Hic Mulier; or, The Man-Woman:
Being a Medicine
to cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers
in the Masculine-Feminines of our Times,
Expressed in a brief Declaration:
Non omnes possimus omnes.¹

1620

Hic Mulier:² How now? Break Priscian's³ head at the first encounter? But two words, and they false Latin? Pardon me, good Signor Construction, for I will not answer thee as the Pope did, that I will do it in despite of the Grammar. But I will maintain, if it be not the truest Latin in our Kingdom, yet it is the commonest. For since the days of Adam women were never so Masculine: Masculine in their genders and whole generations, from the Mother to the youngest daughter; Masculine in Number, from one to multitudes; Masculine in Case, even from the head to the foot; Masculine in Mood, from bold speech to impudent action; and Masculine in Tense,⁴ for without redress they were, are, and will be still most Masculine, most mankind, and most monstrous. Are all women then turned Masculine? No, God forbid, there are a world full of holy thoughts, modest carriage, and severe chastity. To these let me fall on my knees and say, “You, oh you women, you good women, you that are in the fullness of perfection, you that are the crowns of nature's work, the complements of men's excellences, and the Seminaries⁵ of propagation; you that maintain the world, support mankind, and give life to society; you that, armed with

1. “We cannot all be everybody.” This is a clever variation on Vergil, Eclogae 8.43 (“non omnia possimus omnes,” “we cannot all do everything”), underlining the author's contention that women who dress like men are really trying to become men. “The Staggers” is a disease of horses and other animals which causes reeling and falling.
2. Deliberately incorrect Latin for “this woman,” coupling the masculine form of the adjective with the feminine noun (“this manish woman”).
3. Priscian was a sixth-century A.D. Roman grammarian; “to break his head” was to violate his rules of grammar.
4. A series of puns on the root meaning of the grammatical terms gender, number, case, mood, and tense (at this time the word case could refer to clothing).
5. Seed plots, nurseries.
the infinite power of Virtue, are Castles impregnable, Rivers unsailable,
Seas immovable, infinite treasures, and invincible armies; that are
helpers most trusty, Sentinels most careful, signs deceitless, plain ways
fail-less, true guides dangerless, Balms that instantly cure, and honors
that never perish. Oh do not look to find your names in this Declama-
tion, but with all honor and reverence do I speak to you. You are
Seneca’s Graces, women, good women, modest women, true women—
ever young because ever virtuous, ever chaste, ever glorious. When I
write of you, I will write with a golden pen on leaves of golden paper;
now I write with a rough quill and black ink on iron sheets the iron
deeds of an iron generation."

Come, then, you Masculine women, for you are my Subject, you that
have made admiration an Ass and fooled him with a deformity never
before dreamed of; that have made yourselves stranger things than
ever Noah’s Ark unloaded or Nile engendered; whom to name, he
that named all things might study an Age to give you a right attribute;
whose like are not found in any Antiquary’s study, in any Seaman’s
travel, nor in any Painter’s cunning. You that are stranger than strange-
ness itself; whom Wise men wonder at, Boys shout at, and Goblins
themselves start at, you that are the gilt dirt which embroilers Play-
houses, the painted Statues which adorn Caroches, and the perfumed
Carriage that bad men feed on in Brothels: ‘tis of you I entreat* and of
your monstrous deformity. You that have made your bodies like antic
Boscage or Crotosco work, not half man/half woman, half fish/half
flesh, half beast/half Monster, but all Odious, all Devil; that have cast
off the ornaments of your sexes to put on the garments of Shame; that
have laid by the bashfulness of your nature to gather the impudence
of Harlots; that have buried silence to revive slander; that are all
things but that which you should be, and nothing less than** friends to

* In his treatise On Benefits (de Beneficiis), Seneca, an ancient Roman moral
philosopher and playwright, presented the mythological Graces (three beautiful virgins
depicted dancing hand in hand) as symbols of kindness and gratitude.

** According to Ovid’s Metamorphoses, some strange and monstrous creatures
emerged from the slime left by the receding waters after the great flood, creatures similar
to those thought to be produced in the mud of the Nile’s annual floods.

7. Treat.
9. Boscage is a decorative design imitating branches and foliage; crotosco is pain-
ting or sculpture that fantastically combines human and animal forms interwoven with
foliage and flowers.
10. Anything rather than.

