PROGRAMME (As of 14 June 2019; please note that this schedule is still subject to change.)

7TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ATLANTIC MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN GROUP (AMEMG)
25-26 OCTOBER 2019
HALIFAX, N.S.
CO-SPONSORED BY DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE

ALL SESSIONS ARE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE, NEW ACADEMIC BUILDING (NAB)

FRIDAY, 25 OCTOBER

REGISTRATION, NAB, 2ND FLOOR FOYER, FROM 2:30

DIGITAL SCHOLARSHIP IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN STUDIES (ROUNDTABLE)
3:30-5:30, KTS Lecture Hall, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Krista Kesselring, Dalhousie University

Jennifer Bain, Dalhousie University
Marie-France Guénette, Université de Montréal
Leah Grandy, University of New Brunswick
Keith Grant, Crandall University
Lyn Bennett, Dalhousie University

REFRESHMENTS, 5:30-6:30, WILSON COMMON ROOM, 2ND FLOOR NAB

KEYNOTE
6:30-8:00, KTS Lecture Hall, 2nd floor NAB

"The Apprenticeship of Richard Robinson: The Making of an Early Modern Boy Actress"
Roberta Barker (Dalhousie and King's; Theatre)

RECEPTION
8:00, Dalhousie University Club pub
Registered conference goers are invited to meet for a free drink and light snacks.
Orders can also be made from the full bar and (limited) evening food menu.

SATURDAY, 26 OCTOBER

COFFEE, 8:30, 2ND FLOOR FOYER, NAB

SESSION 1: MASCULINITIES
8:45-10:30, KTS Lecture Hall, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Kathy Cawsey, Dalhousie University

Women's Bodies and the Reification of Masculinity in *El Cid*
Lauren Beck, Mount Allison University

Challenging the Champion: Toxic Masculinity in *Samson Agonistes*
Kendra Guidolin, University of New Brunswick

"When I seriously reflect uppon some expressions in your letter": Letter-Writing and Father-Son Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England
Adriana Benzaquén, Mount Saint Vincent University

Spurs and Negotiations of Masculinity in Early Modern Europe
Hilary Doda, Dalhousie University

REFRESHMENTS, NAB 2ND FLOOR FOYER, 10:30-10:45

SESSION 2: CONNECTIONS: IMAGINING AND ENCOUNTERING THE FOREIGN
10:45-12:30, KTS Lecture Hall, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Colin Mitchell, Dalhousie University

Monarchs Demystified: English Depictions of Shah Tahmasb and Shah Abbas, the Great 'Sophies' of Persia
Mahira Qadri, Dalhousie University

French Music and Theatre at the English Court: The Role of Henrietta Maria in Patronage and Translation (1629-1640)
Marie-France Guénette, Université de Montréal

Family and State in Voltaire's *Orphan of China* and *Analects* 13.18
Simon Kow, University of King's College

Social Limits and Transgressions on the Stage in the First Gothic Play, Robert Jephson's *The Count of Narbonne*
Benjamin Hayward, University of New Brunswick

LUNCH, BOARD ROOM, 12:30-1:30

SESSION 3 (CONCURRENT PANELS), 1:30-3:00

3.A. NETWORKS, NOTEBOOKS, AND THE TRANSATLANTIC HISTORY OF MEDICINE
Frazee Room, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Caroline Michaud, Dalhousie University

Learned and Domestic Medicine in 18th-Century Halifax: The Manuscript Notebooks of Dr. William James Almon and Sarah Creighton Wilkins
Lyn Bennett, Dalhousie University

Imperial Careering: The Transatlantic Networks of British Military Engineer William Booth (1748-1826)
Bonnie Huskins, University of New Brunswick

William Booth (1748-1826), a Military Engineer, as Patient and Care-Giver in the British Atlantic World during the 1780s
Wendy D. Churchill, University of New Brunswick

3.B. BEFORE THE PANOPTICON: SURVEILLANCE IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE
Seminar Room, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: David McNeil, Dalhousie University

Spying and Early Modern English Drama: The Strange Case of Anthony Munday
Greg Maillet, Crandall University

Surveillance as Risible: From Constable Dogberry to Justice Overdo
Ronald Huebert, Dalhousie University and University of King's College

Unchained Knowledge: Surveillance, Panopticon Libraries, and Unexamined Benthamism, 1780-2010
Marc MacDonald, University of Prince Edward Island

REFRESHMENTS, NAB 2ND FLOOR FOYER, 3:00-3:15

SESSION 4 (CONCURRENT PANELS), 3:15-4:45

4.A. POLITICS, FROM THE LOCAL TO THE GLOBAL
Frazee Room, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Krista Kesselring, Dalhousie University

Women at the English Manorial Courts, 1558-1700: Evidence from Yorkshire and Lancashire
Melissa Glass, Dalhousie University

Communities and Kinship Networks among Catholics in the Elizabethan Midlands
Laura Rehn, Independent Scholar

Piracy Accusations as Political Propaganda
Sarah Toye, Canadian Museum of Immigration, Pier 21

4.B. INFINITE POSSIBILITIES EMBODIED
Seminar Room, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Simon Kow, University of King's College

Dante's *Paradiso* as Gateway to the Renaissance
Neil G. Robertson, University of King's College

The Dove Within: The Dutch Spiritualist David Joris's Transformation of the Holy Spirit into His Own Mind, c. 1540-1556
Gary Waite, University of New Brunswick

Descartes, Demons, and the Mind-Body Problem
Kathryn Morris, University of King's College

SESSION 5: EVIDENCE
4:45-6:15, KTS Lecture Hall, 2nd floor NAB

Chair: Lyn Bennett, Dalhousie University

Traces of Liturgy: Analysing a Manuscript Fragment from the Binding of the *Riesencodex*
Jennifer Bain, Dalhousie University

"With Light and Easy Pulse": Early-Modern Writing Mistresses Negotiating Mastery
Miriam Jones, University of New Brunswick, Saint John

Named in Freedom: Children in the *Book of Negroes*
Leah Grandy, University of New Brunswick

BUSINESS MEETING, KTS LECTURE HALL, 6:15-6:30

*[**Saturday evening event** –We are hoping to have a special event scheduled for this evening, with plans afoot for the local Helios vocal ensemble to perform music from the lavish 1613 wedding festivities of the 'Winter Queen', Elizabeth Stuart, and Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine. (For a quick overview of what this wedding was like, click here for a British Library blog post.) Details will be sent along as soon as possible. If for some reason the performance doesn't go ahead, we'll simply plan to gather at a downtown pub for dinner and drinks, for anyone who might be interested.]*

FOR THEIR FINANCIAL OR IN-KIND SUPPORT, WE WISH TO THANK THE UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE, THE DAL HISTORY DEPARTMENT, AND THE FASS/SSHRC DIGITAL HUMANITIES FUND.*

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE ARE LOCATED IN MI'KMA'KI, THE ANCESTRAL AND UNCEDED TERRITORY OF THE MI'KMAQ. WE ARE ALL TREATY PEOPLE.

