OF ALL the attributes of the perfect woman, the most significant and desirable to the Elizabethans is chastity. According to Abraham Darcie, it "is the flower of manners, the honour of the body, the ornament and splendour of the feminine sexe, the integrity of the bloud, the faith of their kinde, and the proclaimer of the sincerity and candure of a faire soule." Ludovicus Vives calls it "the principal vertue of a woman, and coütrepeyseth with all the reste." A truly wise man, therefore, can choose only a virtuous woman for his wife, as Posthumus has done, and any reflection upon the character of his wife is thus a reflection upon him. It is no wonder, then, that Posthumus is confident of winning the wager with Iachimo, nor that he should feel all womankind to be false if his chosen one is so proved to be. Upon Iachimo's return from England, when he presents to Posthumus the fabricated proof of Imogen's guilt, the reactions of the young husband are therefore quite violent, and are very similar to those of Hamlet and other Shakespearean heroes when faced with catastrophic problems; that is,—Posthumus draws universal conclusions based upon his own experience, then moves from a consideration of personal affairs to a generalized view, and at last comes to the conclusion that all women are dissemblers: if you see beauty, he says, know that no honor exists there; if you see truth, know that it is a mere semblance; if there is another man, know that there can be no love for you. Women are no more bound to their vows than they are to their virtues, and that is not at all since they are immeasurably false. Later, in a brooding soliloquy, Posthumus convinces himself that women are not only notoriously false, but are indeed a compound of all the vices:
For there's no motion
That tends to vice in man, but I affirm
It is the woman's part: be it lying, note it,
The woman's; flattering, hers; deceiving, hers;
Lust, rank thoughts, hers, hers; revenges, hers;
Ambitions, covetings, change of prides, disdain,
Nice longing, slanders, mutability;
All faults that may be named, nay, that hell knows,
Why, hers, in part or all; but rather, all;
For even to vice
They are not constant, but are changing still
One vice, but of a minute old, for one
Not half so old as that. I'll write against them,
Detest them, curse them. 6

In thus venting his personal feelings upon all womankind, Posthumus is very much in the tradition of the anti-feminist literature; writers of this stamp insist that women are known for their deceit. In Nicholas Ling's compilation of universal wit, for example, we find that "Womens sorrowes are eyther too extreame, not to bee redressed, or else tricked vp with dissimulation, not to be beleued. Who findes constancie in a woman, findes all thinges in a woman." 6 Again, one of Robert Greene's characters, Philador, warns a lover that "Womens faces are not the Christals of truth, nor their words Gospell: what she hates outwards, she likes inwards, and what shee thrusts away with one finger, shee will pull againe with both her hands." 7 Even in The Faerie Queene we learn of "the wyles of wemens wits," 8 and that "womans subtilyes can guylen Argus." 9 The well-known Schole house of women insists, further, that women are particularly adept at dissembling with their husbands; that no matter how well you dress them or how easy you make life for them, they will find some other men to amuse them, and if a child comes,

Loke they saye, on thyne owne face
Beholde well, bothe nose and eye
Nature it selfe, the father wyll trye. 19
Posthumus' insistence that women are full of evil thoughts and that they are more lustful than men is a theme which is dwelt upon at length in *King Lear*, not only by Lear himself, who asserts that the "simpering dame . . . that minces virtue, and does shake the head to hear of pleasure's name" has yet a "riotous appetite," but also by Edgar, who speaks of the "undistinguished space of woman's will." Similarly, one of William Bercher's characters states that all men think that "wymen be more desyrous of carnall lust then men." The *Praise and Dispraise of Women*, in speaking of women, puts it even more bluntly thus: "For it seemeth that they are more borne and bredde vppon the earth, for to enterteine and nourish voluptuousnesse and Idlenesse, then for to bee trayned vp in matters of wayght and importaunce." Indeed in Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, Monsieur goes so far as to say that no one can imagine the hidden evils in women's thoughts:

Oh, the unsounded sea of women's bloods,
That when 't is calmest, is most dangerous!
Not any wrinkle creaming in their faces
When in their hearts are Scylla and Charybdis,
Which still are hid in dark and standing fogs,
When never day shines, nothing ever grows
But weeds and poisons, that no statesman knows:
Not Cerberus ever saw the damned nooks
Hid with the veils of women's virtuous looks.