12. Some background is necessary to understand this reference to a scandal that
rocked English society in the early seventeenth century. The scandal revolved around
Lady Frances Howard, who, although married to the Earl of Essex while both were still
children, had by January 1615 embarked on an affair with Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset
and the king’s favorite. Somerset’s political and personal mentor, the writer Sir Thomas
Overybury, convinced of the fundamental wickedness of Lady Frances, determined to end
the relationship, but Somerset was deeply in love with his mistress and broke with
Overybury over the issue. Both King James and his queen detested Overybury for his intru-
sive arrogance, and in April 1613 James found an excuse to have him imprisoned in the
Tower. In September 1613 Lady Frances succeeded in obtaining an annulment of her
marriage to Essex on grounds of his supposed impotence, and three months later, with
the king’s blessing, she married Robert Carr at Whitehall in a lavish ceremony. In Sep-
tember of the same year Sir Thomas Overybury had died in the Tower, but not until
the summer of 1615 did the fact emerge that he had been murdered by Lady Frances with
the help of her close friend Mrs. Anne Turner. History leaves no doubt as to the guilt of
the two women, for eventually all who had assisted them confessed freely. Mrs. Turner,
a dressmaker who had introduced the fashion of the yellow ruff and cuffs into the court
(a fashion that James despised), was sentenced to be hung. Lady Frances was also sen-
tenced to death, but her sentence was commuted by James and after a term of imprison-
ment she was pardoned. The author of Hic Mulier links the crime of these two women
with their mode of dress. James insisted that Mrs. Turner, “the one cut from the
Commonwealth at the Gallows,” go to her death wearing a dress, cuffs, and a ruff that had
been starched with yellow; although Lady Frances may not have worn all the masculine
clothes attributed to her by the author, we know from a famous portrait in the Na-
tional Gallery that she wore ruffs with extremely low-cut, revealing gowns.
13. Long outer petticoats.
short, weak, thin, loose, and every hand-entertaining short bases;" for Needles, Swords; for Prayerbooks, bawdy legs; for modest gestures, gianlike behaviors; and for women's modesty, all Mimic and apish incivility. These are your founders, from these you took your copies, and, without amendment, with these you shall come to perdition.

Sophocles, being asked why he presented no women in his Tragedies but good ones and Euripides none but bad ones, answered he presented women as they should be, but Euripides, women as they were.13 [These "Mermaids or rather Mer-Monsters" who dress bizarrely in men's fashions probably never practiced "comeliness or modesty." Although they may associate with or be related to persons of gentle birth, they themselves are "but rags of Gentry," torn from better pieces for their foul stains." Some are not even descended from gentry but are rather "the stinking vapors drawn from dunghills"; these people may exist on the fringes of good society for a time, but eventually they will fall back "to the place from whence they came, and there rot and consume unpitied and unremembered.

And questionless it is true that such were the first beginners of these last deformities, for from any purer blood would have issued a purer birth; there would have been some spark of virtue, some excuse for imitation. But this deformity hath no agreement with goodness, nor no difference against the weakest reason. It is all base, all barbarous: base, in respect it offends man in the example and God in the most unnatural use; barbarous, in that it is exorbitant from Nature and an Antithesis to kind,17 going astray with ill-favored affectation both in attire, in speech, in manners, and, it is to be feared, in the whole courses and stories of their actions. What can be more barbarous than with the gloss of mumming Art18 to disguise the beauty of their creations? To mould their bodies to every deformed fashion, their tongues
to vile and horrible profanations, and their hands to ruffianly and uncivil actions? To have their gestures as piebald and as motley-various as their disguises, their souls fuller of infirmities than a horse or a prostitute, and their minds languishing in those infirmities? If this be not barbarous, make the rude Scythian, the untamed Moor, the naked Indian, or the wild Irish, Lords and Rulers of well-governed Cities.19

But rests this deformity then only in the baser, in none but such as are the beggary of desert, that have in them nothing but skittishness and peevishness, that are living graves, unwholesome Sinks, quaran Fevers for intolerable cumber,20 and the extreme injury and wrong of nature? Are these and none else guilty of this high Treason to God and nature?

Oh yes, a world of other—many known great, thought good, wished happy, much loved and most admired—are so foully branded with this infamy of disguise. And the marks stick so deep on their naked faces and more naked bodies that not all the painting in Rome or Fauna21 can conceal them, but every eye discovers them almost as low as their middles.