Traces of Liturgy: Analysing a Manuscript Fragment from the Binding of the *Riesencodex*
Jennifer Bain

The Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain in Wiesbaden has recently photographed two manuscript fragments with musical notation, retrieved from the fifteenth- or sixteenth-century binding of the twelfth-century *Riesencodex*, the most substantial collection of the works of Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179). From my own assessment of the fragments, I would suggest that both come from twelfth-century liturgical books, placing them within Hildegard's lifetime. Although we do not know where the manuscript was bound or if the binding leaves came from books at one of Hildegard's convents (Rupertsberg or Eibingen), they are potentially significant for our understanding of Hildegard's liturgical environment and demand close attention. The fragments themselves are dirty and damaged, with faded rubrics and musical clefs, and for this presentation I will focus on the most legible of the two (Fragment 1). Fragment 1 comes from an Antiphonal, including text and music for the Office, not the Mass. Its liturgical content begins partway through Passion Sunday (5th Sunday of Lent, 2 weeks before Easter), and includes the weekday liturgy for Passion week up to the first two chants for Palm Sunday; features of the office convey that it was for monastic use not secular (i.e., not for a Cathedral or parish church). Considering particular aspects of the liturgy and musical notation, I would suggest that its provenance is southern Germanic, which supports a possible association with one of Hildegard's monasteries. This provenance is of particular significance because there are no known extant liturgical books from either Rupertsberg or Eibingen. In any case, what we do know is that in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the Riesencodex, which includes Hildegard's own music in out-of-date musical notation, was considered worthy of rebinding, while this other twelfth-century musical manuscript was considered dispensable, a situation that tells us how important the Riesencodex collection was to the communities at Rupertsberg and Eibingen**.**

Jennifer Bain is Professor of Music and Gender and Women's Studies at Dalhousie University. Her articles and editorial projects focus on the music of Guillaume de Machaut and Hildegard of Bingen, and the development of digital chant research tools. Currently editing the *Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, her book, *Hildegard of Bingen and Musical Reception: the Modern Revival of a Medieval Composer*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2015.

Women's Bodies and the Reification of Masculinity in *El Cid*
Lauren Beck

The medieval epic poem, *Poema de mio Cid*, celebrates Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (d. 1099) and his efforts to wrest control of the southern half of Spain from Muslims while exploring events that occurred during his life after the king sent him into exile. After conquering Valencia and becoming its ruler, he reunited with his family and quickly saw his daughters married to the infantes de Carrión. This paper explores a particular moment in the plot when their husbands beat and abandon them for dead as a means of punishing their father and as an attempt to redress their own humiliating behaviour earlier in the story. By focusing on the earliest visualizations of this scene, moreover, we will explore the eroticism associated with the husbands' abuse of their wives while documenting how the scene's visualization transforms over the centuries. In tandem, we will consider how the values associated with masculinity

and femininity also change with time, as does their impact on how we read this medieval epic poem, particularly when it comes to gender roles.

Dr. Lauren Beck holds the Canada Research Chair in Intercultural Encounter and is Professor of Hispanic Studies at Mount Allison University. Her recent books include *Illustrating el Cid, 1498-Today* (2019), *Firsting in the Early-Modern Atlantic World* (2019), *Visualizing the Text, from Manuscript Culture to the Age of Caricature* (with C. Ionescu, 2017), and *Transforming the Enemy in Spanish Culture* (2013).

Learned and Domestic Medicine in 18th- Century Halifax:
The Manuscript Notebooks of Dr. William James Almon and Sarah Creighton Wilkins
Lyn Bennett

Dr. William James Almon was a Loyalist physician who established a thriving private practice in late 18th-century Halifax, while Sarah Creighton Wilkins was a homemaker and mother to seven children by a lawyer, politician, and judge of "the Halifax Establishment" (DCB). Like other physicians and housewives of their day, both Almon and Wilkins kept extensive notebooks recording instructions for a variety of medical remedies along with directions for making everything from a cheap sugar substitute to lip salve to insect repellent. Both collections are, however, dominated by the medical. Almon's Notebook includes some 42 entries on medical topics, while 68 of Wilkins' 98 recipes are clearly medicinal. Taken together, the Almon and Wilkins Notebooks raise two hitherto unexplored questions about medical knowledge in colonial Nova Scotia: first, whether domestic and learned medicine were more closely aligned in the colonies than in Britain and, second, whether homemakers and physicians had comparable access to medicinal ingredients. Focusing on their attention to different ailments, invocations of medical authority, and specifications of oft-imported ingredients, I will consider what the Notebooks' similarities and differences suggest about the migration of medical knowledge in 18th-century Halifax and how that knowledge may have been shaped by the ongoing tug-of-war between learned and domestic medicine that has been well documented in the work of their British counterparts.

Given that they reflect the contexts of learned and domestic medicine, the Notebooks also present some notable distinctions in form as well as substance. Scant directions and a lack of contextualizing information, in particular, make for a terse concision in Wilkins' entries that contrasts notably with the amplified verbosity of Almon's lengthy contributions. Thus attending to the rhetoric of medical recipes, my presentation will also address the relationship of the learned and domestic in an established genre.

Associate Professor at Dalhousie University, *Lyn Bennett* teaches classes in rhetoric, writing, and literature. As well as *Rhetoric, Medicine and the Woman Writer, 1600-1700* (Cambridge UP, 2018), she has published numerous articles on topics rhetorical and literary. Her current research focuses on the rhetoric of the professions in early modern England and on recipe writing in the early modern Maritimes.

