Notes

Introduction


2 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Philaster, or Love Lies a-Bleeding, Arden Early Modern Drama edition, ed. Suzanne Gossett (London: Methuen Drama, 2009), 1.2.140.


15 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism*


18 A variety of other approaches now being pursued at the nexus of affect studies and early modern literature are represented in Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi, eds., Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecologies, Form (New York: Palgrave, 2017).

19 In addition to Bray, Homosexuality; Goldberg, Sodometries; and Smith, Homosexual Desire, see also Gregory W. Bredbeck, Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991).


25 Much of the extant work on early modern material culture investigates the historical meanings of objects as they bear on subjects and practices in the period, often with a focus on contemporary religious, economic, and social suspicions about the efficacies of made things. Will Fisher details material objects’ construction of sexuality and gender in *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). See also Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

26 One important ancestor text is the anonymous 1990 pamphlet, published by Queer Nation and handed out on the street at the New York City Pride March, “Queers Read This (I Hate Straights).” The pamphlet’s legacy was recently explored in Ramzi Fawaz and Shanté Paradigm Smalls, eds., “Queers Read This! LGBTQ Literature Now,” special issue, *GLQ* 24, no. 2–3 (2018).


38 A major origin point of this anxiety is Stephen Greenblatt’s “Psycho-

The question of what, if anything, is outside of “sex” is probed deeply in Halley and Parker’s introduction to “After Sex?,” 421–32. This point is particularly well made in the assertion by Joseph Litvak, “Glad to Be Unhappy,” 526, that queer theory “lodges the ‘nonsexual’ firmly within the ‘sexual.’”


This received narrative can be traced to Freud’s particularly enduring explication of Hamlet in The Interpretation of Dreams, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 1955).


Sedgwick, Epistemology, 23.


One of my most influential methodological touchstones in attempting such a fantasmatic, queer historiography is Carla Freccero, Queer/Early/Modern (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).


Ann Cvetkovich, Depression: A Public Feeling (Durham, N.C.: Duke


60 Sedgwick, *Epistemology*, 156.


64 Barthes, *S/Z*, 16.


72 The inherent collectivity of early modern theatrical process is empha-


74 Elam, *Semiotics*, 94.

75 Elam, *Semiotics*, 95.


79 In recent contributions, scholars have taken a wide range of theoretical positions on this question: radical anti-identitarian universalism (Madhavi Menon, Lee Edelman); a recuperation of historicism and how to do history (Valerie Traub); new theorizations of knowledge production (Valerie Traub, Jeffrey Masten, Carla Freccero, Heather Love); a turn from straightforwardly sexual subjects to ecological and biological matters (Carolyn Dinshaw, Stephen Guy-Bray, Vin Nardizzi); and several new investigations of sexuality (Melissa Sanchez, James Bromley, Will Stockton, Will Fisher), which take as their objects of analysis various aspects of embodiment, pleasure, gender, and relationality. For an excellent summary and analysis of the theoretical claims and conflicts shaping this debate, see Ari Friedlander, “Desiring History and Historicizing Desire,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 1–20.

80 This is the formulation Bruno Latour uses to describe the inextricable identity of these two processes of knowledge production in *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 5.

81 The turn toward studies of temporality in queer theory is subjected to a thoughtful exchange among Carolyn Dinshaw, Lee Edelman, Roderick A. Ferguson, Carla Freccero, Elizabeth Freeman, Jack Halberstam, Annemarie Jagose, Christopher Nealon, and Nguyen Tan Hoang, in “Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion,” in

82 This idea is suggested in Fradenburg and Freccero, “Introduction: Caxton, Foucault, and the Pleasures of History,” xx. See also Freccero, Queer/Early/Modern; and Dinshaw, Getting Medieval.


84 Derrida, Specters of Marx, 18.


87 Sedgwick, Epistemology, 46–47.

88 Latour, We Have Never Been Modern, 72–75.


90 Jonathan Goldberg, “After Thoughts,” in Halley and Parker, “After Sex?,” 503. This idea is picked up in other criticism, including Goldberg and Menon, “Queering History,” in which they call for recovering same-sex eroticisms of the past to illuminate “the non-self-identical nonpresent” rather than reifying present or past identities (1609). See also Freccero, “Queer Times,” 486–89, and Queer/Early/Modern, 69–72.

91 Sedgwick, Epistemology, 45.

92 Sedgwick, Epistemology, 52, breaks down the myriad ways in which homoerotic feelings, language, and acts of the past are adjudicated “completely meaningless” under a heteronormative reading practice: either because it was everywhere, because there was no language for it, because it was so forbidden, or because there were no prohibitions against it.


95 Latour, We Have Never Been Modern, 3.

96 See Varnado, “Invisible Sex!,” 47.

97 Sedgwick, Epistemology, 8.


100 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 22.


102 Though he would not use the term “queer,” Ira Clark’s reading of The Antipodes in Professional Playwrights: Massinger, Ford, Shirley, and Brome (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992) has informed my analysis of the disunified, shifting, and unresolved political and dramatic structure of the play.


104 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 8.


107 As I explain in more detail in chapter 1, Mary Frith (or Moll) and Bellario (or Euphrasia) are more accurately described as genderqueer or on the transmasculine spectrum than as cross-dressed women; their masculine yet androgynous gender performance does not line up with their ostensibly female sex, and unlike the female heroines who temporarily disguise themselves as boys in Twelfth Night or As You Like It, their genital anatomy is actually unknown or confused in the play, even from the audience’s perspective.

108 Bersani, in “Is the Rectum a Grave?,” elaborates on the solipsistic nature of both subjectivity and sexuality in his queer and deconstructive reading of psychoanalytic theories of sexual development, specifically in his deprivileging of the partner relation and his reclamation of primal, antirelational narcissism.


111 A related intervention, dedicated to complicating the usually assumed opposition between queer and normativity by renewing the historical specificity and nuance of normalization, is undertaken in Robyn Wiegman and Elizabeth Wilson, eds., “Queer Theory without Antinormativity,” special issue, differences 26, no. 1 (2015).

112 See André Gide, Oscar Wilde, trans. Bernard Frechtman (London: William Kimber, 1951), on his encounter with the “marvellous youth” he calls “Mohammed” in Algiers, for only one example (280–85, quoted in Dollimore, Sexual Dissidence, 5–6).
113 Halberstam, In a Queer Time and Place, 157–58.

114 Sedgwick, Epistemology, 91–97 (on Billy Budd), and 242–46 (on McCarthyism and the outing of homophobes).


116 See Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1991); and Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (New York: Routledge, 1994).

1. Getting Used, and Liking It

1 As befits an argument about the work of Beaumont and Fletcher, I am indebted to a collaborator, Abigail Joseph, who in 2006 pointed out Bellario’s function as a technology for the communication of affect.