It is an infection that emulates the plague and throws itself amongst women of all degrees, all deserts, and all ages; from the Capitol to the Cottage are some spots or swellings of this disease. Yet evermore the greater the person is, the greater is the rage of this sickness; and the more they have to support the eminence of their Fortunes, the more they bestow in the augmentation of their deformities. Not only such as will not work to get bread will find time to weave herself points22 to truss her loose Breeches; and she that hath pawned her credit to get a Hat will sell her Smock to buy a Feather; she that hath given kisses to have her hair shorn will give her honesty to have her upper parts put into a French doublet. To conclude, she that will give her body to have her body deformed will not stick to give her soul to have her mind satisfied.

But such as are able to buy all at their own charges, they swim in the excess of these vanities and will be manlike not only from the head to the waist, but to the very foot and in every condition: man in body by

15. The author twists this reference to his own purpose, for the Greek philosopher Aristotle in his Poetics actually quotes Sophocles as saying that he presented men as they ought to be and Euripides, men as they were.
16. The society of Renaissance England consisted of the titled, leisureed classes (the nobility and the gentry) and the commons (yeomen, husbandmen, craftsmen, etc.), who worked for their living and were not considered "wellborn." The distinction was a real and important one, though somewhat fuzzy at the dividing line between gentry and commons, and merchants and yeomen in the upper echelons of the commonality were sometimes quite wealthy.
17. Natural disposition, nature.
18. Like actors in costume and mask.
19. Many Elizabethans considered these nationalities to be fundamentally uncivilized.
20. Destruction.
22. Ties ending in metal rings.
attire, man in behavior by rude complement,\textsuperscript{23} man in nature by apri-
ness to anger, man in action by pursuing revenge, man in wearing
weapons, man in using weapons, and, in brief, so much man in all
things that they are neither men nor women, but just good for nothing.
[Neither great birth nor great beauty nor great wealth can save these
foolish women from "one particle of disgrace." To support this point,
the author includes two stanzas by the poet S. T. O.;\textsuperscript{24} the speaker in
the poem attests that he would love a virtuous woman above one of
high birth, beauty, or wealth.]

Remember how your Maker made for our first Parents coats—not
one coat, but a coat for the man and a coat for the woman, coats of
several fashions, several forms, and for several uses—the man's coat fit
for his labor, the woman's fit for her modesty.\textsuperscript{25} And will you lose
the model left by this great Workmaster of Heaven?

The long hair of a woman is the ornament of her sex, and bashful
shamefastness her chief honor; the long hair of a man, the wizard\textsuperscript{26}
for a thievish or murderous disposition. And will you cut off that beauty
to wear the other's villainy? The Vestals\textsuperscript{27} in Rome wore comely gar-
ments of one piece from the neck to the heel; and the Swordplayers,\textsuperscript{28}
motley doublets with gaudy points. The first begot reverence; the lat-
ter, laughter. And will you lose that honor for the other's scorn? The
weapon of a virtuous woman was her tears, which every good man
pitied and every valiant man honored; the weapon of a cruel man is his
sword, which neither Law allows nor reason defends. And will you
leave the excellent shield of innocence for this deformed instrument of
disgrace? Even for goodness' sake, that can ever pay her own with her
own merits, look to your reputations, which are undermined with
your own Follies, and do not become the idle Sisters of foolish Don
Quixote,\textsuperscript{29} to believe every vain Fable which you read or to think you

\textsuperscript{23} Personal quality or accomplishment.

\textsuperscript{24} The stanzas are from "A Wife" by Sir Thomas Overbury, probably written in an
effort to dissuade his friend Robert Care from marrying the divorced Frances Howard
(see note 12 above).

\textsuperscript{25} In fact the passage in Genesis 3:21 does not differentiate clothing by sex: "Unto
Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them."

\textsuperscript{26} Mask.

\textsuperscript{27} Virgin priestesses who tended the sacred fire of the goddess Vesta in ancient Rome.

\textsuperscript{28} Probably Roman gladiators.

\textsuperscript{29} The hero of Miguel de Cervantes's satiric romance who tries to act out all the
fantasies of chivalry.
Consider how nature, in the first instance, did not form you of slime and earth like man, but of a more pure and refined metal, a substance much more worthy: you in whom are all the harmonies of life, the perfection of Symmetry, the true and curious consent of the most fairest colors and the wealthy Gardens which fill the world with living Plants. Do you receive virtuous Inmates (as what Palaces are more rich to receive heavenly messengers?) and you shall draw men's souls unto you with that severe, devout, and holy adoration, that you shall never want praise, never love, never reverence.