"When I seriously reflect uppon some expressions in your letter": Letter-Writing and Father-Son Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England
Adriana Benzaquén

Drawing on recent insights from the history of youth, the construction of masculinity, the history of the emotions, and the study of early modern letters, this paper explores the fraught relationship between an English adolescent, Edward Clarke, and his father through analysis of about two hundred letters written between 1667 and 1672, while Edward—who would grow up to be John Locke's closest friend and a whig MP—was a student at Oxford and the Inner Temple. I will show how, in the letters, father and son negotiated the terms of their relationship and dealt with issues of authority, age and status, and how distance and time gave rise to and intensified, but also diffused, the conflict between them. Despite Edward's undoubtedly sincere commitment to being an obedient and humble son, on some occasions he could not help displaying a streak of impatience and even resentment at his father's strictures and demands, which sometimes seemed to him excessive or unreasonable. I will focus on two central topics, money and health, to trace the tension between expressions of affection, deference, submissiveness and gratitude on the one hand, and a growing desire for autonomy on the other.

Adriana Benzaquén is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Mount Saint Vincent University, where she teaches early modern European history, intellectual and cultural history, the history of childhood, and the history of women. She is the author of *Encounters with Wild Children: Temptation and Disappointment in the Study of Human Nature* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) and of articles on the history of children and youth, health and medicine, human science, and friendship in early modern and Enlightenment Europe. She has recently contributed the chapter "Illness and Death" for the collection *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, edited by Anna French (forthcoming with Routledge) and is completing "Non-Elite Youth and Youth Culture in the Premodern West" for the *Oxford Handbook of the History of Youth Culture*, edited by James Marten. She is editing *A Cultural History of Youth in the Age of Enlightenment*, vol. 4 of *A Cultural History of Youth*, for Bloomsbury, and working on a book manuscript tentatively titled *Locke's Children: Children and Adults in England, 1660-1720*.

William Booth (1748–1826), a Military Engineer, as Patient and Care-giver in the British Atlantic World during the 1780s.1

Wendy Churchill

This paper focuses on the health and medical experiences of William Booth (1748-1826), a British military engineer, while he was stationed or on leave in Gibraltar, England, and Nova Scotia during the 1780s. Amongst the experiences to be examined is Booth's fever and delirium in 1782 while he was posted to Gibraltar during the Great Siege (1779-83), and which resulted in his return to England. Over the next two years, he travelled throughout southwest Britain, at least partially due to what was likely the need for a lengthy period of recovery in the contexts of private convalescence and medical consultation. By 1784, Booth had sufficiently regained his health to be ordered to Nova Scotia and while stationed in Shelburne, NS, from 1786-89, he recorded his own health complaints and the illness and death of his first wife. Through an examination of these three locations, this paper illuminates Booth's roles as both patient and care-giver, thereby contributing to the growing body of scholarship on the active participation of men in health and medicine within various community, household, and family settings during this period.

An analysis of memoranda, journals, correspondence, and publications related to Booth's experiences in various locations reveals the ways in which the mobility, status, and networks of patients from the middling and professional classes could facilitate the creation, acquisition, modification, and communication of medical knowledge and practices throughout the British Atlantic world. This paper investigates how Booth understood and applied eighteenth-century concepts of illness and medicine

(e.g. humoralism; miasmatism, neo-Hippocratic notions of “airs, waters, places”; iatrochemistry; iatromechanism). It argues that although Booth’s attitudes were largely determined by his identification as a polite, middling, professional male, they were also influenced by specific circumstances and events (e.g. demographics, warfare, climate/weather) and the uniqueness of local cultural and identity formations throughout the British Atlantic world.

Wendy Churchill is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at UNB. Her research and publications in the social history of medicine have focused on the themes of gender, race, and class in the context of early modern Britain and its empire. Her first monograph, *Female Patients in Early Modern Britain: Gender, Diagnosis, and Treatment* (2012) was published by Ashgate within its The History of Medicine in Context Series

Spurs and Negotiations of Masculinity in Early Modern Europe
Hilary Doda

The spur contains powerful associations with particular forms of masculinity. That symbolic connection, stemming from medieval ideals of chivalry, became a transferrable embodiment of performative manhood, one that was deeply embedded in the physical form of the spur itself. Shifts in the masculine ideal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries changed the role of traditional martial symbols, and the nature of what the spur represented changed along with them. The spur was entangled with concepts of elite masculinity which themselves relied heavily on control over the self and over others.
The physicality of the spur reshaped performances of manhood, in dress, movement and engagement with the environment. Sharp edges and hard steel extended from the body, reshaping the masculine just as constrictive bodices confined and defined the feminine. The creak of leather and the clink of steel and buckles added an aural dimension, distinct from sweeping velvets or rustling silks.
Embedding intangible notions of manhood into the sharp physicality of the spur had a secondary effect, in that the deep association between the two made masculinity portable. The practical value of spurs for riding gave a legitimate excuse for the spur to be ‘borrowed’ by other groups, along with the associated subtext. The transitive properties of elite masculinity that the spur embodied opened up spaces for men of the middling classes and for elite women to engage with spur-wearing as part of status negotiation and identity formation. In a time of profound anxiety about the redefinitions of manhood and the blurring of older constructions of status, the spur served as a mediator, a carrier of genteel and transient masculinized traits.

Hilary Doda is a doctoral candidate in her final year at Dalhousie University, with a defense set for August 7th. Her research on material culture focuses on dress in the early modern period, and how the physical and embodied nature of clothing affects and is affected by socio-cultural systems. Her doctoral research examines the development of new clothing vernaculars and colonial identity in pre-deportation Acadia. She uses an interdisciplinary approach that is grounded in material entanglement theory, primarily incorporating archaeology, history, anthropology, and dress studies.

She holds a Masters in History from Dalhousie University, with a project that examined Mary I's use of clothing as a political tool. She has authored a paper on the vestarian controversy in sixteenth century England, another on Tudor sumptuary legislation, and a book chapter on Mary I's investiture as Queen of England. Hilary is a sessional instructor in Costume Studies at the Fountain School of Performing Arts at Dalhousie, and is currently collaborating on a project in the digital humanities.