2 “There was a wonderfull consimility of phansey between [Francis Beaumont] and Mr. John Fletcher, which caused the dearness of friendship between them. . . . They lived together on the Banke side, not far from the Play-house, both batcelhors; lay together—from Sir John Hales, etc.; had one wench in the house between them, which they did so admire; the same cloathes and cloake, &c., betweene them.” Aubrey, Brief Lives, 1:95–96, in Masten, Textual Intercourse, 61. On identification, friendship, and homoeroticism in Beaumont and Fletcher’s collaboration (and in early modern literary collaboration as a whole), see Masten, Textual Intercourse, esp. chaps. 1 and 2. See also Masten, “My Two Dads: Collaboration and the Reproduction of Beaumont and Fletcher,” in Goldberg, Queering the Renaissance, 280–309; and Masten, “Beaumont and/or Fletcher: Collaboration and the Interpretation of Renaissance Drama,” ELH 59 (1992): 337–56.


4 There are a few exceptions; three affectively motivated readings of the play, which nonetheless examine feeling in the service of their respective historical arguments, are: Jeffrey Masten, “Editing Boys: The Performance of Genders in Print,” in From Performance to Print in Shakespeare’s England, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 113–34; Denise Whalen, “Anxiously Emergent Lesbian Erotics,” in Constructions of Female Homoeroticism in Early Modern Drama (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 83–85—although I disagree with Whalen’s conclusion that the “frail waif” or “retiring virgin” is the operative homoerotic type for Bellario; and Jo E. Miller, “‘And All This Passion for a Boy?’ Cross-dressing and the Sexual Economy of Beaumont and Fletcher’s Philaster,” in English Literary Renaissance 27, no. 1 (1997): 129–50—although I disagree with Miller’s readings of Arethusa and Bellario as devoid of erotic desires.
5 Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, 1.2.108–9. All citations from *Philaster* are hereafter cited by act, scene, and line number in the text.

6 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 4.5.170–71. All subsequent citations from Shakespeare are from Greenblatt et al., *Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd ed., and are hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.


8 “Of the nature of an instrument (material or subservient); serving as an instrument or means; contributing to the accomplishment of a purpose or result.” *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (hereafter *OED Online*), http://oed.com/, s.v. “instrumental, a. and n.,” A. adj., 1.a.

9 “Serving well for the purpose; serviceable, useful; effective, efficient.” *OED Online*, “instrumental, a. and n.,” A. adj., 1.c.

10 The sense of the word in meaning 1.a., “a means to an end,” takes on a connotation of more causal force when construed with to or in, or rarely of or for, followed by the noun form of a verb. Whereas the purely adjectival form means “secondary,” this adverbial usage posits an instrumental agent as an essential catalyst for action. These connotations of specificity and indispensability are also present in the “Old Physiological” meaning, “Having a special vital function; that is a bodily organ; organic.” *OED Online*, “instrumental, a. and n.,” A. adj., 1.b. and 4.


12 Mario DiGangi describes a “homoerotics of mastery” within the power structure of service (and within comic plots of mastery and humiliation), arguing that discourses of service are used to signify “disorderly” homoerotic practices that cannot be represented onstage; these sodomitical dynamics, which can be manipulated by masters or servants, both inhere within and threaten the master/servant power differential. See DiGangi, *Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*, 64–66.


14 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 28.

15 Sontag, “Notes on Camp” #11, 56.

17 Sontag, “Notes on Camp” #10, 56.

18 In comparing Bellario to Hylas and Adonis, Megra cites two ancient and pervasive queer myths of the androgynously, omnisexually alluring young man.


20 The instability of this three-way relational dynamic is dependent on, though not synonymous with, the literal indeterminacy of the play’s signifiers around the term “boy” that Masten describes in “Editing Boys.”

21 These hyperbolic exchanges of love, pain, self-abnegation, and deferred violence constitute a tragicomic camp version of the early modern trial discovery scene, wherein the court attempts to extract invisible, interior truth from the accused by means of interrogation and threatened violence. See Elizabeth Hanson, *Discovering the Subject in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

22 Philaster dramatizes many of the same anxieties that Maus documents in *Inwardness and Theater*—worries about the potential for deception created by the phenomenon of interiority—transposed into the melodramatic register of tragicomedy.


24 Stephen Orgel also unpacks the subversive erotic punch of the transvestite figure, particularly in his observation that it owes its allure to the convention of gender disguises being regarded as convincing enough to fool a sexual partner, in *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), particularly chap. 2, “The Performance of Desire.” Masten, “Editing Boys,” 123, alludes to Philaster’s homosexual brinksmanship in declining to show Bellario/Euphrasia first in women’s clothing and pushing the gender reveal to the very end.


26 See Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, “Transvestism and the ‘Body Beneath’: Speculating on the Boy Actor,” in *Renaissance Clothing*; Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests* (New York: Routledge, 1997);

27 Fisher, *Materializing Gender*.

28 On Moll’s masculine embodiment as an early modern example of queer gender on the transmasculine spectrum, see Simone Chess’s reading of The Roaring Girl in her “Introduction: Passing Relations,” in *Male-to-Female Crossdressing in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2016), esp. 16–19.

29 See Masten, “Editing Boys,” on the textual undecidedness of Bellario/Euphrasia’s sex at the level of speech prefixes.


48 Sedgwick, *Epistemology*, 80–81. This must hold particularly true under “the literal patriarchism that makes coming out to parents the best emotional analogy to Esther’s self-disclosure to her husband” (King Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther, the story on which Sedgwick builds her
case for the distinctive dynamics that set gay coming out apart from other kinds of disclosure) (82).


50 For a comprehensive account of the gay resonances attached to women’s tailors, and a useful argument for the validity of tracing gay sexual stereotypes in the Renaissance, see Simon Shepherd, “What’s So Funny about Ladies’ Tailors? A Survey of Some Male (Homo)sexual Types in the Renaissance,” *Textual Practice* 6, no. 1 (1992): 17–30. Shepherd does, however, mistake one crucial fact about *The Roaring Girl*: judging by the clothing Moll’s tailor makes for her and for Mary, he is not a ladies’ tailor but a men’s tailor (21). The same kind of ribald, homoerotic insinuation is operative around men’s tailors in other early modern plays as well—cf. Ben Jonson’s *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1599). I am also indebted to Aaron Santesso’s helpful précis of sexual discourse around tailors extending back to the early modern period in “William Hogarth and the Tradition of Sexual Scissors,” *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 39, no. 3 (1999): 499–521.

