



EARLY MODERN CULTURAL STUDIES, 1500–1700



EARLY MODERN ECOSTUDIES

FROM THE FLORENTINE CODEX
TO SHAKESPEARE

EDITED BY

THOMAS HALLOCK,
IVO KAMPS,
AND KAREN L. RABER

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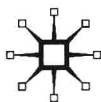
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SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

In the twenty first century, literary criticism, literary theory, historiography and cultural studies have become intimately interwoven, and the formerly distinct fields of literature, society, history, and culture no longer seem so discrete. The Palgrave Early Modern Cultural Studies Series encourages scholarship that crosses boundaries between disciplines, time periods, nations, and theoretical orientations. The series assumes that the early modern period was marked by incipient processes of transculturation brought about through exploration, trade, colonization, and the migration of texts and people. These phenomena set in motion the processes of globalization that remain in force today. The purpose of this series is to publish innovative scholarship that is attentive to the complexity of this early modern world and bold in the methods it employs for studying it.

As series editors, we welcome, for example, books that explore early modern texts and artifacts that bear the traces of transculturation and globalization and that explore Europe's relationship to the cultures of the Americas, of Europe, and of the Islamic world and native representations of those encounters. We are equally interested in books that provide new ways to understand the complex urban culture that produced the early modern public theater or that illuminate the material world of early modern Europe and the regimes of gender, religion, and politics that informed it. Elite culture or the practices of everyday life, the politics of state or of the domestic realm, the material book or the history of the emotions—all are of interest if pursued with an eye to novel ways of making sense of the strangeness and complexity of the early modern world.

IVO KAMPS
Series editor

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INTRODUCTION



EARLY MODERN ECOSTUDIES

*Karen Raber and
Thomas Hallock*

Few cultural categories resist critical scrutiny more easily than nature. The word itself implies a concreteness beyond the reach of historical or human influence. “Natural” conveys authenticity, a realness apart from culture or opinion. A sentence that begins, “It is natural,” uses the word as a synonym for “logically” or “of course”—as if to say that what follows is self-evident. (“It is natural that women want babies, that people of the opposite sex attract,” and so on.) Nature implies imperviousness to change, it points to physical laws of the universe beyond human control. Few people think of nature, in short, as a cultural category at all. The problem of “nature” becomes particularly vexed in academic circles, as we turn to the rapidly evolving field of ecocriticism. Literary ecology, or “green” cultural criticism, examines “the relationship between literature and the physical environment.”¹ But if one sees nature as a cultural category, the problems are immediately apparent in such a practice: how do we deal with literature, or works of the imagination, as part of the “physical” or nonhuman realm? In the introduction to a landmark collection of essays, *The Ecocriticism Reader*, Cheryll Glotfelty draws from the example of women’s studies, laying out three developmental stages. Ecocritics must first address images of nature, mapping the various stereotypes and changes in which the physical environment has been portrayed. The second step would be to recover a tradition (one Glotfelty immediately indicates begins around 1800 and which she loads heavily toward the present). Lastly, ecocritics need to theorize, “drawing on a wide range of theories to raise fundamental questions about . . . symbolic constructs.”² But what happens to concrete nature amidst these constructs?

Many people have taken on this question over the past decade. Indeed, where a student may have struggled to identify a coherent scholarship about nature writing fifteen years ago, today there is a proliferation. The same year that *The Ecocriticism Reader* appeared, Lawrence Buell published *The Environmental Imagination*, a work that more than any single author book set the terms. In 1995, the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment (or ASLE) held its first conference, and since then, ASLE has maintained its position as a flagship organization for ecostudies. In addition to its major biannual meeting, the group holds regular off-year symposia and mini-conferences, hosts nine

regional affiliates, maintains a sprawling website that charts both the history and current developments in the field, and publishes a successful, swelling journal, *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment*, whose backlog of accepted articles is so extensive that (at the time of writing) editors are not currently seeking submissions. Once “ecocriticism” found a name and the key issues were identified, the scholarship boomed. Greg Garrard’s concise volume on *Ecocriticism* for Routledge’s “New Critical Idiom” series now offers a comprehensive (but by no means definitive) introduction. An open forum in *PMLA* included fourteen wide-ranging responses to the question, “What is Ecocriticism?”³ As the field continues to redefine itself, yet more anthologies have appeared, including *Beyond Nature Writing: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism* and *Coming into Contact: Explorations in Ecocritical Theory and Practice*. Just ten years after the *Environmental Imagination*, Lawrence Buell is already looking forward again, with *The Future of Environmental Criticism*.⁴