Women at the English Manorial Courts, 1558-1700: Evidence From Yorkshire and Lancashire
Melissa Glass

This paper presents detailed quantitative data regarding women's participation at English manor courts in Yorkshire and Lancashire from 1558 to 1700. The data demonstrates that although women were certainly not the majority of participants at the courts, they appeared at nearly every manorial court session in some capacity: to be litigants in minor suits between tenants, to be elected as local officials, to take part in transactions involving land, or to be punished for some misbehaviour. This research will allow historians to examine in more detail the impact that customary law had on the everyday economic and social experiences of women and the ways that gender relations were expressed via the manorial courts. The disciplinary function of the courts demonstrates that manorial courts were frequently used to censure the behaviour of women. Yet they also show that women, especially widows, inherited property and acted with notable agency as community figures despite the era's pervasive patriarchal structure and the restrictions of coverture at the common law. Women's agency was allowed for, incorporated within, and monitored by the early modern English manorial court system, both allowing women to participate actively in their communities while simultaneously enforcing broader patriarchal cultural norms. This research reinforces the consensus among historians that manorial courts became less impactful throughout the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, which raises the question of whether or not the diminishment of custom as a legal force in early modern England reduced legal options and protections available for women at the local level. The records of manorial courts provide direct evidence of the economic and social tools that were available for women to utilize within their communities, as well as how neighbourly cooperation was facilitated at the local level in the era before industrialization.

Melissa Glass is completing her MA in History at Dalhousie University. Under the supervision of Dr. Krista Kesselring, she is researching the social and legal history of early modern England, with a focus on the societal impact of the declining influence of customary law. She received a BA in History (honours) and BComm in International Business from the University of Calgary in 2016. In 2016 she also published an article in the *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* with her undergraduate thesis supervisor, Dr. Ken MacMillan, entitled "Murder and Mutilation in Early-Stuart England: A Case Study in Crime Reporting."

Named in Freedom: Children in the Book of Negroes
Leah Grandy

Black Loyalists formed a unique group within late eighteenth-century New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Their stories can be further expanded through an examination of naming patterns in the important manuscript, the *Book of Negroes*. The *Book of Negroes*, created in New York City in 1783, recorded the names of people of African descent, both free and enslaved and from a variety of backgrounds, who intended to depart from New York City at the end of the American Revolution.

An examination of the cohort of children who were born during the American Revolution and the period immediately before the outbreak of war (1773 to 1783) offers an insight into the range of life experiences among peoples of African descent living in North America. Of the children found in the *Book of Negroes*, some were enslaved, some were born enslaved but escaped slavery and gained a marginal freedom, and some were born free due to their parent's leaving former masters.

A historical analysis and comparison of naming patterns found among the youth demographic of the *Book of Negroes* may be compared to the larger population listed in the *Book*. Children of the African Diaspora are one of the most difficult groups to uncover in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, and any source that may offer an insight into their experiences and that of their families is extremely valuable.

The names which Black Loyalists carried throughout North America and beyond demonstrated their position within the larger society, their varied experiences of both enslavement and freedom, and the creation of a subculture during the African Diaspora in the Atlantic World.

Leah Grandy holds a PhD in History from the University of New Brunswick and works at UNB Libraries in the Microforms Unit.

French Music and Theatre the English court: The Role of Henrietta Maria in Patronage and Translation (1629-1640)
Marie-France Guénette

The artistic interest of Catholic queen consort Henrietta Maria, wife to Protestant King Charles I of England, were forged through her education at the French court of her parents Henri IV and Marie de Médicis. In the context of my doctoral research on printed translations dedicated to the queen and members of her English Court, I have isolated two printed texts that give us indications of the influence of the French queen's preferences on English court culture, specifically *French court-aires, with their ditties Englished*, translated by Edward Filmer (1629) and *The Cid*, translated by Joseph Rutter (1637 and 1640). To "preserve" the court airs, Filmer solicits the patronage and protection of the queen and seems to include a metaphor in which the court airs are associated with the French people living in England at the time. In the paratext of the English version of *The Cid* (1637), we learn that Rutter has translated the play at the request of Edward Sackville, the queen's Chamberlain. With Joseph Rutter being the tutor to Sackville's children, Rutter takes advantage of the paratextual platform to flaunt the participation of Sackville's children in the translation of the piece. Rutter writes that Sackville's son's translated passages are included in the work. Rutter translated the second part of *The Cid* in 1640 at the request of King Charles I. Using the analytical strategies provided by scholars of the cultural turn in translation studies (Bassnett, Lefevere), I present the context of production, as well as a comparative paratextual analysis of both the original and translation of each work to establish an overview of the queen's role in the translation and staging of artistic productions at the English court.

Marie-France Guénette, the recipient Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, is a PhD candidate in Translation Studies at the Université de Montréal (Canada), working under the joint supervision of Profs. Marie-Alice Belle (UdeM) and Brenda M. Hosington (UdeM/Warwick). Her doctoral research focuses on translation and print networks at and around the English court of Queen Henrietta-Maria (1625-1642). She was the principal research assistant on Belle and Hosington's project, "Translation and the Making of Early Modern English Print Culture (1473-1660)." She is currently involved in Belle's SSHRC-funded project titled "Trajectories of Translation in Early Modern Britain: Routes, Mediations, Networks". Over the last few years, Marie-France has presented her research at the conferences of the Renaissance Society of America, the Society for the History of Authorship Reading and Print, and the Canadian Society for Renaissance Studies. Her recent article titled "Agency, patronage and power in early modern English translation and print

cultures: The Case of Thomas Hawkins" and published in *TTR: Translation, Terminology, Writing*, focused on translating agents such as translators, printers and patrons operating in early modern England. Her M. A. thesis analyzed the reception of Aphra Behn's (1688) *Oroonoko, or The Royal Slave* in French translation from its initial adaptation in 1745 to its contemporary versions.

Challenging the Champion: Toxic Masculinity in *Samson Agonistes*
Kendra Guidolin

This paper examines the ways in which poet John Milton presents his text *Samson Agonistes* as a means of challenging traditionally masculine ideologies of the early modern period. By using a contemporary feminist lens to examine the text, I find Milton offering a criticism of what we now know to be toxic masculinity in his use of voices of authority perpetuating harmful and destructive ideologies of masculinity. The paper concludes by stating that Milton is challenging the traditional male ideologies of the early modern period, and is instead offering an anachronistic suggestion of a masculinity that is not challenged or affected by demonstrating emotional or physical vulnerability.

Kendra Guidolin is a creative writing MA candidate at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.