The substance of Posthumus' diatribe against women is rather succinctly put as follows by the Reverend William Whately in his *Treatise of the Cumbers and Troubles of Marriage*: "Yea, an hundred, and a thousand faults, doe lie hid in the painted box of the bosome of euery of Euahs daughters. Good bringing vp may conceale them; good instructions may diminish; and good nature, for a while, may keep them under, and keepe them secret," but they are still present
nevertheless. As Cymbeline himself remarks when he hears of the evil Queen’s machinations, “O most delicate fiend! Who is ’t can read a woman?” These remarks clearly account for the facile way in which Robert Burton can speak of "the vices of their minds, their pride, envy, inconstancy, weakness, malice, self-will, lightness, insatiable lust, jealousy" and for the all-inclusive sentence of Leonard Wright: "Most women, by nature, are sayd to be light of credit, lusty of stomacke, vnpatient, full of words, apt to lye, flatter & weep; whose smiles are rather of custome than of courtesie, and their teares more of dissimulation, then of grief, all in extremes, without meane, either louing deerly, or hating deadly, desirous rather to rule, then to be ruled, despising naturally that is offered to them, and halfe at death to be denied of that they demaund." One of the most interesting of these anti-feminist pieces is an unpublished manuscript ballad in the Folger Shakespeare Library, dating from around 1550; the refrain reminds us of Chauntecler’s telling PerteIote that he knows nothing detrimental to women but is merely quoting old authors, and the last lines are explicit in stating that women will never change their evil natures.

Thes wamen all
bothe great & small
they wandre to & fro
nowe here nowe there
they wot not were
but I will not say so

they Ruñe they Range
theyr myndes do change
they make ther frend yr foo
as louers trewe
Eugry Daye a newe
but I will not saye soo

wythin their brest
their loue Doth Rest
Posthumus seems, then, to have been fairly well acquainted with works in dispraise of women; in fact, he says that he, too, is going to write a book against them.

Other comments about women in the play Cymbeline, however, give a much more acceptable picture and tend to rehabilitate women in the eyes of the audience. First of all we learn that even Iachimo and his friends recognize the admirable qualities of women, when they praise their Italian
sweethearts for beauty, feature, bodily form, character, and fairness. In *A Ladies Love-Lecture*, Richard Brathwait similarly praises women: “Yee worthy Women, who have no other device but the dresse of vertue to beautifie your Frontispice; yee, who give a gracefull accomplishment to those three incomparable Ornaments of a Woman, Complexion, Favour, and Behaviour: for the first, it is your owne, and not borrowed; for the second, it is ever with a second looke improved; And for the third, it is every way without Affectation accomplished.” And yet it is this ingredient of character which is most important, for beauty is not praiseworthy unless virtue go with it; beauty of mind must accompany beauty of body. As the author of *The Compleat Woman* warns us, “Modesty is a potent charm, without which Beauty hath no soule.” Indeed, Iachimo himself acknowledges this truth when he comments, in an aside, upon the attributes of Imogen, at his first sight of her:

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All of her that is out of door most rich!
If she be furnished with a mind so rare,
She is alone the Arabian bird, and I
Have lost the wager.
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Or, as worded by Sir Thomas Overbury, “Good is a fairer attribute then White, Tis the mindes Beauty keepes the other sweete.” Mrs. Emilia Lanyer, on her part, argues that outward beauty is soon ended by “that tyrant Time,” but that “A mind enrich’d with Virtue shines more bright,” because it “addes everlasting Beauty.” Interestingly enough, Tasso believes that outward beauty is really a kind of evidence of inward beauty, since chastity is unable to dwell in an ugly body: “Because Chastitie is the bewtie of the soule, there is reason that a faire soule be resident and lodged alwayes (if it be possible) in a faire body: that very same bewtie which we see in sweete Gentlewomens faces, being no other thing,
then the right glittering luster, and glorious brightnes of a victorious & triumphant soule."