So where does that leave us? Despite a groundswell of scholarship and no small amount of navel gazing, ecocritics have yet to reconcile a foundational paradox: the vexed relationship between symbolic “Nature” and the concrete, physical environment. Even the more theoretically inclined ecocritics reject—often viscerally—a praxis that does not consider what is *out there*. These neo-Thoreauvians valorize *contact*. Nature cannot exist solely as a cultural category, or there would be nothing to physically engage with, nothing *real* that an activist politics could save. Such a fetish for “contact,” however, creates a problem for historicized study, particularly as the current global crises (which compel many ecocritics) and ethos of advocacy leave little room for exploring the past. Nonhuman nature apparently has no need of history. It should come as no surprise, then, that scholarship that attends to the “relationship between literature and the physical environment” has focused mostly on modern and contemporary texts, identified the origins of their tradition in the Romantic period, acknowledged the enlightenment generally to condemn it, and turned to literature before 1700 scarcely if at all. Even if a key anthology of early texts may identify the “roots,” very few ecocritics would think to address early modern nature as a subject on its own terms.

Obviously (or should we say naturally?) this historical gap cannot last, and recent activity indeed shows that ecocriticism’s most basic vocabulary is slowly percolating into other areas, its goals influencing the work of other kinds of scholars in previously ignored periods. Recent conference panels, books, and articles in the fields of early modern and colonial American studies include the word “green” in their title.⁵ As cognate fields such as animal studies continue to explore similar ideas, likewise, so too are “keywords” beginning to converge.⁶ Yet a survey of early modern nature—and further challenges to the conceptual vocabulary that these texts demand—remains in order.

This volume continues that task. The editors began with rather simple questions: What has prevented or discouraged critics from extending environmentally conscious readings further into the past, and what is lost as a consequence? Early modern scholarship and ecocriticism, we realized, pose unique challenges to one another. How do scholars who traffic in symbol reconcile cultural constructs and the bedrock of nature? If there is a wildness “out there,” a nature apart from own imaginative control, how then can we historicize it? The recovery of early modern “nature” is crucial to any historically oriented ecocriticism, yet some dimension of the material environment of the past is always resistant to reconstruction. Nor do the languages of earlier periods always translate well. The explanations of natural phenomena offered by humoral theory or Divine Providence seem antiquated, even quaint after Darwin and the advent of molecular science. A desire to dominate and control sits poorly alongside a more current environmental ethos. Just as our own green politics can tend to either erase inconvenient aspects of past ecological

thought, or view the past with an overly critical and dismissive eye, the past can present practical and ideological obstacles to the aims of ecocriticism.

The essays in this volume directly and indirectly address these issues. Some confront the collision of activist, presentist politics with traditional modes of historical literary scholarship head-on, while others simply attempt to enact a model for a new kind of early modern ecocritical practice, quietly extending and diversifying literary scholarship. Precisely because the essays in this collection expand the compass of study, however, so too do they challenge some of the more basic, conceptual terms of ecocriticism. As this volume extends the historical range of nature writing, so too must these essays interrogate problematic assumptions. The essays here deal with a range of subjects, demonstrating the application of ecocritical methods to traditional authors such as Shakespeare, Sidney, More, and Milton; well-known texts from colonial America such as Edward Taylor's poetry and the Florentine Codex; and documents from the literature of discovery, medicine, and natural history. And the question that we keep coming back to is rather basic: what tools should we apply, what approach must we take, to understand the relationship between early modern cultures and the natural world?