Social Limits and Transgressions on the Stage in the First Gothic Play, Robert Jephson's *The Count of Narbonne*
Benjamin Hayward

In 1781, the first Gothic play, Robert Jephson's *The Count of Narbonne* was adapted for the stage at the Theatre Royal, London from the first Gothic novel, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, published 1764. Walpole considered his novel, based on a dream of a horrifying castle, scandalous enough that he published it under the pseudonym of an imagined translator and claimed the manuscript had been found in original Italian. When adapting the novel for the stage, Jephson meanwhile cut many of its most disturbing elements, including a giant falling helmet that crushes a character and a skeleton wrapped in a hermit's cowl. At a time when Shakespeare's most violent works were no longer seeing the stage and all new plays in famed Covent Garden had to pass the censor of the Royal Play Examiner, the premiere of Jephson's Gothic play, *The Count of Narbonne*, became a commercial success, and the production was staged regularly for the next 30 years in London. Based on a series of letters exchanged between Walpole and Jephson during the adaptation of the novel and examining published responses and reviews from audiences and critics at the play's opening, my research examines the social limits of horror and violence on the late 18th century stage and the extent to which these boundaries were transgressed and pushed by the production of *The Count of Narbonne*.

Benjamin Hayward is one of the editors of *The London Reader*, a magazine of contemporary voices in creative writing. He is a graduate of the Comparative History MA at the Central European University, Budapest and received an Advanced Certificate in Political Thought and a nomination for Best History Thesis from CEU. He is currently a student in the MA English program at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton from where he received the Pam and John Little Overseas Study scholarship to conduct archival research of 18th Century Gothic Theatre in London, UK during summer session, 2019.

Surveillance as Risible: From Constable Dogberry to Justice Overdo
Ronald Huebert

Early modern surveillance was likely to provoke fear, and was often intended to do so, as both literary and historical archives would suggest. When Macbeth says that he keeps "a servant fee'd" (3.4.131) in every house we read this as a strategy of intimidation, even though we may fall short of predicting the full consequences for Lady Macduff and her children. When the Gunpowder Plot was uncovered, official surveillance led quickly to a series of executions and to increased security precautions. But even within this climate of imminent threats, surveillance was not always treated seriously. My contribution here will be to find out what can be learned from two instances, in the drama of the time, when surveillance is represented as ridiculous: the policing strategies of Dogberry and his sidekick Verges in Much Ado About Nothing (1598) and the self-assigned reconnaissance mission of Adam Overdo in Bartholomew Fair (1614). Though I have chosen them for their brilliance, these are not stand-alone examples. Shakespeare has Constables Dull and Elbow in Love's Labour's Lost and Measure for Measure; Middleton has a pair of Promoters (i.e., informers) assigned to monitor meat consumption during Lent in A Chaste Maid in Cheapside. Dogberry and Overdo are therefore part of a larger pattern: an idea which I will address, albeit briefly, at the end of my presentation.

My analysis will include enquiry into the causes and consequences of laughter in each of the scenarios selected for special attention. The Dogberry scenes rely in part on a ludicrous misfit between the constable's qualifications and the tasks assigned to him. When a written report is expected, for example, an illiterate person may not be the best choice. In Overdo's case, there is no such disjunction; instead, Overdo's zealous belief that he is exactly the right man to spy out the "enormities" of the Fair makes him satirically vulnerable. One consequence of laughter in both cases is irony of a special kind: the risibility of surveillance leads to the disclosures required for the ending of comedy. But even here there are sharp differences between the two instances, as my presentation will show. Clearly I am not yet in a position to draw conclusions, but when I am, these will probably include the notion of laughter as a strategic defence against social calamity

Ronald Huebert is Professor Emeritus, Dalhousie University, and Inglis Professor, University of King's College. Recent publications include Privacy in the Age of Shakespeare (University of Toronto Press, 2016) and a volume of essays, co-edited with David McNeil, Early Modern Spectatorship: Interpreting English Culture, 1500-1780 (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).

Imperial Careering: The Transatlantic Networks of British military Engineer William Booth (1748-1826)[1]
Bonnie Huskins

British military engineer William Booth (1748-1826) was an "imperial careerist," a servant of empire who lived for extended periods of time in successive colonial settings. Imperial careerism provides us with a way of "thinking about empire" which links biography with the current focus on empire as a series of

[1] NOTE: This paper arises out of a collaborative research and digital, story mapping project with Dr. Wendy Churchill (Associate Professor of History, UNB), entitled "An Engineer's Empire: The Life and Career of William Booth (1748-1826)"

networks which "held the empire together." (Lambert & Lester, 10 & 14). Over the course of his life and career, Booth developed three over-lapping networks: professional, platonic, and familial. As a military engineer working in the wake of the Seven Years War, Booth joined the ranks of the military-scientific networks dispatched throughout the empire to survey new British territory and to literally build and maintain the fortifications of empire. Booth formed professional networks during his posting in Gibraltar (1771-80), where he acted as Director of the Mines during the Great Siege (1779-83). In Nova Scotia, he helped to accommodate the thousands of Loyalists who migrated to the region after the American Revolution, while upon his return to Britain, he helped to improve the defensive fortifications at the naval dockyards in Chatham, Sheerness, and Plymouth. His last posting was to Jersey (Channel Islands), where he oversaw the construction of Napoleonic era defenses.

While living abroad, Booth tended to board with local civilians rather than in the military barracks, which meant that he was able to develop more intimate platonic bonds than many other military officers. In Shelburne, his local acquaintances helped him to recover and reintegrate into society after the death of his wife. Many of these transatlantic friendships survived as epistolary networks. Moreover, by marrying into a prosperous London merchant family, with interests in Grenada and Dominica, Booth also became a member of one of the 'Atlantic families' which helped to sustain the empire in the early modern period.