But now methinks I hear the witty offending great Ones reply in excuse of their deformities: "What, is there no difference among women? No distinction of places, no respect of Honors, nor no regard of blood or alliance? Must but a bare pair of shears pass between Noble and ignoble, between the generous spirit and the base Mechanic? Shall we be all coheirs of one honor, one estate, and one habit? Oh Men, you are too tyrannous and not only injure Nature but also break the Laws and customs of the wisest Princes. Are not Bishops known by their Miters, Princes by their Crowns, Judges by their Robes, and Knights by their spurs? But poor Women have nothing, how great soever they be, to divide themselves from the enticing shows or moving Images which do furnish most shops in the City. What is it that either the Laws have allowed to the greatest Ladies, custom found convenient, or their bloods or places challenged, which hath not been engrossed into the City with as great greediness and pretense of true

33. The exterior slopes of a ditch. In this somewhat confused metaphor, female sexuality is compared to precious metals to be buried, shameful evils to be imprisoned, and the contents of a besieged city to be defended—all by the proper clothing.
34. A poor district abounding in prostitutes in ancient Rome.
35. A member of the lower classes; a manual worker.
wives and their children in one month than hath been worn in Court, Suburbs, or County since the unfortunate beginning of the first devilish invention.

"Let therefore the powerful Statue of apparel" but lift up his Battle-Ax and crush the offenders in pieces, so as everyone may be known by the true badge of their blood or Fortune. And then these Chimeras" of deformity will be sent back to hell and there burn to Cinders in the flames of their own malice."

Thus, methinks, I hear the best of offenders argue, nor can I blame a high blood to swell when it is coupled and counterchecked with baseness and corruption. Yet this shows an anger passing near akin to envy and alludes much to the saying of an excellent Poet:

Women never
Love beauty in their Sex, but envy ever.

They have Caesar's ambition and desire to be one and alone, but yet to offend themselves to grieve others is a revenge dissonant to Reason. And, as Euripides saith, a woman of that malicious nature is a fierce Beast and most pernicious to the Commonwealth, for she hath power by example to do it a world of injury.

[A woman's disposition should be gentle; her thoughts, according to a poet cited by the author, should be "attended with remorse." In contrast to the ideal woman, those who indulge in the new fashion have given "a shameless liberty to every loose passion." In their attempt to control the men who should rule them, they endanger their personal fortunes and reputations as well as those of their families and their sex. The author includes a stanza by Edmund Spenser from the Book of Justice of The Faerie Queene:

Such is the cruelty of womankind,
When they have shaken off the shamefast band
With which wise Nature did them strongly bind
T'obey the hest's" of man's well ruling hand,

44. Laws governing what each class may or may not wear; the noblewomen claim that the fashion of masculine attire would disappear if dress distinctions between classes of women were maintained and enforced by law.
45. In Greek mythology, the chimera was a fire-breathing female monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and a serpent for a tail.
46. Behests, commands.

47. Book 5, ca. 50, stanza 35. The stanza describes the tyranny of the Amazon queen Radigund over Aragall, the hero of the Book of Justice. As a symbol of Aragall's enslavement, Radigund forces him to wear women's clothing and to spend his time spinning and carding. The relationship causes both of them misery, for Radigund is secretly in love with Aragall but cannot bring herself "to serve the lowly vassal of her might." The last line of the stanza cited refers, of course, to Queen Elizabeth, regarded by most Elizabethan thinkers as a legitimate exception to the ideal of female submission.
48. Pride or insolence.
49. Traditional founder of the constitution of ancient Sparta.
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by examples than precepts, had hanging in their houses in fair painted tablets all the Virtues and Vices that were in those days reigning with their rewards and punishments. Oh, have you but in your houses the fashions of all attires constantly and without change held and still followed through all the parts of Christendom! Let them but see the modest Dutch, the stately Italian, the rich Spaniard, and the courtly French with the rest according to their climates, and they will blush that in a full fourth part of the world there cannot be found one piece of a Character to compare or liken with the absurdity of their Masculine Invention. Nay, they shall see that their naked Countryman, which had liberty with his Shears to cut from every Nation of the World one piece or patch to make up his garment, yet amongst them all could not find this Miscellany or mixture of deformities which, only by those which whilst they retained any spark of womanhood were both loved and admired, is loosely, indiscreetly, wantonly, and most unchastely invented.

And therefore, to knit up this imperfect Declamation, let every Female-Masculine that by her ill examples is guilty of Lust or Imitation cast off her deformities and clothe herself in the rich garments which the Poet bestows upon her in these Verses following:

Those Virtues that in women merit praise
Are sober shows without, chaste thoughts within,
True Faith and due obedience to their mate,
And of their children honest care to take.

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