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A Cognitivist Reading of Hutchinson's and Cavendish's
Responses to the English Civil War

by

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To the Graduate Faculty:

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Mohamed Deikna, who always believed in my ability to make a difference in the world, to make it a better, more empathetic place. Part of the profound wisdom I learned from my dad was to have a good heart, a lesson he taught me when I was around eleven years old. He went on to inculcate this attitude in me through both instruction and through example, to be fair, empathetic, and responsible. Likewise, my mother, Norea Sharaf, has played a major role in molding me to become the person my father wanted me to be. As a dedicated middle school teacher, she showed me how to love educating others, and to be patient while doing so. Thank you both, Dad and Mom, as no amount of gratitude in this world can really pay you back for what you did for me.

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A Cognitivist Reading of Hutchinson's and Cavendish's Responses to the English Civil War

Dissertation Abstract—Idaho State University (2021)

This dissertation considers, through a cognitivist lens and Suzanne Keen's 2007 theory of narrative empathy, the English Civil War of the 1640s and its ramifications for the prolific English writers Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1681) and Margaret Cavendish (1623-1673). Voicing the concerns of Puritans and Royalists during the Civil War, these two authors were forced to reckon with conflicts that divided their own communities and in some cases their own families. Hutchinson's and Cavendish's writings demonstrate an unmistakable attitude of empathy with their political foes for the goal of abating the violence that took place during the span of the Civil War and through the Restoration period. These demonstrations of empathy in the works of Hutchinson and Cavendish provide illustrations of Norbert Elias's Civilizing Process, which traces the deployment of empathic constructions from the beginning of the early modern period, especially through the expansion of printing culture. The dissertation also addresses how Hutchinson and Cavendish were ahead of their time in employing empathy in comparison with other contemporary early modern women writers of the period, empathizing in unique ways with their perceived enemies. The dissertation ends with recommendations of how instructors might highlight empathy in the modern-day literature and composition classroom.

Key Words: Cognitive empathy, Lucy Hutchinson, Margaret Cavendish, English Civil War, Civilizing Process.

Chapter I: Introduction

A cognitivist reading of the writings of Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1681), a stout Parliamentarian, and Margaret Cavendish (1623-1673), an ardent Royalist, focuses on the ways these authors deploy cognitive empathy during the English Civil War. Hutchinson and Cavendish are prolific writers from the early modern period even though they lacked formal education like their male counterparts from the gentry class. During the extreme partisanship and political impasse of the Civil War period, the writings of these authors reveal many instances of empathizing with the other side even with the huge losses considered for either side during the extent of the war. Prominent cognitive theorist Lisa Zunshine has defined the approach, in the introduction of *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Literary Studies*, as one that studies the “human brain and how it has evolved, and the interpretations carried by...cultures” (6). The cognitivist approach, Zunshine asserts, examines “the relationship between two immensely complex, historically situated systems—the human mind and cultural artifacts” (3), resulting in an insightful interdisciplinarity focused on the human mind and the historical shifts authors take part in. The main aim of this dissertation is to investigate how the works of Hutchinson and Cavendish are representatives of an increase in civilized conduct that takes place during the seventeenth century, or late Renaissance, and how cognitive studies, particularly studies on cognitive empathy, can help in understanding this change in point of view. The English Civil War of the 1640s and the concomitant explosion in print culture led to new demands for perspective taking and empathy, key historical developments in what Norbert Elias and later scholars have called “the Civilizing Process.” Elias’s book studies “the connections between changes in the structure of society and changes in the structure of people’s behavior and physical habitus” (xiii). I study those empathic constructions in conjunction with Elias’s Civilizing Process, later expanded on by Steven Pinker and Keith Thomas, among others. Pinker uses

Elias's ideas in a number of his books, especially *The Better Angels of Our Nature*, where he devotes a whole chapter to the civilizing process by which "European countries saw a tenfold-to-fiftyfold decline in their rates of homicide" (xxiv). Drawing upon Elias, Pinker notes that this decline resulted from "the consolidation of a patchwork of feudal territories into large kingdoms with centralized authority and an infrastructure of commerce," leading ultimately to the Age of Reason and what historians call the Humanitarian Revolution (xxiv). Similarly, Thomas notes in his recent volume *In Pursuit of Civility* (2018) that Elias's work enabled him to see how "everyday conventions of bodily comportment and social behavior are part of a larger process by which human beings adapt themselves to the demands of living peacefully with each other" (xiv). The Civilizing Process, which I will discuss later in this chapter, goes hand in hand with the rise of qualities such as cognitive empathy, and I argue that the literary works of Hutchinson and Cavendish are part of such a historical movement in response to the violence unleashed during the Civil War period.

Frans de Waal notes in *The Age of Empathy* that empathy is of paramount importance in our world today and is only recently receiving the attention it deserves (3). In the past twenty years, cognitive scientists have started to direct their attention to how humans process metaphors, for instance, especially after accidents impacting the brain. Such cases in aphasia have helped neuroscientists understand the human mind more in terms of brain hemispheres responsible for certain communicative actions. Literary critics, in turn, have started directing their inquiries into these empirical research findings from neuroscience about the human neurons responsible for communication, emotions, and memory. Pinker affirms that "scientists, in turn, are beginning to reexamine human history from an empathetic lens," leading to "intensification and extension of empathy to more diverse others across broader temporal and spatial domains" (572)