Part I, "Ecocriticism and Modern Europe: New Approaches, Maturing Disciplines," considers the implications of an ecocritical approach for both the scholarship and the politics of historical literary criticism. Sharon O'Dair, in chapter 1, examines the conflict that results from the appropriation of ecocriticism by a hyperproductive profession. Pressured to mindlessly generate text, encouraged to fly around the world and back several times a year for conferences in order to hobnob with the famous and influential, literary critics are responsible for carbon footprints that could probably be read without a telescope from the moon. O'Dair thus advocates a return to a time when the profession valued "slow," meditative, thoughtful, and considered contributions to its debates. Like O'Dair, Simon Estok too, in chapter 4, worries about the consequences of ecocriticism's advent as a successful discourse within the profession. Not coincidentally, both O'Dair and Estok take on the legacy of other theoretical movements in the academy, like New Criticism and the New Historicism, to which ecocriticism is the likely heir. Because Estok is committed to a definition of ecocriticism that is self-consciously and determinedly activist, he finds recent work in the field by figures such as Gabriel Egan and Robert N. Watson troubling for the way they have appropriated, and perhaps misunderstood or misaligned, the goals of ecocritical study. Egan's attempt to recuperate old and discredited concepts such as the Great Chain of Being, and Watson's philosophical-linguistic analyses do not, Estok worries, offer a radical challenge to current politics and attitudes. Instead Estok suggests that we need to fully appreciate the depths of "ecophobia" in Shakespeare's world and our own, before we can remedy its effects. In his alternative reading of *Titus Andronicus*, Estok finds a sustained critique of a "meat-based diet" for the ways in which it renders human and nonhuman subject "to the same rules of consumption," while in *Coriolanus* he finds the material for a "queer ecocritical" reading that exposes the relationship between ecophobia and homophobia.

Joining these skeptics are Ivo Kamps and Melissa Smith, whose discussion of Thomas More's *Utopia* in chapter 6 raises the question of what exactly ecocriticism enables that is not already possible with the critical tools developed over the last half-century. *Utopia* ought to be an easy target for ecocritical analysis, Kamps and Smith point out, but it resists such treatment. More attempted to overcome the old nature/culture binary by defining nature in terms of God's law, apprehensible by man's reason; yet in order to produce a just, moral nation in Utopia More must create conditions, both environmental through labor and ideological through religion, that ensure that its "citizens are so well conditioned to the roles they are given that they truly believe in the play in which they take part." Even

this fails, however, since the “natural accord” of More’s Utopians is clearly anything but natural—it is a cultural construction. And if culture is eradicated, there is nothing left. Kamps and Smith, however, do conclude that one thing new and unexpected can arise out of ecocriticism: a “place at the humanist table” for one unrepresented perspective not included by other critical methodologies, namely for More’s sheep. Yet that place is only a by-product of human interest and human endeavor, and so still does not undo the predicament that culture trumps nature every time.

Todd Borlik counters some of these skeptical voices with his analysis of the tree catalogue in Sidney’s *Arcadia* in chapter 2. Noting that Sidney wrote at a time when deforestation was a pressing concern, and that Sidney personally witnessed its depredation of the lands around his sister’s estate, Borlik argues that Sidney’s personification of Arcadian nature may not be entirely absurd or worthy of critical dismissal—it may, in fact, give nature at least a ventriloquized voice with which to resist human domination.

“Monsters,” says Georgia Brown in chapter 3, “embody frontiers,” which explains why they fascinate early modern readers. Brown begins her analysis of *Othello*’s monsters by noting that monsters tend to escape definition; not even a work such as Paré’s *Of Monsters* can stabilize the category sufficiently. Indeed, the play illustrates that human identity can be gained, lost, or transformed, making the line between the human and the monstrous difficult to find. Moving from monsters to beasts, Karen Raber addresses the influence and the problematics of animal studies in the early modern period and beyond in chapter 5, which takes the marginalized, trivialized early modern cat as its main protagonist. What cats may teach us, Raber suggests, is that many of our deeply held critical convictions about anthropocentrism, speciesism, and the goals of ecocritical readings that include animals, may be distractions we produce to avoid considering the degree to which human behavior imitates, not the noble horse or the loyal and intelligent dog, but the cruel, rapacious, demonic, amoral, exploitative (but very cute) cat.