51 Bromley, “Quilted with Mighty Words,” 158–60.

52 This is Maggie Nelson’s phrasing of the scope of Sedgwick’s intervention in the proliferation of erotic desire; *Argonauts*, 62.

53 “An opening or slit in a garment which enables the wearer to put it on or which gives access to a pocket; spec. (now hist.) an opening in a woman’s skirt or underskirt, esp. as offering a man the opportunity for sexual activity; (hence, in extended use) the vagina.” *OED Online*, s.v. “placket, n.” I. 2.

54 Though the exact origins of these words are unknown, it is not unlikely that “pimp” derives from the Middle French word *pimper*, “to adorn, attire (a person, oneself) (1578).” *OED Online*, s.v. “pimp, n.” Etym.

55 See Varnado, “Invisible Sex!,” 38–42.


58 Thomas Nashe’s 1592 poem, “The Choise of Valentines,” exemplifies these associations: a dildo takes the place of a man’s fatigued, dysfunctional penis to satisfy his female lover’s voracious, receptive desire. Traub discusses how the dildo in Nashe’s poem (and the poem itself, which embodies the “choice” and substitution of the artificial tool) functions anxiously, and literally, in the manner of the Freudian fetish, unintentionally confirming the substitutability of the penis. Traub,
Renaissance of Lesbianism, 98. But I suggest we consider Moll as a dildo in a less paranoid light—as a materialization of a “lost object of desire” (196) which never was: the ideal, universally functional imaginary phallus, which can be found on a body of any sex.


“Elle avoit esté condamnée à estre pendue: ce qu’elle disoit aymer mieux souffrir que de se remettre en estat de fille.” Montaigne, Journal de voyage, 1118 (my translation).


Traub, Renaissance of Lesbianism, 193.

Greenblatt, “Fiction and Friction,” 67. I am indebted for this critique, and for the call to move beyond the literal, legalistic interpretation, to Richard L. Regosin’s treatment of this story in Montaigne’s Unruly Brood: Textual Engendering and the Challenge to Paternal Authority (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 191–93.


Masten, “Editing Boys,” 122, acknowledges the possibility of female–female eros in the play’s resolution.

2. Everything That Moves

1 William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, 1.1.1–8. All subsequent citations from Shakespeare are from Greenblatt et al., *Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd ed., and are hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.


5 Bruce R. Smith thinks through some related implications of Orsino’s “fancy” in his contribution, “‘His Fancy’s Queen’: Sensing Sexual Strangeness in Twelfth Night,” in *Twelfth Night: New Critical Essays*, ed. James Schiffer (London: Routledge, 2011), 63–80. We agree about the queer play of fancy as a converse to nature; I go a step further to posit fancy as an engine of queer generation, connected to an historical genealogy of degraded desires.

6 “A mental apprehension of an object of perception; the faculty by which this is performed.” *OED Online*, “fantasy, phantasy, n.” 1.a.

7 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 4.a., first quoted 1581, *OED Online*.

8 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 8.b., first quoted 1559, *OED Online*.

9 “Fancy, v.,” 8., first quoted 1545, *OED Online*. 
The word’s appeal to poets attempting to write the unrequited, non-reproductive desire of Petrarchan love in English is not surprising; it was commonly used to refer to the imaginative flights of the lover in poetry both about and in the style of Petrarch in English for the next two centuries—including Mary Darby Robinson’s “Petrarch to Laura” (1791) and Hartley Coleridge’s sonnets (1833). For example, George Frederick Nott’s nineteenth-century translation of Petrarch’s Sonnet 69, “To Laura in Life,” has “Yet haply fancy my fond sense betray’d,” for “Non so se vero, o falso mi parea” (literally, “I don’t know whether [it is] true or false, it appeared to me”). See The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch, Now First Completely Translated into English Verse by Various Hands, ed. Thomas Campbell (London: George Bell and Sons, 1879).

Sanchez, Erotic Subjects, 3–10, 239–44.

“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 4.a., first quoted 1581, OED Online.

“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 2., first quoted 1609, OED Online.

“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 3., first quoted 1597, OED Online.

“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 5.a., first quoted 1665, OED Online.

“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 5.b., first quoted 1577, OED Online.

“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 4.a., first quoted 1581, OED Online.

The “mother’s fancy,” detailed by Montaigne (among others), was a popular explanation for how a woman’s erotic fantasy about another man—an image in her mind’s eye—could impress her unborn child with the appearance of someone other than its “natural” or legitimate father. Florio’s 1603 translation of Montaigne’s Essais famously reads: “So it is, that by experience wee see women to transferre divers markes of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes: witnes she that brought forth a blacke-a-more.” Michel de Montaigne, “20. On the Force of Imagination,” in Essays: Book 1, trans. John Florio, Renascence Editions E-text, http://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/montaigne/1xx.htm. This belief is thoroughly historicized by Marie-Hélène Huet in “Part 1: The Mother’s Fancy,” in Monstrous Imagination (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 11–123.


28 Olivia’s degree of awareness and the intensity of her homoerotic investment could be a directorial or acting choice in production.


30 The tailor was hanged for using “inventions illicites,” “illicit inventions to supply the defect of her sex,” in 1580 in Vitry-le-François: “Elle fut pendue pour des inventions illicites à suppléer au defect de son sexe,” Montaigne, *Journal de voyage*, 1118 (my translation).


33 This is true in the central cross-dressed/homoerotic bonds as well; cf. all Viola’s exchanges with Olivia.

34 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 5.c., first quoted c. 1652, *OED Online*.


36 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” C.1.c., *OED Online*.

37 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” B., adj. 5.; and “fancy man, n.,” 1., *OED Online*.


41 Freccero, “Queer Times,” 485.

42 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 6., 7., 8., *OED Online*.

43 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” B. adj., 1.a., first quoted 1753, *OED Online*.

44 “Fancy, n. and adj.,” B. adj., 1.a. and 2.a, *OED Online*.


46 The music video of Rufus Wainwright’s song “Rules and Regulations” from *Release the Stars* (Geffen Records, 2007) cites the gay heritage of


48 See Jonathan Goldberg’s essay grappling with the illusion of history’s teleological decidedness in the scene of colonial violence, “The History That Will Be,” in Fradenburg and Freccero, Premodern Sexualities, 1–21.


51 Elena Levy-Navarro makes use of an analytic connected to queer theory in her brilliant “fat studies” reading of the play, “Weigh Me as a Friend: Jonson’s Multiple Constructions of the Fat Body,” in The Culture of Obesity in Early and Late Modernity: Body Image in Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and Skelton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 147–92. In theorizing the need for a “fat history,” which, much like queer history, recovers the subjugated bodies and pleasures of a different time and critiques the assumptions of a progressivist, modernizing telos for the category of “fat,” Levy-Navarro treats the fat bodies of Ursula the pig-woman and Bartholomew Cokes as sites of bodily resistance and revolt against the “civilizing” bourgeois norms of aesthetics, embodiment, consumption, and behavior that are operative at the Fair.

