

POOR WOMEN IN SHAKESPEARE

Poor women do not fit easily into the household in Shakespeare. They shift in and out of marriages, households, and employments, carrying messages, tallying bills, and making things happen. Rarely the main characters, they are always there somewhere, evoking the ever-present problem of female poverty in early modern England. Like the illegal farthings that carried their likeness, poor women both did and did not fit into the household and marriage market. They are both essential to and excluded from the economy. They are both present and absent on the early modern stage. In the drama, they circulate between plots, essential because they are so mobile, but largely unnoticed because of their mobility. These female characters represent the changing gender and economic roles at the bottom, as England shifted from feudalism to empire in the span of Shakespeare's lifetime. We find their dramas played out in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

FIONA MCNEILL is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Oklahoma. She has contributed to publications such as *Renaissance Drama*, edited by Wendy Wall and Jeffrey Masten (1999), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of English Literature*, edited by David Scott Kastan (2006), and *Gender and Oral Traditions in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Mary Ellen Lamb and Karen Bamford (2007). This is her first book.



POOR WOMEN IN SHAKESPEARE

FIONA McNEILL





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

> > Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521868860

© Fiona McNeill 2007

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2007

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

McNeill, Fiona. Poor women in Shakespeare / Fiona McNeill. p.cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN-13: 978-0-521-86886-0 (hardback : alk. paper) ISBN-10: 0-521-86886-6 (hardback : alk. paper)

Shakespeare, William, 1564 – 1616 – Characters – Women.
 Women – England – History – Renaissance, 1450 – 1600.
 Women and literature – England – History – 16th century.

4. Women – England – Social conditions. 5. Poor in literature. 6. Poverty in literature. 7. Sex role in literature. 8. Women in literature. I. Title.

PR 2991.M 345 2007 822.3′3 – dc22 2006037411

ISBN-13 978-0-521-86886-0 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



> In memory of my grandmothers, Agnes Mercer McNeill and Hilda Cameron Stirling, who both remembered the poorhouse.



Contents

List of illustrations and tables		page viii	
Αc	sknowledgments	X	
	troduction: Maid, wife, and widow: (dis) ordering early odern women	I	
I	Free and bound maids: poor women in early industrial Engle	and 48	
2	Pregnant maids and the new bastardy laws	80	
3	Playhouse, courtroom, and pulpit: poor women in the news	115	
4	Masterless women in early modern London	150	
5	Poor women in the new world	178	
N	otes	200	
Bibliography		230	
Index		249	



List of illustrations and tables

TABLE

0.1 Table of English coins and their equivalents.

page 7

FIGURES

O.I The overseers of farthing of st. Ives, 1669, in Thomas Snelling, A View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England, Including the Leader, Tin and Laton Tokens Made by Tradesmen during the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I; the Farthing Tokens of James I and Charles I; those of Towns and Corporations under the Commonwealth and Charles II; and Tin Farthings and Halfpence. With Copper Plates. London, printed for T. Snelling, 1766. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

A Biglesworth halfpenny coined by the Overseers of the poor around 1660, in Snelling, *A View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England*. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

1.2 Frontispiece to Nicolas Hunt's The Hand-Maid to Arithmetick Refined: shewing the variety and facility of working all rules in whole numbers and fractions, after most pleasant and profitable waies. Abounding with tables above 150. For Monies, Measures and Weights, tale and number of things here and in forraigne parts; verie usefull for all Gentlemen, Captaines, Gunners, Shopkeepers, Artificers, and Negotiators of all sorts. London, 1633; STC 13988. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

77

9

70

viii



List of illustrations and tables

ix

3.1 The title page of Henry Neville's An Exact Diurnall of the Parliament of Ladyes, Showing Moll Cutpurse in the foreground carrying a pike. London, 1647; Wing N504. By permission of the Huntington Library.

148

4.1 This section from John Ogilby and William Morgan's 1676 New and Accurate Map of the City of London shows the rapid and dense urbanization of Turnmill Street. By Permission of the Guildhall Library, London.

160

4.2 A woodcut on the verso of the title page to the 1634 edition of Charles Butler's *The Feminin' Monarchi'*, *Or The Histori of Bee's*. This treatise on both beekeeping and feminine government depicts the beehive as a highly schematized emblem of the orderly segmentation of social classes. London, 1634; STC 4194. By permission of Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

169



Acknowledgments

I cannot but acknowledge the enormous amount of communal work that results in a book. The support I have received in the shape of time, attention, and guidance – from mentors, colleagues, peers, and friends – was unpaid, generously given, and gratefully received. Reading manuscripts, writing reader reports, composing letters of recommendation, making job placement phone calls, sitting on fellowship committees – all these, I have come to realize as a professor myself, are done out of the goodness of people's hearts and a sense of collegiality that is alive and well in my field. For fostering this sense of fellowship, I thank the members, and devoted staff, of those institutions that form the hub of my intellectual community – Columbia University, the New York Public Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Huntington Library, and the Shakespeare Association of America.

The following individuals all enthusiastically contributed their time, attention, and expertise to this book. I have been lucky to have had some of the best teachers. A special thanks goes first and foremost to Jean Howard – mentor, reader, role model, and champion of my work. David Kastan, too, as both mentor and editor, continues to give generously of his experience and expertise. Thanks are due to them both for mentoring their former students long after the dissertation defense. I have had other outstanding teachers: Margaret Mason, Lorna Hutson, Lisa Jardine, and Donald Rayfield, O. B. E. My thanks also go to my generous and brilliant readers and editors: Ann Prescott, Jeff Masten, Wendy Wall, Mary Ellen Lamb, Karen Bamford, David Kleiman, Louise Yelin, Mario DiGangi, Will Fisher, Bianca Calabresi, Bonnie Gordon, and Elliott Trice. My former student, Brenna Hill, gets a special mention for her willingness and extraordinary ability to be trained as my editorial assistant on this manuscript. Thanks to my colleagues at Purchase College, Robert Stein, Deb Amory, and Louise Yelin, for their generosity and brilliance in guiding my early career, and to Robert Stein for countless car



Acknowledgments

conversations ranging from Derrida to Provençal poetry to Anglo-Saxon caskets and back to Merce Cunningham. Riding to work was a pleasure and an education.

Special thanks are due to several extraordinary people: Nora Olsen, Áine Ní Cheallaigh, Terry Hunt, Maggie Zellner, Art Pomponio, Eutonnah Olsen Dunn, R. L. Widmann, Bob O'Meally, Cameron Gordon, Natasha Korda, John Archer, and Dympna Callaghan, for plain old friendship as well as brilliance and stunning erudition.

Librarians are too often the unmentioned contributors to a book. Thanks to Robert Scott and Sarah Spurgeon of Columbia University, Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Jill Cogen, Christopher Adde, and Suzi Krasnoo at the Huntington, and all those at the New York Public Library. This book would not be what it is without you. It was conceived and written in first draft under the New York Public Library's painted ceiling using the unique Arents Tobacco Collection. It was researched and realized at the Folger Shakespeare Library, in the reading room, in the stacks, and over afternoon tea, and in the Huntington Library's rare book room and stacks, under palm trees in the Library gardens, and at the lunch tables with other scholars from across the world. I am grateful to the Folger and the Huntington for the short-term fellowships that supported this project at its doctoral level, and to President Schwarz of Purchase College for the Junior Faculty Leave Award that supported its development into a book.

Last, but not least, without my students, my work would be only half-realized. Thanks to all my students past and present, who love to be taught new things, and are willing to hold graduate level conversations on all occasions.

ΧI