Upon Posthumus' arrival in Italy, we learn from the Frenchman that Posthumus has barely escaped a duel in France over the virtues of Imogen, whom he has praised for exceeding the ladies of France in fairness, virtuousness, wisdom, chastity, and faithfulness. Posthumus now insists that his wife is superior for these same qualities to the ladies of Italy. And these qualities were honored by most Elizabethan writers as well; in Robert Greene's *Francescos Fortunes*, we learn that "a woman that is faire and vertuous maketh her husband a joyfull man; ... A woman that is of silent tongue, shamfast in countenance, sober in behauiour, and honest in condition, adorned with vertuous qualities correspondent, is like a goodly pleasant flower deckt with the colours of all the flowers of the garden."

Throughout the play, moreover, we have evidence that Posthumus' estimate of Imogen is correct: on numerous occasions her beauty is acclaimed; we know her to be virtuous, chaste, and faithful, for even Iachimo, that epitome of Italian vice, sees Imogen as a paragon of womanhood, when at the end of the play he calls her "the temple of virtue"; and we feel that her choice of Posthumus and her distrust of the Queen are sufficient proofs of her wisdom.

Imogen, however, has many other requisite virtues of the perfect wife. For example, she says to Cloten, "but that you shall not say I yield being silent, I would not speak"; and again, "I am much sorry, sir, you put me to forget a lady's manners, by being so verbal." Imogen shows here that she has been properly reared to know that "silence becommeth a woman," for, as Brathwait advises the young man in his choice of a wife, "Chuse thou thy wife (my Sonne) ... silent, yet knows when and where it's fit to speak."
Again, we see that Imogen believes no hearsay evil of her husband, and is not jealous. When Iachimo tells her the lie that her husband has fallen into unfaithfulness, she replies:

Thou wrong'st a gentleman, who is as far
From thy report as thou from honour.33

Now it is this jealousy which is a great factor in the failure of many marriages. Robert Burton says that he does not know whether it exists more in women than in men, but that it certainly is "more outrageous in women."34 Tasso, too, recognizes that the ordinary wife can scarcely avoid jealousy, which is always accompanied by other sorrows, and that then there is nothing the husband can do to save himself: "Sleepe thou soundly, shee then thinketh thou art wearied with hauing taken thy pleasure somewhere else: But if thou sleepe not, then tis because thy minde runneth upon such a wench or an other."35

Another feminine virtue concerns the selection of reading matter. In a work on the education of young gentlewomen, Giovanni Bruto indicates that the young lady should be most careful in the choice of her reading; she must read "diuers examples of vettuous [sic] gentlewomen & such as were of great renoume, which shee shall diligently collect and gather togither, as well out of the holy scriptures, as other histories, both of times past and present: ... and they shall neuer read of such women of renowne, as Claudia, Portia, Lucretia, & Octavia, without being stirred vp with a noble desire to follow their steps."36 How does Imogen measure up to this requirement? We know that she reads extensively, for as she prepares to retire she asks her Lady what time it is, and upon learning that it is midnight, she says,

I have read three hours then: mine eyes are weak:
Fold down the leaf where I have left.37
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But what is this book she has been reading? Does it fall within the appropriate category? Or, like the speaker in The Book of the Duchess, has she bid one "reche me a book a romaunce, . . . to rede, and drive the night away"? We get the answer from Iachimo when he comes out of hiding and looks at the book:

She hath been reading late
The tale of Tereus; here the leaf's turn'd down
Where Philomel gave up.

Thus we see that not only is her reading not of the frivolous sort, but that it is quite in keeping with the kind of exercise suited to the mind of a properly reared young lady.

Singing is another feminine accomplishment much admired by the Elizabethans,—and it is one of Imogen's accomplishments; when she is disguised as a boy, her brother Arviragus says that she sings like an angel. Bruto attests the fact that men consider it a great ornament for a woman to be able to sing, although he himself is afraid that such a talent may lead to mischief by tending toward licentiousness.

Not only does Imogen have the essential personal virtues of beauty, chastity, silence, good disposition, and others, but she also has the necessary practical virtues. To illustrate,—she sews, as can be readily deduced from the ease with which she uses the figure of the needle. In one scene she says to the Queen,

Your son's my father's friend; he takes his part. . . .
I would they were in Afric both together;
Myself with a needle, that I might prick
The goer-back.