Finally in Part I, chapter 7, Robert Markley offers us not a skeptical reaction to ecocriticism, but an instructive warning about the important theoretical shift that embracing it entails. In distinction to some past theoretical movements, which required that adherents throw out all the assumptions they had formulated under the old regimes of literary criticism, ecocriticism has sometimes seemed to offer a kinder, gentler option—one need not abandon Marxism or a new historicist methodology in order to become an ecocritic, but can rather graft the new onto the old. Yet, as Markley points out, many of our received ideas about the facts on the ground are challenged when we privilege a macrocosmic fact such as the coldness of the weather. If in fact Europe and England experienced something we can call a “little ice age,” then suddenly so many aspects of the literary production of those years must be reread as responses to precisely the frigid world outside the poet’s poorly warmed study. The consequences for literary scholarship of such an adjustment are potentially revolutionary:

Part II, “The Spirit and the Flesh: The Implications of Religion for Early Modern Nature,” reexamines Christianity and conversion through an environmental lens. Returning to traditions that have been unduly dismissed by ecocritics, these chapters attend to the points of fissure, cultural contact, and revision in European as well as colonial religious practice, showing through a diverse range of materials—from Mayan codices to New England devotional poetry—how the natural world registered matters of the spirit.

The community of Protestants at Little Gidding, with which George Herbert was associated, redefined religious practice to include a flexible, eclectic approach to representing “interspecies orientation.” Nick Johnson’s essay on “Anima-tion at Little Gidding” focuses on one of the concordances produced by the community, the Royal Harmony, in which a varied and often contradictory set of representational modes and devices are interwoven.

These tend, even in their complex inconsistencies, to realize the idea of “justness” with regard to nature, much in the spirit of Herbert’s poem “Affliction (I).” In chapter 9, Millie Gimmel provides an ecological reading of a well-known text in colonial studies but one that has nonetheless been ignored by “green” scholarship, the Florentine Codex. The fruit of collaboration between native priests and the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún, this codex combined pictographs, Nahuatl writing, and a Spanish gloss, making it a truly heterogeneous document. Gimmel shows how the Florentine Codex may offer a window into “not only the indigenous attitude toward their native land but also the Iberian stance toward that land,” and she deploys an ecocritical approach to negotiate a fundamental contradiction. The work records native beliefs about nature even as Spanish clerics sought to eradicate those beliefs; a Bakhtinian model, however, brings these “disparate sections of the Florentine Codex into focus.” Gimmel’s reading presents an approach to environmental literature as “open,” with competing taxonomies, beliefs, and perceptual categories coming into play. Although one may easily criticize Europeans “for wreaking ecological havoc on the New World,” works such as the Florentine Codex “bear witness to the complexity of interactions and attitudes” of colonial New Spain.

In a similar effort not to excoriate but understand, John Gatta contextualizes authors familiar to—and beloved by—ecocritics within the traditions of biblical and devotional writing. While Christianity’s focus upon “self-reform and the fate of human souls” has rarely concerned itself with “environmental reform,” neither should “this spirituality be dismissed as wholly anthropocentric.” Gatta’s broad survey reminds us of the “legacy of religious discipline aimed at fastening mind and heart” upon the natural world, and establishes how this tradition continues to inform more contemporary activism, writing, and thought.

Michael G. Ziser’s “The Pomology of Eden: Apple Culture and Early New England Poetry,” chapter 11, historicizes an early American staple within poetic and biblical aesthetics, as well as within the practical needs and culinary tastes of Puritanism. Was it a punishable but forgivable sin to enjoy an apple, or was the fruit “a celebration of Christ’s retroactive repeal of God’s ban on touching the tree of knowledge?” The question frames Ziser’s reading of Anne Bradstreet’s “Contemplations,” which is sometimes cited as the early American “ecopoem,” but one that has (curiously) not been considered within the trans-Atlantic, postlapsarian context that Ziser establishes. A discussion of Edward Taylor’s *Preparatory Meditations* also sets theological debates (a prevailing preoccupation of Taylor scholars) against the tart details of domestic economy. “Object” and “symbol” become confused in meditations penned during apple season, as Puritan poetics, doctrine, and the natural world intersected: the apple was both “an item of scripture and an object of everyday use.” The Puritan experiment in New England was not so much the errand in the wilderness, as Ziser shows us, but a “graft” in which the “reciprocity between human work and the natural world” was carefully tended.

