black ladies occupy one corner of a triangle, with men at the other two. Here, however, white husbands triumph over the black father in a socially structured difference from the earlier battle between wild and civilized potential suitors. Niger's daughters voluntarily transfer themselves to the "Britain men," initiating an exchange of women which effectively removes one male party – their father – from the transaction. Niger's fatherly authority disappears as much as his daughters' blackness is intended to do. The fact that the daughters were personated by court ladies furthers this notion of voluntary disappearance. The queen and her attendants sought out blackness as a novelty, putting on the greasepaint of disguise much as James IV donned wildness: to point to the true whiteness, rank, beauty, and marital probity which presumably lay beneath.[14] An actual black body in the role would have been irrelevant, since the point of the masque is erasure and transformation; black skin matters more as a tangible sign of the might of royal patriarchy than as itself. In an age of nascent imperialism which would come to be increasingly reliant on race-based slavery, the signification of women's black skin came to include capital as well as the sexual policing that *The Masque of Blacknesse* is designed to celebrate as the foundation of patriarchal might.

The relationship between women, their races, and social and sexual authority is again on display in John Marston's *The Wonder of Women or the Tragedie of Sophonisba* (1606); Marston's play features two black characters, the villain's "Ethiopian slave," Vangue, and the heroine's "maide," Zanthia. The villain, Syphax, identifies these two as the "blacke knaves" he will call on to "straine" Sophonisba's "limbes all wide" as he rapes

[13] See especially Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 85–112.

[14] Bernadette Andrea, "Black Skin, the Queen's Masques: Africanist Ambivalence and Feminine Author(ity) in the Masques of *Blackness* and *Beauty*," *ELR* 29 (1999), 246–281, discusses the queen's performance as an instance of female authorship whose gender transgressiveness was underpinned by its placement "within the confines of incipient British imperialism and the emerging model of racial slavery to which it is inextricably connected" (248). Andrea's view of the complication of female authorship by race is similar to my own, which will emerge in the later chapters of this book.

her if she will not yield to his advances.[15] He later offers Zanthia money if she will persuade Sophonisba to accept him:

> Zanthia, Zanthia!
> Thou art not foule, go to; some Lords are oft
> So much in love with their knowne Ladyes bodies,
> That they oft love their vailes; hold, hold, thou'st find,
> To faithfull care Kinges bounty hath no shore.

Zanthia accepts his offer, becoming his "creature" in exchange for mere "gold," (D3–D3 verso) thus exhibiting behavior which explicitly denies the value Marston's play places on fidelity and duty. Sophonisba, for example, has not told Zanthia whether she'll sleep with Syphax or not, scorning the loose tongues of "servants,"

> Like such as onely for their gaine to serve,
> Within the vaste capacitye of place,
> I know no vilenes so most truly base.
> Theire Lordes, their gaine; and he that most will give,
> With him (they will not dye, but) they will live. (D4)

Zanthia, not knowing of her mistress' distrust, leads Sophonisba to a cave where Syphax meets them, planning to carry out the rape. Sophonisba, despite her present danger, warns him not to rely too much on the aid of "false" Zanthia; as he is "worthy," (E3 verso) he must not allow the servant the opportunity to deceive him, and his guards seize her. Zanthia fatalistically accepts the implication of Sophonisba's concern for her would-be rapist's welfare – "When two foes are growne friends, partakers bleed" (E4) – and she is presumably removed from the scene as Sophonisba assures Syphax that she "hates[s] thee not" (E4).

Here, Zanthia betrays Sophonisba because she is a servant, and without morals; her mistress seems to expect nothing better of her, and indeed enthusiastically delivers her for punishment to the unscrupulous Syphax.[16] What is surprising is that both the would-be rapist and his putative victim step out of their dramatic antagonism long enough to agree on the necessity for Zanthia's punishment. We first see Zanthia as

[15] I cite *The Wonder of Women Or The Tragedie of Sophonisba, as it hath beene sundry times Acted at the Blacke Friers* (London, 1606) here, A2 verso, D2 verso. All subsequent citations will be provided in my text.