52 All citations from Jonson’s works, hereafter cited parenthetically in the text, are from Ben Jonson, The Alchemist and Other Plays, Oxford English Drama series, ed. Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1.5.129.

53 Like the desire to be made erotically instrumental that is the focus of chapter 1, this acute, all-consuming longing frequently has at its beginnings some kind of device or ruse, such as Philaster’s question, “How shall we devise/To hold intelligence?” Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, 1.2.108–9. The constitutive element of artifice in both structures of erotic investment is key to what makes them queer: what started out as performative or artificed desire often gradually becomes—and is revealed to have already been—real attraction.

54 See Gowing, Common Bodies, for more on the complicated interplay of bodily surveillance, power, truth production, and social fiction involved in pregnancy detection.
The processes I am describing in early modern drama are the product of mental artifice in a way that Deleuze and Guattari’s thoroughly materialist account of desire is not; but Deleuze and Guattari also conceive of materially produced and materially productive desire as a queerly, asexually generative, self-replicating force. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley and Helen Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985).


My notion of the imaginative fancy is rooted in the early modern period’s nonhumoral, Neoplatonist model of how erotic affects enter into the body/mind. The model Ficino articulates in *De Amore* is based on Ibn Sina (Avicenna)’s idea of materialized “mental faculties”: images drawn from matter that travel into the “ventricles” of the brain. This alternate genealogy is treated in Dawson’s *Lovesickness and Gender*, 21–26. See also Sibylle Baumbach, *Literature and Fascination* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).


Jonathan Gil Harris asks similar questions about the historical phenomenology of smell and the audience’s experience of the stink of gunpowder on the Shakespearean stage, with reference to the stink mentioned


66 The gingerbread people are made in the image of Saint Bartholomew for the Fair; hence, they are also wafers endowed with some human attributes, recalling the Catholic Eucharist. Jonson, *The Alchemist and Other Plays*, 510n68.

67 All of the toys in hobbyhorse-maker Leatherhead’s stall are in some sense ceremonial objects, if children’s play is considered to be ceremonial. Early evangelical Protestants generally did not, as a rule, formally make or buy toys for children. See Bruce C. Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), esp. 186–89, on Puritans’ opposition to childhood play as potentially corrupting.

68 Busy also makes witch-producing insinuations about Ursula the pig-woman’s “having the marks upon her of the three enemies of man . . . the devil.” Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, 3.6.32–34.


70 “Fancy man, n.,” 3., first quoted 1811, *OED Online*.


72 Though outbreaks of plague often did disrupt the Bartholomew Fair, this line is also haunted from the future by the specter of the AIDS epidemic, which showed what it looks like when a pestilence depopulates an entire culture of artistic production.


“Fancy, n. and adj.,” A. n. 4.a., first quoted 1581, OED Online.

Callaghan, “And All Is Semblative,” 37, calls this phrase “genitally undecipherable” in respect of the multiple words associated with female genitalia juxtaposed in this triply proprietary grouping—presumably, Orsino has a “fancy,” and Viola will be “queen” of it?

Shannon, “Nature’s Bias,” 208, calls the pair of couples at the resolution “an expanded group of siblings based on the axis of the twins.”

3. It Takes One to Know One

Some of the most widely circulated examples of English witch hunt pamphlets include: The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboyes arraigned, convicted, and executed at the last assises at Huntington (London, 1593); The araignement & burning of Margaret Ferne-seede for the murther of her late husband Anthony Ferne-seede (London, 1608); Thomas Potts, The wonderfull discoverie of witches in the countie of Lancaster, With the arraignement and triall of nineteene notorious witches (London, 1613), the trial that is the source for Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome’s 1634 tragicomedy The Late Lancashire Witches; The Wonderful discovery of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Philippa Flower, daughters of Joan Flower neere BeverCastle: executed at Lincolne, March 11th 1618 (London, 1619); and the trial pamphlet that is the source for The Witch of Edmonton (1622), Henry Goodcole’s The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer a witch late of Edmonton, her conviction and condemnation and death. Together with the relation of the Divels accesse to her, and their conference together (London, 1621).


I am thinking here of D. A. Miller’s work on the queer meanings of Jane
Austen and Alfred Hitchcock; see Miller’s *Jane Austen, or The Secret of Style* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), and “Anal Rope,” *Representations* 32 (1990): 114–33; as well as Sedgwick’s literary treatments of the AIDS quilt, Supreme Court decisions, and culture war rhetorics in *Tendencies* and *Epistemology*.

5 *Newes from Scotland*, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in January last, 1591. Which doctor was regester to the diuell that sundry times preached at North Barrick Kirke, to a number of notorious witches. With the true examination of the saide doctor and witches, as they uttered them in the presence of the Scottish king. Discovering how they pretended to bewitch and drowne his Maistie in the sea comming from Denmarke, with such other wonderfull matters as the like hath not been heard of at any time. Published according to the Scottish coppie (London, [1592?]), BOD 8o Douce F 210, Aivv, hereafter cited parenthetically in text by signature and leaf number.


7 Gowing, *Common Bodies*, 73.

8 One of the important connections to be made between the history of witchcraft and the histories of medicine and state violence toward poor people is this recurring narrative strand: the criminalization of women for providing health care on a lay, community basis. See Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 1973).

9 Document 20, “The Trial of Agnes Sampson, 27 January 1591,” items 1–12, 19, in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI’s Demonology and the North Berwick Witches*, ed. Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000). All subsequent citations from early modern legal documents are from this book, identified by document number, name, and item number. Sampson’s accusation concentrates on her long-standing practice of midwifery and folk medicine for clients from a wide range of social stations. Presented with ill clients who came to her to ask if they would live or not, she correctly told, many times, how long it would be before they were well again, and whether they would die of their current illnesses.

10 *Newes from Scotland*’s emphasis on James’s personal involvement in the trials reflects authorship by someone close to James, a collaborator in fashioning his public persona. Though the pamphlet was speculatively attributed to James himself in nineteenth-century scholarship, modern research suggests that James Carmichael, the minister of Haddington
who was in charge of some of the trials, may have written the original source text for the pamphlet. Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft*, 8. See Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, Compiled from the Original Records and Manuscripts, with Historical Illustrations* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833); and George Lincoln Burr’s edition of *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, “The Witch Persecutions,” vol. 3, no. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania History Department, 1897).