Part III, “Nature and Empire,” offers a trans-Atlantic approach to environmental discourse, examining both the America of European consciousness as well as colonial impressions of a New World. Where American literature before 1800 has typically served as a “straw man” in celebratory studies of nineteenth-century texts, these chapters engage the literature on its own terms, showing that even works prescribing transformation and change demonstrated a keen knowledge of the physical environment. In chapter 12 Anthony Lioi uses a little-known text that was widely read in its own day, Richard Ligon’s *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657), to problematize the “ethics of affectivity” that continue to define ecocriticism. As an instruction manual for colonization, *A True and Exact History* shows how understandings of the natural world went hand-in-hand with imperial exploitation. Ligon’s neglect, Lioi establishes, speaks to the

broader ecocritical indifference to literature outside the Thoreauvian tradition. Where pastoral scholarship holds out “wonder” as a means of fostering sympathy (and hence a palatable ethics) with nature, Ligon delights in its “ecstatic consumption.” And while he obviously does not endorse colonial practice, Lioi does use the *True and Exact History* to open up a broader problem: namely, a “positivist fixation on historical facticity” that “often obscures the real significance of the writing.” To take delight in nature does not necessarily make one “green.” Rather than succumbing to a “fallacy of modern origins” that has defined the first wave of ecological criticism, scholars must explore broader “alternative emotional economies and a variety of environmental metanarratives” if we are to sustain a long-term, green tradition.

In chapter 13, Thomas Hallock makes a futile attempt to retrace a sixteenth-century journey through Spanish Florida. As the path leads Hallock into both an imaginative topos and an impenetrable swamp, he also scrutinizes the precepts that support narrative scholarship. Whereas backpacking critics such as John Elder and Ian Marshall may toss a poem into their rucksacks, Hallock finds that the literature of conquest and discovery actually remove him from the places purportedly being described. His physical journey leads to a brief review of *la Florida* in the colonial imagination, then to an author who is widely read by Latin Americanist scholars but ignored by ecocritics: El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. *La Florida del Inca*, an account about the Hernando de Soto expedition but about a country that the author had never seen, offers the wedge into the vagaries of literary “place,” which Hallock argues must be understood not simply from the physical terrain but also from the unchartable topography of the imagination. E. Thomson Shields, in “Imagining the Forest: Longleaf Pine Ecosystems in Spanish and English Writings of the Southeast, 1542–1709,” chapter 14, working in a similar vein, unravels many of the pitfalls that potentially await readers of the early American landscape. While demystifying popular conceptions of wilderness, Shields demonstrates that the early invaders described (what is now) the southeastern United States as “parque” and “selva.” His broad-ranging review of the literature emphasizes the economic motives behind these early accounts, observing that “the natural environment usually gets play only when it is remarkable for either its commercial usefulness” or an impediment to exploration. Rather than defining *American* place, these texts instead “match up with early modern European expectations of what a forest should be.”

In chapter 15, Timothy Sweet playfully turns present accusations of ecocriticism on their head by asking, “Would Thomas More Have Wanted to Go to Mars?” By juxtaposing seventeenth-century arguments for American plantations with the more recent proposals for the colonization of Mars, Sweet redirects attention of critics to the intermeshing concerns of economics, population, and sustainability. Sixteenth-century texts have figured little into the usual pastoral appraisals, Sweet observes, yet both early English texts and twentieth-century proposals for colonizing Mars sought to reconcile economy and the environment. Like the successors with whom they are rarely compared, advocates for “terraforming” Mars saw as a source of production and consumption, an environment free of governmental interference, and a potential solution to the “socioeconomic ills at home.” Sweet’s focus upon commerce and sustainability, population and bodily mutation, raises an issue that preoccupied ecocritics for some time: the narrative of environmental collapse. The thread that runs throughout his juxtaposition is that economics should remain central to the work of ecocriticism, whether the field of inquiry be colonial America or equally far-off fantasies of outer space.