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"With light and easy pulse": Early-modern Writing Mistresses Negotiating Mastery
Miriam Jones

In 1631 John Davies wrote, in *The writing schoolemaster*, that women "naturally lack strength in their hand to perform those full strokes, and (as it were) to bruise a letter as men do" (28). More than a century and a half later in the preface to her *A Newly-Invented Copybook* (1797), Charlotte Palmer still felt the need to apologize: "I hope I shall not be considered as having encroached on an Employment belonging to the opposite sex, nor as endeavouring to diminish their superiority." This presentation shall consider six early-modern European calligraphers: Elizabeth Lucar (England, 1510–1537); Marie Presot (Scotland, fl. 1574), Esther Inglis (Scotland, 1571–1624), Maria Strick (Holland, 1577–c1631), Marie Pavie (France, 1580–?), and Mary John (England, fl. 1730). This may seem an excessive number of subjects for a brief talk, but rest assured that little is known of four of these women (Lucar, Presot, Pavie, John), and there are no identified works extant from either Lucar or John and only one each, and those partial, from Presot and Pavie. What we *do* know is that all of them had to negotiate their roles as calligraphic artists in relation to a profession of shifting status where the role of the "writing master" was jealously controlled. One of the ways in which boundaries were drawn was the gendering, as indicated in the quote from John Davies with which this abstract begins, of the very act of handwriting itself. Though the specific calligraphic "hands" have differed over time, it seems that there has always been at least one deemed more suitable for women — a "ladies' hand" — for example the Roman hand in the Renaissance, and the Italian hand later. A writing master, however, by definition, must be adept at a variety of hands. A writing master who was also a woman would have had to tread carefully. We will look at the careers of these writing mistresses in order to trace some of those careful steps.

Miriam Jones (York) is an Associate Professor of eighteenth-century literature at the University of New Brunswick in Saint John, where she is also the co-director of the Gender Studies program. She has published articles about traditional ballads, early-modern street literature, George Eliot, speculative

fiction, and popular culture. Recently she has been expanding a long-standing interest in textual studies into a new teaching area and is scheduled to teach a new upper level undergraduate seminar, "Book Production," in the winter term of 2020. Her current research involves early-modern writing manuals; this is the third public presentation generated from that material. She is working on a side-project on literary mapping. She also practices calligraphy, and not just the "ladies' hands." jones@unb.ca / miriamjones.ca

Family and State in Voltaire's *Orphan of China* and *Analects* 13.18
Simon Kow

Calls for comparative, cross-cultural political theory are intended to counter traditional "Eurocentric" approaches to the history of political thought. Comparing different traditions of political theorizing is thus often characterized as challenging universalist claims in western political theory, particularly in the wake of the European Enlightenment. This paper seeks to interrogate that characterization by examining an Enlightenment engagement with a non-western society through a comparative lens. It is well known that works by the Enlightenment *philosophe* Voltaire, including the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1752) and the *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756) drew on glowing Jesuit accounts to idealize Confucian China as a peaceful and prosperous society governed by rational and virtuous emperors and scholar-officials. Voltaire's play *L'orphelin de la Chine*, first produced in 1755 and inspired by a thirteenth-century Chinese play (though heavily reworked), largely reflects this idea of China. But the dramatic conflict it depicts between duty to the state and the bonds of nature also mirrors analogous considerations in the *Analects* of Confucius, 13.18. In the *Analects* as in Voltaire's play, conflicts between filial piety and obedience to the laws indicate a fundamental disharmony in the state: the latter should never displace the former. In *Analects* 13.18, a man named Gong is named 'upright' because he informed on his sheep-stealing father; Confucius responds that 'uprightness' consists in fathers and sons covering for each other. Confucius's striking remark indicates the centrality of filial piety to moral cultivation, and the deficiencies of 'uprightness' understood merely as obedience to law. The Confucian teaching, then, points to the need to cultivate filial piety as the root of ethical governance, while the resolution to Voltaire's drama situates rational virtue in the historical progress of mores. Thus, I hope to show that a comparison of these texts enables a dialogue between distinct cultural traditions on questions concerning family and state, and illustrates the openness of Enlightenment political theory (or aspects thereof) to genuinely cross-cultural encounters.

Simon Kow is an Associate Professor of Humanities and the Director of the Early Modern Studies Program at the University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia. He is the author of *China in Early Enlightenment Political Thought* (Routledge, 2017), which focuses particularly on the Jesuits, Bayle, Leibniz, and Montesquieu. He is currently working on later European Enlightenment views of China, including those of Voltaire.

Unchained Knowledge: Surveillance, Panopticon Libraries, and Unexamined Benthamism, 1780-2010
Marc MacDonald

In 2001, a public art project by French-American artist Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010) installed granite kitchen-sink-sized grey eyes, eerily peering from hills outside Lawrence Hall. The work "Eyes" was commissioned by Williams College Museum of Art to celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary. By chance or design, the exhibit's themes were uncannily and historically fitting. Lawrence Hall, before its

expansion and transition into an art museum, was constructed as an octagonal library (1846-47), the first American library to use Benjamin Delessert's panopticon model of library design: *Mémoire sur la Bibliothèque royale, où l'on indique les mesures à prendre pour la transférer dans un bâtiment circulaire* (1835).

In early modern Europe, chains were used to constrain books, as well as people, enabling physical control. However, alternative methods emerged championing surveillance. In *Mémoire sur la Bibliothèque royale,* Delessert combined knowledge of libraries and Benthamism with economics and organization. Delessert's plan was designed to take less space, be of quick and economical construction, and ensured that "service and the surveillance would be easy and convenient." This would be "found in the circular layout of the building, or what is called the panopticon form." Curators and readers would be located in a great rotunda at the centre of eight large galleries, filled with books, which would extend out in eight divergent rays. A raised central desk allowed curators to monitor every book and patron. Eventually there were buildings constructed on Delessert's design, particularly within the American public library movement. Michel Foucault's Discipline and Punish (1975) expanded awareness of early modern surveillance and Bentham's panopticon, but the debates it inspires commonly revolve around prisons. The Benthams applied the panopticon principle to various buildings, including schools and hospitals. My examination of Delessert's plan and influence on American libraries seeks to modify and diversify to the discussion of early modern surveillance.

Dr. J. Marc MacDonald, an Adjunct Professor in the Department of History at UPEI, specializes in the international circulation of Enlightenment science, technology, and medicine. His recent articles explore the British-Franco-Swiss network's popularization of Malthusianism and international interest in Lord Selkirk's "flourishing" settlement on Prince Edward Island.

Spying and Early Modern English Drama: The Strange Case of Anthony Munday
Greg Maillet

Anthony Munday is today believed to be the principal author of The Book of Thomas More, a late Elizabethan play now mainly studied due to its inclusion of lines probably written by Shakespeare. Because the play presents the martyr More so favourably, it seems, especially in its late Elizabethan context, to be pro-Catholic. Yet Munday himself was long thought to be a pro-Anglican writer who spied on European Catholic colleges. Donna B. Hamilton has challenged this view, however, in Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633 (2005). Hamilton argues that Munday was a faithful Catholic who acted as a spy amongst Catholics in order to learn how to defend them. We should not be surprised by the controversy that Hamilton raises; religious espionage was an important feature of late Elizabethan culture. Perhaps the more troubling notion raised by the Munday case—a notion that our post-modern, post-Foucauldian world will not let us ignore—is the question of whether we can trust any historical evidence indicating authorial intention.