11 The idea that the witch’s silence was attributable to demonic assistance, potentially through charms hidden on her body, dates from the *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) by Heinrich Kramer, though the devil’s mark is a later belief that postdates medieval witchcraft theory. See Dyan Elliott, “The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality,” in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, ed. Peter Biller, Alastair J. Minnis, and Eammon Duffy (Suffolk, U.K.: York Medieval Press, 1997), 173n142. See also S. W. McDonald, “The Devil’s Mark and the Witch-Prickers of Scotland,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 90, no. 9 (1997): 507–11.

12 The most strange and admirable discouerie of the three witches of Warboys arraigned, convicted, and executed at the last assises at Hunting- ton, for the bewitching of the five daughters of Robert Throckmorton esquire, and divers other persons, with sundrie diuellish and grieuous torments: and also for the witching to death of the Lady Crumwell, the like hath not been heard of in this age (London, 1593), O3v–O4r.


14 Levine, *Men in Women’s Clothing*, 120–33, reads the mark discovered on Sampson as the central sign that belies the antirepresentational belief system of Protestant antitheatrical discourse. The investment in finding it, she says, reveals a deeply repressed paranoid anxiety that material signs can indeed have transformative efficacies, which she connects explicitly to the antitheatrical anxiety that sexual difference, gender, and desire could be altered by material accessories.


17 Influential studies of the epistemology of “discovery” and the “discovery scene,” arguing for its constitutive significance to early modern ideas of interiority, truth, and subjectivity, have been presented by Christopher Pye, “Froth in the Mirror: Demonism, Sexuality, and the Early Modern Subject,” in Vanishing, 38–49; and Maus, Inwardness and Theater, 44–46.

18 Brooks, Reading for the Plot, 37, 102–4.

19 Kristeva, Powers of Horror, 1. I appreciate Kristeva’s figurative description of the state of being beset by abjection as a “twisted braid of affects” rather than a clean-cut or unitary mechanism.

20 Normand and Roberts, Witchcraft, 209. See also Charlotte-Rose Millar, Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England (London: Routledge, 2017); and Roper, Oedipus and the Devil, 204–8.

21 Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), “NO COLLUSION—RIGGED WITCH HUNT!,” Twitter, August 23, 2018, 1:10 a.m.

22 Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), “Collusion is not a crime, but that doesn’t matter because there was No Collusion (except by Crooked Hillary and the Democrats)!,” Twitter, July 31, 2018, 7:59 a.m.


30 Dinshaw, in Getting Medieval, 55–99, also uses this phrase to illustrate the paranoid and projective desires animating the complex of shifting, reflexive accusations around Lollardy, murder, simony, sodomy, and leprosy in late medieval England.

31 Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy, 34.

32 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 8.


34 “Since the dread of internalized objects is by no means extinguished with their projection, the ego marshals against the persecutors inside the body the same forces as it employs against those in the outside world. These anxiety-contents and defence-mechanisms form the basis
of paranoia.” Klein, “Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States,” 262.

35 Klein, “Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States,” 262.

36 Klein, “Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States,” 263.


38 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 8.

39 “Entanglement” is a technical term in quantum mechanics for particles that are ontologically related such that, regardless of their distance from one another over space or through time, they can instantly coordinate their properties with one another. The information that entangled particles disperse and share through their mysterious communication network is by its nature secret and invisible as long as it’s held among entangled particles. Once observed, the particles are no longer in a state of entanglement. Rivka Galchen, “Dream Machine: The Mind-Expanding World of Quantum Computing,” New Yorker, May 2, 2011, 34–43.


41 Suspicion around domestic material objects is famously on display as a queer-constructing and queer-persecuting force in the trials of Oscar Wilde, where the fabrics of drapes, the stains on bedsheets, the lines of furniture, and the dishes ordered on restaurant bills are marshaled as evidence of Wilde’s “gross indecency” with other men. See The Trials of Oscar Wilde, ed. H. Montgomery Hyde (London: The Stationery Office, 2001); and Abigail Joseph, Exquisite Materials: Episodes in the Queer History of Victorian Style (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2019).


43 The image of witches sailing in sieves on the sea (like uncanny seafarers, which some of the accused are by occupation) to attend demonic business is thought to originate in Newes from Scotland, because it does not appear in Jean Bodin, Reginald Scot, or any earlier sources on witchcraft. It is the putative source for the witches’ declaration that they will sail in sieves to do harm to the sailor’s wife in Macbeth. For a detailed analysis of Newes from Scotland’s afterlives as source material for Shakespeare’s and Jonson’s Jacobean drama, see Edward H. Thompson, “Macbeth, King James, and the Witches,” paper presented at “Lancashire Witches: Law, Literature and 17th Century Women,” December 1993, University of Lancaster. http://faculty.umb.edu/gary_
This is where accused women become truly fungible in *Newes from Scotland*, their identities shifting from criminal suspects individually subjected to examination and torture into a conglomerate of interchangeable witches acting in concert. The pamphlet attributes this confession to “Agnis Tompson,” but the cat christening comes from the record of Sampson’s trial. Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft*, document 20, “The Trial of Agnes Sampson, 27 January 1591,” item 40.

The trial records (including the indictment where sieve sailing originates) mention throwing a dog overboard and conjuring cats: “Ye and they took the sea, Robert Grierson being your admiral and masterman, passed over the sea in riddles to a ship where ye entered with the devil your master therein, where after ye had eaten and drunken, ye cast over a black dog that skipped under the ship, and thereby ye hewing the devil your master therein, who drowned the ship by tumbling, whereby the queen was put back by storm. (26) Item, indicted for consulting with the said Annie Sampson, Robert Grierson and divers other witches for the treasonable staying of the queen’s homecoming by storm and wind, and raising of storm to that effect, or else to have drowned her Majesty and her company by conjuring of cats and casting of them in the sea at Leith and the back of Robert Grierson’s house. To stay the queen’s homecoming.” Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft*, document 23, “The Trial of Euphame MacCalzean, 9–15 June 1591,” items 25 and 26. The elder witch, Agnis or Agnes (“Annie”) Sampson, also confesses to baptizing a cat in the chimney hearth of a house. Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft*, document 20, “The Trial of Agnes Sampson, 27 January 1591,” item 40.

It is possible that the cat may have been christened James, Anne, or some other reference to the royal targets of the storm. Or it may have been given a diabolical moniker out of folk tradition, like Tom (the name by which the devil dog in *The Witch of Edmonton* introduces himself)—or somehow christened, in a fully perverted version of the sacrament, with no name at all.