The unexpected juxtaposition—Thomas More and outer space—underscores the fundamental challenge of this volume: to apply a mode of scholarship, ecocriticism, that was defined by present-day (and presentist) concerns to early modern texts. Nature surely

has a way of escaping scrutiny in the popular mind, but scholars have not fared much better through historical constructions. Many of the essays in this collection indeed raise the question of whether we can return to a physical setting—or even conceive for ourselves how an earlier mind-set experienced the natural world. Sharon O'Dair speculates whether present-day critics can connect the Globe Theatre and global warming. The purr of a cat, Karen Raber suggests, may have been lost on early modern pet owners. Michael Ziser's meditations on Edward Taylor recall the tang of an apple we ate this morning. Others explore the problems, either obliquely or directly, of triangulating our continuing anxieties over a colonial past into the present. The passage of several hundred years provides the vantage point for understanding how earlier cultures saw nature (now not so concrete) in a different way. In the attempt to reconcile the current concerns of ecocriticism and the Otherness of the past, the essays in this collection must also scrutinize the faultiness of their tools. And this jarring of standard terms and conceptual categories may return us to one of the principal missions of ecological criticism: that is, to sharpen and refine how we see the natural world.

NOTES

1. This is the core definition of ecocriticism found on the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment (ASLE) website; see <http://www.asle.umn.edu>.
2. Cheryll Glotfelty, "Introduction: Literary Studies in an Age of Environmental Crisis," *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, ed. Cheryll Glotfelty & Harold Fromm (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1996), xvii, xxiv. An observation from Raymond Williams's *Keywords*, that the "idea of nature contains, though often unnoticed, an extraordinary amount of human history," provided a conceptual foundation for the influential collection by William Cronon, *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: Norton, 1996), qtd. 25. *Uncommon Ground* and *The Ecocriticism Reader*, published within one year of each other, marked two distinct camps in debates over nature as cultural construct.
3. *PMLA* 114:5 (October 1999): 1089–1104.
4. ASLE's outstanding website is maintained by Daniel J. Philippon; Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996); Greg Garrard, *Ecocriticism* (London: Routledge, 2004); "Forum on Literatures of the Environment," *PMLA* 114:5 (October 1999): 1089–1104 <www.asle.umn.edu/archive/intro/pmla/pmla.html>. Karla Armbruster and Kathleen R. Wallace (eds.), *Beyond Nature Writing: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism* (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 2001); Annie Merrill Ingram, Ian Marshall, Daniel J. Philippon, and Adam W. Sweeting (eds.), *Coming into Contact: Explorations in Ecocritical Theory and Practice* (Athens: U of Georgia P, 2007); Lawrence Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2005); Michael P. Branch and Scott Slovic edited an anthology of essays from *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment*, providing a useful introduction to the field: see *The ISLE Reader: 1993-2003* (Athens: U of Georgia P, 2003).
5. In September 2005, Kevin De Ornellas and Gabriel Egan organized a panel called "Shakespeare and Ecology" at the meeting of the British Shakespeare Association in Newcastle; the 2006 Shakespeare Association of America included a seminar on "Nature and Environment in Early Modern English Drama," organized by Bruce Bocherer (April 13–15 in Philadelphia) and the 2006 World Shakespeare Congress, University of Queensland, Australia, July 17–21, included a panel on "Ecocriticism and the World of Shakespeare." Robert N. Watson's *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2006) and Gabriel Egan's *Green Shakespeare: From Ecopolitics to Ecocriticism* (London: Routledge, 2006) similarly suggest that the approach is gaining traction. Recent works of "green" early American studies include Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2006);

Thomas Hallock, *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2003); Timothy Sweet, *American Georgics: Economy and Environment in Early American Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001); Michael P. Branch, *Reading the Roots: American Nature Writing before Walden* (Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 2004).

6. Recent works of note in early modern animal studies include: Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002; Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2006); Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, *The Culture of the Horse: Discipline, Status and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York: Palgrave, 2005); and Bruce Boehrer, *Shakespeare among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).