In another scene she bewails the absence of her husband, saying,

I would have broke mine eye-strings; cracked them, but
To look upon him, till the diminution
This needle-work was considered quite basic in the preparation of young women for their later duties; in considering a girl's education, for example, Richard Mulcaster writes: "I medle not with needles, nor yet with housewiferie, though I think it, and know it, to be a principall commendation in a woman: to be able to gouerne and direct her household, to looke to her house and familie, to prouide and keepe necessaries, . . . to know the force of her kitchen, for sickness and health, in her selfe and her charge: by cause I deale onely with such things as be incident to their learning." In Lyly's play, further, Campaspe reminds herself that a needle will better become her fingers than a lute. Robert Burton even believes that these practical matters are much more important for women than are studies: "Now for women, instead of laborious studies, they have curious needle-works, cut-works, spinning, bone-lace, and many pretty devices of their own making, to adorn their houses, cushions, carpets, chairs, stools, . . . confections, conserves, distillations, &c." Margaret Hoby illustrates the housewifery of an Elizabethan lady as she writes in her diary that she and her maids dye wool, wind yarn, and make wax candles, sweetmeats, ginger bread, and preserves; on long winter evenings they spin and embroider while one of their number reads from books of devotion. Imogen, we learn besides, is not only an adept at cooking, but also at making food look appetizing at the table; her brother Guiderius says of her, while she is in disguise as a page,

But his neat cookery! he cut our roots
In characters,
And sauced our broths, as Juno had been sick
And he her dieter.48

It is quite proper that she should have such knowledge, because, as Markham tells us, "To speake then of the outward and active knowledges which belong to the English Housewife, I hold the first and most principall to be a perfect skill and knowledge in Cookery, together with all the secrets belonging to the same, because it is a dutie rarely [i.e., excellently] belonging to the woman."49 For that matter, the Queen, too, is proficient at confections, at distilling for the table, preserving, and also at making perfumes. She even lays claim to having a scientific interest in poisons and tells her physician that she wants to experiment with them in order to study their effects and to see if antidotes can be found.50 All of this would be very admirable in an honest woman, because as we noted in Mulcaster, the housewife has in her keeping the good health of her household, to whom she must administer medicines which she has compounded herself. Another skill of the Queen's,—one which we do know whether Imogen possesses or not,—is the interest in gathering flowers (or having them gathered) for use in decorating the house, and the knowledge of when these flowers should best be gathered.51 Robert Burton writes that women "have to busy themselves about ... neat gardens of exotic, versicolour, diversely varied, sweet-smelling flowers, and plants in all kinds, which they are most ambitious to get, curious to preserve and keep, proud to possess, and much many times brag of."52 Likewise, Viola, in The Coxcomb, who is attempting to find employment while disguised as a serving maid, is told that she must be able to "dress a house with flowers,"53 which luckily her education has taught her how to do.

The only fault which could possibly be charged against
Imogen is that she failed to obey her father. An Elizabethan girl was brought up in far stricter surroundings than a modern one; she was under the explicit authority of her father at all times, particularly in the selection of a spouse. In Robert Greene's *Perimesdes the Black-Smith*, for example, Gradasso, the father, has decided to marry his daughter Melissa to Rosilius rather than to her choice, Bradamant: "Melissa noting with a secret dislike her father's motion, yet for fear durst not oppose herself against his determination, but told him that as she was his Daughter, so she was bound by the law of nature to obey him as her Father, and his will should be to her as a law, which by no means she dared to infringe." Later she tells Bradamant of her decision: "Rather had I marry Rosilius, and so wed myself to continual discontent and repentance, then by being lose in my loves, and wanton in my thoughts disobeying my father's command, to disparage mine honour and become a by-word throughout all Aegipt, for Ladyes honors are like white lawnes, which soone are stayned with euery mole." Imogen has been in this same situation, but her reaction is far different from Melissa's. The evil Cloten charges her that in refusing him as a husband she is committing a sin—"You sin against obedience, which you owe your father." Her father, too, makes the same charge; and Imogen acknowledges her error, and its unusualness, while making her husband a party to her defection:

And thou, Posthumus, thou that didst set up  
My disobedience 'gainst the king my father  
And make me put into contempt the suits  
Of princely fellows, shalt hereafter find  
It is no act of common passage, but  
A strain of rareness.