Their possible provenance is hinted at in the trial dittay of Agnes Sampson (who is after all a longtime healer and midwife) when she is accused of “taking off the pain and sickness” of women in childbirth (including Euphame MacCalzean, the other witch accused of cat conjuring) by “putting of moulds or powder, made of men’s joints and members in Newton kirk, under Euphame MacCalzean’s bed ten days before her birth.” Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft*, document 20, items 42–43.
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53 Normand and Roberts, Witchcraft, 215, read the North Berwick gathering as a sort of populist political carnival or rally, “an astonishingly democratic meeting presided over by a devil who can be criticised [. . . ] We may even see this moment as an image of political argument and challenge [. . . ] The devil berated in North Berwick kirk for late delivery of an image is not the super-subtle and supremely powerful enemy of God of the demonologists. He is, at least in part, the devil of popular belief, ballads and stories, of many proverbs and popular woodcuts, who has close, chatty relationships with clowns in early modern drama.”

54 Briggs, Witches and Neighbors, 25. Briggs also explains the early modern identification of the devil with a sadistic father figure in Continental witch beliefs, and the respective Catholic and Protestant psychologies around the devil’s role in the seduction of witches (385).

55 The lore of the witches’ Sabbath frequently includes music and dancing; this is presumably some form of a popular folk song, but its antiphonal leader-and-chorus structure and the repetitive, linked dance it implies give it additional associations with archaic communal ritual life such as morris dancing and the maypole.

56 The pamphlet narrative identifies at an emotional level with the king here, indicating the author’s possible presence with James in the courtroom to witness his “delight,” and/or an investment in aligning the voice of the pamphlet as closely as possible with James’s emotive political persona, in order to imprint the king’s personal pleasure on this particular construction of witchcraft for circulation in both Scotland and England.

57 James imagines the realm to be secretly teeming with witches who are constantly fashioning technologies through which to harm him. In the chains of simulacra James imagines, people (such as himself) are roasted via their wax images, using representation and likeness to create a material conduit from the devil, through the witch, to the victim: “To some witches the Devil teaches how to make Pictures of waxe or clay. That by the rosting thereof, the persones that they beare the name of, may be continuallie melted or dryed awaie by continuall sicknesse.” James VI, Daemonologie, in forme of a Dialogue (Edinburgh: Robert Waldgrave, 1597; fascimile ed., Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), 44.

58 The Jew’s harp also underlines the historical and thematic links between the Continental idea of the witches’ Sabbath (popularly called a synagogue) and long-standing communal paranoia around the ritual

59 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 10.

60 See Alan Stewart, The Cradle King: The Life of James VI and I, the First Monarch of a United Great Britain (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003), 100–140. English agent Thomas Fowler reported before the wedding that Anne bore the king a great deal of “affection which his Majestie is apt in no way to requite.” Quoted in Ethel Carleton Williams, Anne of Denmark (London: Longman, 1970), 14–15.

61 Goodcole, Wonderfull discoverie.

62 William Prynne, for example, alleges that at an Elizabethan performance of Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus (c. 1592), the actors and audience were amazed at “the visible apparition of the Devill on the stage.” Prynne, Histrio-mastix, the players scourge, or actors tragedie . . . (London, 1633). E. K. Chambers locates performances of Doctor Faustus as a common site for such urban legends, which formed a “curious mythos” registering audiences’ anxieties and appetites around witchcraft onstage. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 3:423–24.


Rowley, Dekker, and Ford, Witch of Edmonton, 1.1.44. All subsequent citations in the text are from the Revels Student edition and are cited parenthetically in text by act, scene, and line number.

The portentous mood of secrecy, stigma, and fear around Winnifride’s bridal pregnancy in The Witch of Edmonton may reflect a changing disciplinary norm in which church courts attempted to crack down on premarital fornication and bridal pregnancy (which was extremely common) after about 1600, in an effort to insist that only church marriage made sexual relations licit. This push for official condemnation (which was especially intense in areas of economic scarcity) contends against a preexisting and coexisting social norm in which premarital sex and bridal pregnancy were relatively widespread and accepted as long as marriage took place before the birth; see Martin Ingraham, Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570–1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 219–37.

Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 17.

See Millar, Witchcraft.


“Ingle” has connotations of service that are interesting in that they bear out the witch/familiar dynamic—which is itself a reversal of the larger cosmic order enacted by the familiar’s seducing the witch into the devil’s service. In this relation, Dog appears to take the submissive sexual role, although he obviously wields control over Cuddy; see Di-Gangi, Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama, 64–67.

“Spit in thy mouth” refers to a gesture of affection that was believed to please dogs. Rowley, Dekker, and Ford, Witch of Edmonton, 107n286.
It is also an explicit sexual metaphor, along with “given him a bone to gnaw twenty times,” both of which allude to oral sex between the Dog and Cuddy Banks.

73 The term for this particular gendered form of manipulation originates with the film *Gaslight* (dir. George Cukor, 1944), based on the 1938 play by Patrick Hamilton, *Gas Light*. As in *The Witch of Edmonton*, a husband convinces his wife she is going mad in order to conceal his past criminal acts—by dimming the lights and denying to her that they are dimming.

74 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 19.

75 Cuddy Banks’s scenes with Dog (thought to be chiefly Rowley’s work) are the only place where any details of the play’s demonology are presented. See Corbin and Douglas Sedge, introduction to Rowley, Dekker, and Ford, *Witch of Edmonton*, 6.

76 The ontological status of the “Spirit of Susan” is as ambiguous as the Dog’s placement of the murder weapon; if not a ghost, it could be construed as the uncanny materialization of Frank’s guilty imagination, or as a demonic apparition in Susan’s shape, sent out by the Dog to torment him.

77 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 17.


79 A February 8, 2011, production directed by Jesse Berger for the Red Bull Theater in New York City included a silent, stylized tableau of Elizabeth Sawyer burning alive alongside Winnifride’s recitation of her epilogue, with the two women lit by twin spotlights on an otherwise pitch-black stage, providing a convicting reminder of the cost at which Winnifride’s redemption is bought.

4. Lost Worlds, Lost Selves


7 The 1590 folio edition of Harriot’s report with White’s “True Pictures” was the inaugural volume of De Bry’s America series. Léry’s Histoire d’un voyage was enormously successful as well, enjoying reprintings in 1580, 1585, 1594, 1599–1600, and 1611 after the initial publication in 1578. Translated into Latin and German, it becomes part of De Bry’s third volume of the America series in 1592. Léry’s text is also anthologized in English, as “Extracts out of the Historie of John Lerius a Frenchman, Who Lived in Brasill with Mons. Villagagnon, Ann. 1557, and 58,” in the 1625 edition of Samuel Purchas’s compendium of travel writing, Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes (first published in 1613). See Janet Whatley, “Editions and Reception of Léry,” in Léry, History of a Voyage, 220–21, as well as the book’s bibliography, 258–59.


10 Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, 89; Roland Greene, Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 81.