The Munday case raises serious issues for both the Early Modern historian and the literary critic of Early Modern English Drama. Can the latter, for example, accurately gauge the rhetorical relationship of playwright, play, and audience, even with the more complex sense of religious diversity in the English audience that has been created by recent scholarship, if it is truly impossible to know the religious beliefs of a playwright? One could dismiss this question, and all such questions about an author, but what of the often religious connotation in the words of the plays themselves? Historical evidence, whether piled up by Old Historical scholars or plucked from obscurity by New Historicists, has long been the foundation of rhetorical analysis of literature; is such interpretation persuasive without a stable

sense of religious identity? Hamilton's book raises such questions in useful ways, but what is really difficult for the Early Modern literary critic is to decide whether to accept her evidence, and conclusions, as in some sense more valid than the long held previous interpretation of Munday. My paper reconsiders this critical issue of (re)interpretation.

Dr. Greg Maillet is Professor of English at Crandall University in Moncton, New Brunswick. He previously taught Renaissance and Medieval literature at Peking University (1996-97) and at the University of Regina (1997-2005). He is co-author, with David Lyle Jeffrey, of Christianity and Literature: Philosophical Foundations and Critical Practice (2011), and author of Learning to See the Theological Vision of Shakespeare's King Lear (2016) and of Reading Othello as Catholic Tragedy (2018).

Descartes, Demons, and the Mind-Body Problem
Kathryn Morris

As many of his critics have noted, mind-body interaction represents a central problem for Descartes' dualism – if mind and body are distinct substances, how can they interact? Why does my arm move when I decide it should, and (conversely) why do I experience pain when my arm is injured? The question of how an immaterial being could inhabit and direct a material body was not, however, a new one. Most medieval and early modern demonologists followed Aquinas in maintaining that although demons are spirits, they are able to construct bodies in order to interact with human beings. In the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum*, for example, Heinrich Kramer explains that incubus devils are able to copulate with witches by assuming bodies created from condensed air. The devil's motive power "gives to that body the formal appearance of life, in very much the same way as the soul informs the body to which it is joined." Kramer further argues that demons have the power to possess the "true natural bodies" of their human victims. This paper will examine Descartes' treatment of the mind-body union against the backdrop of debates over the nature and possibility of demonic embodiment. While Descartes' philosophical principles allow distinctions to be drawn between demonic bodies and the human mind-body composite, there are also continuities between Cartesian and demonological accounts of sensation and mind-body causation. This suggests that Descartes' role in the so-called "disenchantment" of the universe was more complex than is often supposed.

Kathryn Morris (PhD McGill) is an Associate Professor in the Humanities at the University of King's College where she teaches in the Early Modern Studies, Contemporary Studies, and History of Science programs.

Monarchs Demystified: English Depictions of Shah Tahmasb and Shah Abbas, the Great 'Sophies' of Persia
Mahira Qadri

This paper considers the depiction of Safavid shahs in early modern English travel accounts, looking specifically at the depiction of Shah Tahmasp (r.1526-1576) and Shah Abbas (r.1588-1629) in the accounts of Anthony Jenkinson and Anthony Shirley, respectively. Despite travelling to Persia within three decades of one another, Jenkinson and Shirley had starkly different experiences. Although the differences of perception of the monarchs could be attributed to differences in their personalities, this paper emphasizes the importance of politics in the depiction of the Shahs. More specifically, the receptions of both Anthony Jenkinson and Anthony Shirley, and ultimately the accounts of their experiences, were inextricably linked with the state of Ottoman- Safavid relations in 1562 and 1598. The accounts written by these gentlemen and their depictions of the shahs as either "anti-Christian" or

worthy allies of Christian princes is heavily influenced by the politics of the complex relationship shared by the Safavids and the Ottomans. The Treaty of Amasya, signed in 1555, marked a watershed in the history of Safavid-Ottoman relations: it was the first time the Ottomans recognized Safavid Iran as a legitimate political entity after forty years of war. As such, Anthony Jenkinson's visit to Persia coincided with a recently established peace with the Ottomans which Tahmasp was reluctant to disrupt. In contrast, Anthony Shirley was in Persia in 1598, writing about a king whose empire was now militarily strong and long recognized as legitimate. By 1598, Shah Abbas was slowly gearing up for an attack on his Ottoman neighbours which he successfully conducted in 1603. As such, this research suggests that the depictions of these Shahs in Jenkinson's and Shirley's work can be explained by the vastly different political climate in Iran in the years of 1562 and 1598, respectively.

Mahira Qadri is originally from Vancouver, where she completed her BA in History from the University of British Columbia. Mahira is currently working on her MA thesis at Dalhousie University, under the supervision of Dr. Colin Mitchell, which focuses on the perception of Iran in sixteenth-and- seventeenth-century Mughal writing (including court chronicles, memoirs, and poetry). Her project considers the status of Safavid Iran in Mughal writing, and more importantly considers how this "idea of Iran" fluctuated over the span of a century. Her research ultimately focuses on the themes of diplomacy, religion, the understanding of legitimacy, and literature.

Communities and Kinship Networks among Catholics in the Elizabethan Midlands
Laura Rehn

In post-Reformation England, Catholic gentry and laity employed networks to sustain their faith against the backdrop of the Elizabethan Settlement on Religion. When the formal structures of the English Catholic Church collapsed, the formation and maintenance of these networks of family, friends, and patronages sustained an informal church, where Catholic networks became an auxiliary for the parish church and community. These Catholic networks were significant for their role in keeping Catholics connected with one another, thereby enabling members to exercise some power and authority at both local and national levels. These networks are evident within the Catholic community of the Midlands during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603).