We might agree that such a duty before marriage is under-
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standable, but might be somewhat puzzled when we recall that Imogen is married to Posthumus, even from the opening of the play. Imogen, however, recognizes that marriage does not alter this duty, when she says to Posthumus,

My dearest husband,
I something fear my father's wrath; but nothing—
Always reserved my holy duty—what
His rage can do on me.58

And she is upheld in this conception of her duty by Ludovicus Vives' precepts on the education of young ladies.59

On the other hand, the King must bear some responsibility for her imperfection. Imogen says to him:

It is your fault that I have loved Posthumus:
You bred him as my playfellow, and he is
A man worth any woman.60

This error is made more clear when we turn once again to the work of Vives. Speaking of the rearing of the female child, he writes: "After that she is ones Weaned and beginneth to speke and go/let all her play & pastyme be with maydes of her owne age/and within the presence either of her mother or of her nurce or some other honeste woman of sad age. . . . Auoyde all mānes kyn away from her: nor let her nat lerne to delite among men. For naturally our loue contynueth the longest toward them/with whom we haue passed our tyme in youth."61

Poor Imogen! Although she is a model of the wifely virtues and a paragon of faithfulness, and although an actress and critic of the last century could say that in drawing Imogen Shakespeare "has made his masterpiece; and of all heroines of poetry or romance, who can be named beside her?"62—nevertheless, she would serve the Elizabethans, along with Juliet and Desdemona, as another warning to fair women
of the suffering and tragedy which devolve on those undutiful daughters who disobey their fathers.

CARROLL CAMDEN

NOTES
5. II. v. 20-35.
8. III. viii. 8.
11. King Lear, IV. vi. 120-131, 278. See Iago’s remarks: Othello, II. i. 113-116.
13. *The Praise and Dispraise of Women*, London, 1579, fol. 69. This work exists in a unique copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library and is not the same work as the one with the same title by C. Pyryye. (Not in the Short-title Catalogue.)
19. Folger MS. 1186.2. I am very grateful to the Folger Shakespeare Library for permission to print this ballad, and to Dr. Giles E. Dawson for his kind assistance. Another version (Harleian MS. 7578) is published in Joseph Ritson’s *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, vol. II, London, 1829, pp. 35-36. This version contains musical
notes, and at the end appear the words “finis q. mr. Heath.” As Ritson remarks, he might be “author, or composer, or both, or neither.” Or he could have been the scribe. As for the date, Ritson prints it as the third poem in Class IV, which comprises the reigns of Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. Quiller-Couch puts the poem in the reign of Henry VIII. Because of the paper on which it is written, the Folger MS. is dated ca. 1550 by Seymour de Ricci (Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, New York, 1935-40, vol. I, p. 385; see Francis Lee Utley, The Crooked Rib, Columbus, 1944, p. 262). The Harleian ballad is two stanzas shorter, has a different order for other stanzas, and contains other variations; Ritson’s transcription of it is as follows:

These women all,
Both great and small,
   Ar wavering to and fro,
Now her, now ther,
Now every wher:—
   But I will nott say so.

They love to range,
Ther myndes ‘do’ chaunge;
   And maks ther ‘frynd’ ther foo;
As lovers trewe
Eche daye they chewse new:—
   But I will nott say so.

They laughe, they smyille,
They do begyle,
   As dyce that men ‘do’ throwe;
Who useth them ‘myth’
Shall never be ryche:—
   But I will not say so.

Summe hot, sum cold,
Ther is no hold,
   But as the wynd doth blowe;
When all is done,
They chaung lyke the moone:—
   But I will not say so.

So thus one and other
Takith after ther mother,
   As ‘cooke’ by kind doth crowe.
My song is ended,
The beste may be amended:—
   But I will nott say so.
27. I. iv. 59-66.
29. V. v. 220-221.
30. II. iii. 99-100, 109-111.
33. I. vi. 145-146.
35. Tasso, op. cit., CIV D4-D4v.
36. Bruto, op. cit., D4v; see D6.
37. II. ii. 3-4.
38. II. ii. 47-49.
39. II. ii. 44-46.
40. IV. ii. 47.
42. I. i. 165-169.
43. I. iii. 17-22.
47. Violet A. Wilson, Society Women of Shakespeare’s Time, New York, 1925, p. 41.
48. IV. ii. 48-51.
50. I. v. 11-23.
51. I. v. 82-84, I. v. 1.
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55. II. iii. 116-117.
56. I. i. 137.
57. III. iv. 90-95.
58. I. i. 85-88.
60. I. i. 144-146.