12 An explication of the “straight” reading of colonial desire can be found in Greenblatt’s treatment of the writings of Columbus and Cortés in chap. 3, “Marvelous Possessions,” and chap. 5, “The Go-Between,” of Marvelous Possessions. On racialized colonial desire, see Hall, Things of Darkness, 25–43.


17 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 17–19.

18 See Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, xiv; also chap. 7, “The Black Man and Recognition.”

19 Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (New York: Routledge, 1994), 100. Bhabha is analyzing nineteenth-century colonial administrative processes of civil address and legal inscription, but the cycle of craven investment in the other’s gaze that he describes can be seen long before the advent of those regimes.

20 Bhabha, Location of Culture, 63.

21 Bhabha, Location of Culture, 61.

22 This also serves to make explicit the limitations of this study to a focus
on European desires. There is important work being done that seeks to recover the perspectives of American people looking at the European invaders. See Beatríz Pastor, “Silence and Writing: The History of the Conquest,” trans. Jason Wood, in 1492/1992: Re/discovering Colonial Writing, ed. René Jara and Nicolas Spadaccini (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). Pastor takes up the project of “rewriting” the history of the conquest, which requires “retracing the lost steps, listening to other voices that could have related the history of a discovery rooted in dreams and lies” (147).

23 “The form [of the event’s] appearing—the morphology of the culture or of the moment—‘precedes’ the event, which comes to form always and already in the shape of a sign, an event that ‘means something.’” Lezra, Unspeakable Subjects, 40–41.

24 Of the critics who have written on same-sex, gay, or queer erotics in the colonial sphere, only Freccero, in the last chapter of Queer/Early/Modern, a methodological intervention titled “Queer Spectrality,” has articulated a similar valence of melancholic desire in colonial writing. Freccero advocates for a queer historiography of being haunted by the past, which she distinguishes from melancholia’s “entombment”—although her model of queer, transtemporal historical affect resonates with the past- and future-oriented melancholias I am describing.


26 The coexistence of forms of queer identification and desire with violent exploitation in colonial sexuality has been clarified for me by Rifkin’s work, particularly When Did Indians Become Straight?, and by Canadian First Nations (Cree) artist Kent Monkman’s Old Masters–style paintings, which render fantasy histories of graphic colonial homoeroticism and violence (https://www.kentmonkman.com/). See Rifkin, When Did Indians Become Straight?, 26–30, for an incisive critique of the ways in which queer theory has been implicated in settler colonial imperatives through binary and white-normative conceptions of kinship, family, individuality, citizenship, and the nation-state.

27 Rifkin, When Did Indians Become Straight?; Puar, Terrorist Assemblages.


29 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245.

30 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 244.

31 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 249, categorizes identification as
the surrogation of the desire for difference, “a substitute for the erotic
cathexis.” But some attachments—or some subjects, it seems—were
always suspiciously narcissistic in their object-choices: when “the
object-choice has been effected on a narcissistic basis,” the melan-
cholic’s object-love has some essential susceptibility to “regress into
narcissism” at the first “obstacle.” However, this regression is also a
return, back to “a preliminary stage of object-choice . . . the first way—
and one that is expressed in an ambivalent fashion—in which the ego
picks out an object.” Freud, “On Narcissism,” 554, defines narcissism
as the “original” erotic condition, which is sustained and intensified in
“perverts and homosexuals” and at “the maturing of the female sexual
organs,” and which only normal, Oedipal, heterosexual men completely
banish.

32 Other critics have used the idea of melancholia to discuss the after-
math of colonial violence, notably Paul Gilroy, Postcolonial Melancho-
lia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Ranjana Khanna,
Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism (Durham, N.C.: Duke
University Press, 2003); and Anne Anlin Cheng, The Melancholy of
Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief (Oxford: Oxford

33 “Nostalgia, n.,” 1. and 2.a., OED Online.

34 Halberstam, Queer Art of Failure and In a Queer Time and Place; Love,
Feeling Backward.

35 Michael Warner treats the history of often reductive associations in psy-
chodynamic thought between homosexuality and narcissistic overiden-
tification in “Homo-Narcissism; or, Heterosexuality,” in Engendering
Men, ed. Joseph A. Boone and Michael Cadden (New York: Routledge,
1990), 190–206. Earl Jackson Jr. offers a critique in Strategies of De-
viance: Studies in Gay Male Representation (Bloomington: University
of Indiana Press, 1995) of psychoanalytic theory’s construction of a
gay subject. However, Jackson also seeks to rehabilitate one nuance of
Freud’s notion of narcissism: “a range of identificatory operations . . . a
potentially compelling descriptive model of the dynamic interchanges
constituting psychosocial subject formation (and the economic fluctua-
tions of external or internal libidinal investments).” Jackson, Strategies

37 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245.
38 Claude Lévi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques (1955), trans. John Russell (New
39 Léry, History of a Voyage, 41; “ils la vouloyent mascher et avaler toute
40 Sara Castro-Klarén, “Parallaxes: Cannibalism and Self-Embodiment;
or, The Calvinist Reading of Tupi A-Theology,” in Thinking the Limits
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44 Léry, History of a Voyage, 198.


46 The iconic trope of queer desire I cite here, “I am the Love that dare not speak its name,” is the last line of a poem, “Two Loves,” by Lord Alfred (Bosie) Douglas, the perpetually absconding object of Oscar Wilde’s melancholic desire, which appeared in the sole issue of the sexually transgressive and queer-affiliated Oxford undergraduate literary journal The Chameleon 1, no. 1 (1894): 28. Quoted in Sedgwick, Epistemology, 74.

47 Léry, History of a Voyage, 67.

48 Freccero, Queer/Early/Modern, 95.


53 This particular register of histrionic disavowal of the possibility of description coupled with florid description has been explicated as a

54 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245.
55 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245.
56 “One feels justified in maintaining the belief that a loss of this kind has occurred, but one cannot see clearly what it is that has been lost, and it is all the more reasonable to suppose that the patient cannot consciously perceive what he has lost either.” Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245.

57 Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245.
59 Léry, “Préface,” xlvii.
60 Freccero, Queer/Early/Modern, 87, characterizes these events of religiously motivated torture and mass murder as modern or protomodern traumas that do shattering, haunting violence to the narratives of French nationhood.

61 Freud characterizes repetition-compulsion as an unconsciously self-destructive neurotic response to a trauma, especially a trauma like the ministers’ sojourn in Brazil, in which the subject is passive and powerless. Sigmund Freud, “Beyond the Pleasure Principle” (1920), in Standard Edition, 18:1–64.