We often think of Catholics of the Elizabethan period as actively opposing the state and the Religious Settlement, but we need to recognise the many English Catholics who were loyal to the queen. These two factions were often opposed to one another in their tactical choices and their political goals. Opposed to the militant minority, loyal Catholics hoped that by conforming to the demands of the state, showing allegiance to the crown and disregarding violence, they would eventually distance themselves from their more extreme co-religionists.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how these networks were utilised as a vehicle for non-violent political resistance at the local and national levels and demonstrate how Elizabethan Catholics petitioned for the reintroduction of a legal Catholic church.

Laura Rehn completed her PhD jointly between The University of Hong Kong and King's College London under the supervision of Dr Peter Cunich (HKU) and Dr Lucy Wooding (KCL). She has published research on Elizabethan Catholic kinship and communal networks, and her broader research interests include local history; adaptation and innovation of devotion; and the reconceptualisation of sacred space of post-Reformation Catholics.

Dante's *Paradiso* as Gateway to the Renaissance
Neil G. Robertson

In this paper I will engage in an analysis of Dante's *Paradiso*, the final canticle of the *Divine Comedy*, that will try to bring out the principle of "transhumananization" ("transumanar") as underlying the whole development of the text. I will try to bring out the logic of transhumanization as a "infinitizing of the finite" following the thomistic principle that grace does not destroy nature but perfects it. This argument will be made by looking at the four planetary spheres beyond the shadow of the earth: the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. I will show them to be increasingly more complete realizations of this principle of transhumanization. In this Dante is developing an inclusive or trinitarian infinite that rather than being beyond difference is comprised of difference-in-unity: a difference as reciprocal and mediated by opposition. Crucial to this development is at once a realization of and transformation of the ancient, pagan cardinal virtues into infused cardinal virtues as a stage toward becoming theological virtues. In this the ancient world is taken up and perfected but also placed on a new footing. The paper will argue that this new footing, the priority of the infinite as both the source of and as inclusive of the finite points to the principles of modernity. Here we will bring out the way in which Dante anticipates and prepares for Renaissance neoplatonism (Ficino and Pico della Mirandola), even while he remains thoroughly medieval in his difference from it.

Neil G. Robertson is Director of the Foundation Year Program at the University of King's College, where he is an Associate Professor in the Humanities and Social Sciences in the Foundation Year, Early Modern Studies and Contemporary Studies Programs. He has co-edited books on James Doull, Descartes and Hegel and Canada. He is contracted to write an introductory book on Leo Strauss. He has written articles and chapters on a number of topics in the western humanities including Augustine, Dante, Luther, Hooker, Shakespeare, Descartes, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel, George Grant, James Doull, and John Milbank.

Piracy Accusations as Political Propaganda
Sarah Toye

In this presentation I aim to show that some peoples in the history of piracy were labelled as pirates not necessarily because they behaved as such but because it served the interests of the empires who opposed them. The image of the pirate has certainly been used to reflect political tensions over the centuries, as John C. Appleby and Claire Jowitt discuss regarding Irish piracy and depictions of Andrew Barton in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, respectively. However, what I will be arguing is that there is a pattern of empires labelling their enemies as pirates as a means of lowering them from the status of a lawful enemy to Cicero's *hostis humanis generis*, with the intent of eliminating any doubt concerning the empire's moral supremacy as well as any restraints on the suppression of the enemy/pirate. The relationships between Elizabeth I and Grace O'Malley as well as the British and Revolutionary-Era Americans exemplify this. The difficulties in defining piracy are well established; Ann Chambers' work on Grace O'Malley has already complicated the depiction of her as a pirate, and Britain's rejection of the American Continental Congress' letters of marque is a well-trod example of how one nation's pirate is another's lawful privateer. But all of these examples feature in the history of piracy because of their willingness to challenge a dominant power, and they illustrate the consistency of empires wielding the label of piracy as a weapon even deadlier and more long-lasting than piracy itself.

Sarah Toye received her Bachelor of Arts (hons) in History and Early Modern Studies from Dalhousie University and the University of King's College, followed by her Masters of Arts in History from Dalhousie University under the supervision of Dr. Jerry Bannister. Her work focuses on female pirates and gender in the Golden Age of Piracy in the Anglo-Atlantic world and its depiction in popular culture over the following centuries. She currently lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia and works as a genealogist at the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, though has maintained her interest and work in the history of piracy and guest lectures at the University of King's College.

The Dove within: The Dutch Spiritualist David Joris's Transformation of the Holy Spirit into his own Mind, c. 1540-1556
Gary Waite

In the immediate aftermath of the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster in 1535, the Dutch Anabaptist David Joris took on the mantle of leadership, especially after a series of visions that convinced him that he had received the Holy Spirit within him in a tangible, powerful way. Thus inspired, he believed himself to be the "third David" who possessed the unique prophetic voice to interpret the scriptures and who would be unveiled on Christmas Day 1538 as the new spiritual king. When the authorities instead arrested dozens of his followers on the eve of this momentous event and forced him into hiding, Joris began to fully spiritualize religion, so that only the inner meaning of scripture or ritual was of any value. Central to this was his rethinking of the nature of the Holy Spirit. In the first edition of his *Wonder Book,* c.1543, we still see oblique references to his prophetic authority based on his unique experience of the Spirit within; by the second edition of 1551 (not printed until 1584), he has changed his pneumatology so that all true believers possessed this same Spirit and hermeneutic ability. This became a foundational approach of later spiritualism, and helps us to comprehend the influence and controversy of Joris's ideas. As he had done with demons and angels, which became the Vices and Virtues within each person, the artist Joris fused the Holy Spirit with his own creative mind, allowing him to interpret the scriptures and the natural world in new ways. Joris's later writings thus offered readers not authoritative treatises, but role models into how they too could allow their minds to range freely over the words of scripture. The result was, for those who followed his approach, an ability to think outside orthodoxies, not just theological, but in other fields, and helps explain why his opponents decried him as diabolical, and why so many humanists and medical practitioners, for example, were favourably inclined to his spiritualism.

Gary Waite is Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick, where he teaches in the fields of sixteenth-century Netherlands and Germany, Reformation Studies, Early Modern European Religion, Witchcraft and the Devil, and Attitudes and Popular Culture. He holds his doctorate from the University of Waterloo (1987). Dr. Waite has had a long and varied research career. Beginning with the sixteenth century Anabaptist and spiritualist David Joris, he has pursued research projects also on the drama guilds of the Netherlands (the Chambers of Rhetoric), on witchcraft and demonology in the Reformation era, and on European views of Jews and Muslims in the seventeenth century.