[16] Similarly, although Syphax begins the play addressing Vangue as his "Deere Ethiopian negro" (A4 verso) and confides his passion for Sophonisba to him, he also stabs him to death in sheer annoyance after finding him – drugged by Sophonisba – in the bed where he had expected to find her waiting for him.

part of the play's opening tableau: "Enter at one doore the Prologue, two Pages with torches, *Asdruball* and *Jugurth*, two Pages with lights, *Massanissa* leading *Sophonisba*, *Zanthia* bearing *Sophonisbas* traine, *Arcathia* and *Nicea*, *Hano* and *Bytheas*" (A3). She is visually employed here as an accessory connoting the considerable magnificence of Sophonisba's state. She is ancillary again to the play's later interest in displaying Sophonisba's steadfastness and purity of mind as she is taken away from what becomes a rather sensational scene in which Sophonisba escapes and the witch, Erichto, takes her shape and replaces her in Syphax's lustful bed. And yet, the highly theatrical witch scenes and the display of Sophonisba's resourcefulness and integrity which are focal points of Marston's play only become possible through Zanthia's betrayal of her mistress. Her black skin, presumably the occasion of Syphax's chummy declaration that she is not in fact "foule," proclaims her subjection to others' will, a subjection which acts as a foil to Sophonisba's claiming of the sexual fidelity which makes her "the wonder of women."[17] Zanthia's black skin, token of her knavery, is what makes Sophonisba's figurative moral "whiteness" visible. Like the black lady of the tournament, Marston's Zanthia is literal and mysteriously allusive, present and absent.

Zanthia's anticlimactic removal from Marston's play is a literalization of the kinds of female racial disappearances and emergences which interest me in this book. As I set out to discover African women in Renaissance texts of empire, I discovered, far more frequently than Marston's explicit portrayal of a recognizably dark-skinned woman, women historically understood to have originated from within the continent of Africa whose skin color was explicitly described as white. This insistent whitening of women who may have had a range of skin colors does not mean that race disappears from the accounts of empire-building that interest me – not unless, that is, our notions of race in the early modern or ancient world are unhistorically bound up with skin color as its primary determinant. Rather, the unspecified skin color or, more frequently, the Petrarchan whiteness of the Renaissance African women whose stories I examine here seem to function as a rhetorical assertion of the opposite of the racial difference whose existence was being forcefully experienced by Europeans in an age of colonization and exploration. The racial "sameness" that these women's white skin apparently proclaims does not, in

[17] On the connection between racial identity and women's moral agency in Renaissance drama, see Ania Loomba, "The Color of Patriarchy: Critical Difference, Cultural Difference, and Renaissance Drama," in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (eds.), *Women, 'Race,' and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London: Routledge, 1994), esp. pp. 26–29.

fact, repudiate the idea of racialized norms of femininity, since other kinds of difference – sexual, political, behavioral – will be fully identified as racial matters within the newly whitened social body. Hence this book's concern with the strategies of racial representation. Given the spectrality of empire, the difficulty with which ideas of empire could be communicated for the consumption of English audiences during their first consolidations, the gendered and raced means through which these ideas are publicly rehearsed and performed become crucially significant. My book will trace two of these gendered tactics of communicating empire: the removal of dark-skinned women from representation, and the submersion of Englishwomen's racial identity into gender.

Lynda Boose's article, "'The Getting of a Lawful Race': Racial Discourse in Early Modern England and the 'Unrepresentable' Black Woman," did much to stimulate my thinking on the first of these subjects, with its programmatic observation that "it is in the person of the black woman that the culture's pre-existing fears both about the female sex and about gender domination are realized."[18] For Boose, a woman's dark skin becomes a visual token of her mysterious maternal generativity, and so, such a threat to the psychic dominance of white men that women who bear this sign of darkness must be exiled from cultural representation. A second spur to the development of my own ideas was Kim Hall's book, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*, perhaps particularly the brilliant section on the color consciousness of the Petrarchan style, which characterizes sonneteers' employment of a vocabulary of fairness and darkness as a project in aesthetic mastery of gender and racial difference.

And yet, as my own work progressed, I began to see how it departs from both these powerful paradigms. Boose's explanation seems to me to subsume racial difference entirely within gender difference. I am not convinced that the barring of black women from representation was entirely the result of male patriarchal anxiety. Black women were not, in fact, completely absent from representation; the visual record is rich, and richly suggestive. While I agree with Boose that signs of African women's presence are difficult to trace, I see the roots of this suppression as having more to do with race than with gender. Or rather, I must insist – more than her argument does – on gender's frequent reliance on race for its voicing. One result of my consciousness that a patriarchal culture needed race to do its work with gender is the attention my book pays to the work

[18] In Hendricks and Parker (eds.), *Women, 'Race,' and Writing*, p. 46.