62 Léry, History of a Voyage, 199.
63 Léry, History of a Voyage, 200.
64 Léry, “Préface,” xlv.
66 Léry, History of a Voyage, 121.
67 Léry, History of a Voyage, 142.
68 Léry, History of a Voyage, 141.
69 I am intrigued by Léry’s belated insertion into his narrative of a parallel between his memory of the ceremony and a witches’ Sabbath. Léry even adds a passage from Jean Bodin’s witch-crazed treatise, De la démonomanie des sorciers (1578), to the 1585 edition of Histoire d’un voyage, concluding that Bodin best describes what he witnessed twenty years before. Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, 15–19, is perceptive when he describes how thoroughly literal and material—not metaphorical—negative affects are for Jean de Léry; he experiences suffering, pain, and torment as part of the same erotic mechanism as wonder and pleasure.

70 Léry, History of a Voyage, 141–42.
71 Léry, History of a Voyage, 144.
72 Freccero, Queer/Early/Modern, 99; Bersani, Homos, 101.
73 Goldberg, “History That Will Be,” 16.
74 Goldberg, “History That Will Be,” 15.
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75 Harriot, *Briefe and True Report*, 9. Citations to this text are hereafter cited in the footnotes according to the text’s 1590 folio page numbering.


80 Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 64.


85 Goldberg, “History That Will Be,” 18, reads Harriot as attempting to “dazzle” the natives with writing and to endow writing with magic-making power by including it on this list.

86 Goldberg, “History That Will Be,” 15.

87 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 100.


89 Sedgwick, “Queer and Now,” 3.


92 This fantasy appears periodically in the voyage-history genre, including George Best’s 1570s accounts of Martin Frobisher’s voyages to Baffin Island. It appears as a claim that Native Americans communicate—in words or by gestures—a self-consciousness of their relative cognitive simplicity compared to the invaders, as well as an inability to grasp the abstract principles that animate European technology and scientific thought. See Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 114–16.


100 Goldberg, “History That Will Be,” 16.


102 Goldberg, “History That Will Be,” 16.


Theodor De Bry, “To the gentle Reader”; “The True Pictures and Fashions of the People in that Parte of America Now Called Virginia . . . ,” in Harriot, *Briefe and True Report*, [41].

“True Pictures,” [36].


John White, “A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia. III”; “True Pictures,” A. Further citations from “True Pictures” will be cited in notes under John White’s name and the “True Pictures” page signature.

White, “True Pictures,” A5.


See Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017), for an intervention into how native peoples have been situated in time—both by primitivist relegation to the past and by the liberal settler state’s erasure of indigenous temporalities via inclusion in the modern present.


White, “True Pictures,” E.

Sedgwick, “Foreword: T Times,” xii.


White to Hakluyt, letter, 2:715.

White to Hakluyt, letter, 2:715.
The multiple narratives about the lost settlers are contextualized within the political history of the indigenous nations in the area in Michael Leroy Oberg’s masterful historical study, *The Head in Edward Nugent’s Hand: Roanoke’s Forgotten Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).


This map, known as the Carta Zúñiga because it was leaked to Spain by an ambassador, is reproduced in William P. Cumming’s *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 3rd ed., revised and enlarged by Louis De Vorsey Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), map 21.


This comment appears in editions of Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, beginning in 1624–25, both as a marginal footnote to Smith’s account and in an editorial tract Purchas appends to the reports he includes from the Virginia colonies. See *Hakluytus posthumus* (London, 1625), vol. 4, book 9 (“English Plantations, Discoveries, Acts, and Occurents, in Virginia and Summer Ilands, Since the Yeere 1606. Till 1624”), chap. 4 (“The proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia”), 1728; and chap. 20 (“Virginia’s Verger”), 1813.


Oberg, *Head in Edward Nugent’s Hand*, 127–39, reads the Jamestown colonists’ search for Roanoke survivors in the context of the contested political terrain of the Powhatan empire. Effectively, the Englishmen went where their native hosts, guides, protectors, and enslavers wanted them to go, and were told what served the native leaders’ purposes.


Oberg, *Head in Edward Nugent’s Hand*, 130–31, recounts the Christian racial uplift fantasies around the Hatteras people’s supposed European descent recorded by colonial surveyor John Lawson in the early eighteenth century. On the isolation of the North Carolina Tuscarora from the rest of the Tuscarora nation, traces of the Roanoke settlers in Tuscarora oral history and phenotypes, and the role of light eyes in Tuscarora


135 This genetic-nostalgia imperative is exemplified by such popular genealogy efforts as the Lost Colony DNA Project (http://www.lost-colony.com/DNAProj.html), organized by the Lost Colony Center for Science and Research, a lay historical and genealogical society in North Carolina. The racial fetishism around DNA, particularly as it is used to reconstruct the histories of indigenous people in the Americas, is unpacked by Kim TallBear, *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).


139 Harkin, “Performing Paradox,” 110–15

140 “Sad Fate of the White Doe. Deadly Work of the Silver Bullet. The Captain Becomes Reminiscent on a Trip which Seems to Have Neither Start Nor Finish,” *New York Times*, April 22, 1888.


143 Entries about the Roanoke colony are included in many encyclopedias of the paranormal and unexplained, including Time-Life Books’s *Mysteries of the Unknown* series. It is listed in compendia of ghost-haunted places on the earth and is featured in several television documentaries investigating famous unsolved mysteries.

144 Michael Wallis makes this point about the sensationalistic and moralizing media narratives surrounding the Donner party, which characterized the survivors’ cannibalism as an outbreak of exceptional, diabolical, inhuman monstrosity in order to downplay the challenge their ordeal posed to the entire westward expansion project. Wallis, *The Best Land under Heaven: The Donner Party in the Age of Manifest Destiny* (New York: Norton, 2017).
The American Protestant origin myth that draws mystical biblical time into the settler colonial present even more explicitly is the founding myth of Mormonism: the story of Joseph Smith being given the golden tablets containing the Book of Mormon by the angel Moroni, which takes place in Palmyra, New York, in the early nineteenth century, and which can in some ways be considered a sequel and a companion tale to the story of the lost colony.


Harkin, “Performing Paradox,” 115.


The Southern Poverty Law Center (https://www.splcenter.org/) lists VDARE as a white nationalist extremist group.


In Freud’s “Mourning and Melancholia,” 245, the subject may know “whom he has lost, but not what he has lost in him.”


Conclusion

1 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 6.
3 In addition to Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” see the section titled “Thought as Privilege” in “Queer and Now,” 18–20.
4 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 20.
7 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 18.
8 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 35.
10 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 8.
11 Latour, _We Have Never Been Modern_, 5–10.
12 Most recently Traub, _Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns_.
13 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 22.
14 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 22.
15 Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading,” 25.
18 Felski, _Uses of Literature_, 10–11.