Cognitive empathy was developed based on studies from cognitive science. Within the promising interdisciplinary initiatives that literary critics embraced in 1990 as part of the “cognitive turn,” cognitive science has become the source of theory that could be applied to the study of literary texts, competing with other traditional literary approaches such as psychoanalysis, new criticism, and structuralism. Since its genesis as a distinct form of interpretation of literary texts, cognitive literary studies have evolved over time to address the critique that it neglects the reader as a participant in the meaning-making process, which includes disregarding the reader’s cognition and affect in the interpretation process (Müller-Wood 223). However, cognitive literary studies as an approach today incorporates other fields such as evolutionary and cognitive psychology along with neuroscience, for example. This approach enables a better analysis of the way human minds work across cultural and ideological divides; yet at the same time, it offers critics a method that pays attention to textual evidence, environmental variables, and historical changes. In 2006, Susan Keen’s essay “A Theory of Narrative Empathy” filled a lacuna that was created in previous cognitive literary research, where Keen shows how a critic could study the author, the reader, the historical context, and the literary text together to convey a better understanding of literary works through analyzing the empathic constructions and the authorial techniques involved in their creation. Keen focused on “narrative empathy” by studying the Victorian and later periods, stating in her essay that such a study of empathy could be utilized in other earlier literary periods as well (224). I found narrative empathy to be apparent in the writings of Hutchinson and Cavendish from the English Civil War period (1640s-1660s), a historical era that has sparked the interest of historians, anthropologists, linguists, psychologists, and literary critics, especially in the wake of the many revolutionary movements in the Middle East, Africa, and South America.

The term “empathy” was introduced to the English language by Edward Titchener (1867–1927) in 1909 as a translation of the German term “Einfühlung” (or “feeling into”), a term that by the end of the nineteenth century was in common use in Germany in aesthetic circles. Even earlier, romantic thinkers such as Herder and Novalis stressed that the human ability to feel in response to nature is “a vital corrective against the modern scientific attitude of merely dissecting nature into its elements” rather than “grasping its underlying spiritual reality through a process of poetic identification” (Stueber).

Empathy has long occupied English literary consciousness. In *Empathy and the Novel*, Keen discusses how T.S. Eliot, a leading figure in the Modernist movement, famously wrote in his essay “The Metaphysical Poets” (1921) that early seventeenth-century writers such as Donne lead one to “look into the cerebral cortex, the nervous system, and the digestive tracts” (qtd in Keen 57). Donne and his peers were able to create empathic connections between themselves and their readers (Keen 57). As a Modernist, Eliot felt a special affinity for the empathic connections that the early seventeenth-century poets were able to create for their readers. Empathy has come under renewed investigation recently, especially in the literary domain. Amy Coplan and Peter Goldie identify empathy as “a complex imaginative process in which an observer simulates another person’s situated psychological states (both imaginative and affective) while maintaining clear self-other differentiation” (xxxiv). Or as Martin Hoffman puts it, “empathy is the cognitive awareness of another person’s internal states, that is, his thoughts, feelings, perceptions, and intentions” (29). Empathy is more noteworthy in conditions where those mentioned are not relatives but strangers who do not belong to the same ideological group. There have been many studies of empathy that focus on the theory of mind, which is “our ability to recognize others’ mental states as different from our own and to understand their beliefs,

desires, and intentions” (Jaén and Simon 20). This understanding of empathy later develops into what is called “simulation theory,” which affirms that readers of literary texts, especially novels, tend “to replicate, mimic, or impersonate the mental life of the target agent” either in a real life story or an imaginative fictional one (Gallese and Goldman qtd. in Jaén and Simon 21).

The imaginative learned experience can be transferred to real-life situations originating from the connection created with the demonstrated emotions of the literary characters; this emphasis on empathy helps critics understand literature both at the individual or ontogenetic level and at the species or the phylogenetic level (Jaén and Simon 21). Jaén and Simon further state that empathy is essential in understanding affective responses to literary readings and offer answers to why readers cry or laugh when deeply immersed in the act of reading. Stories learned from a literary work can be seen as an adaptive mechanism of survival where readers learn valuable lessons about life without endangering themselves, boosting their mental functions of empathizing via the inter-mental thinking of the other (21-22). This trend may help explain why violence has declined significantly, as society today has a much higher rate of literacy.

According to Macrotrends, in England today, the literacy rate is almost 99.00%, according to data from The World Bank (macrotrends.net). In contrast, during the late Renaissance, ca. 1650, the literacy rate was roughly 45%, a rate that increased steadily until it doubled by the nineteenth century (Pinker 174). It is this development of a key cognitive skill that enhances perspective-taking and empathy for those who are in need of help. In this dissertation, I focus on the cognitive process of empathy as well in what scholars call “cognitive empathy,” which is the imaginative identification with a character or a situation. Empathy is a multifaceted, complex, cognitive process whereby authors create characters and different scenarios to activate readers’

empathic impulses, in what Keen calls “strategic empathizing techniques,” which include “bounded, ambassadorial, and broadcast” narrative empathy.

The study of empathy in literary studies has long focused on the genre of fiction, but the works of Hutchinson and Cavendish predate the genre classifications of our literary world today. Still, one can see that Hutchinson’s and Cavendish’s works have some affinities to later genres. Devoney Looser, a historian, writes that in the Renaissance it was a commonplace practice to mix romantic themes in the narration of history, citing examples from Roger Boyle and Sir George MacKenzie, who are contemporaries of Hutchinson and Cavendish. Looser argues that Hutchinson’s *Memoirs* makes use of “providence and romance to bolster her historiographical enterprise” (45). As for Cavendish, her *Blazing World* and *Sociable Letters* are commonly accepted as originary works of the science fiction genre in their treatment of imagined worlds and peoples from different hemispheres. The works posit solutions to knotty political and religious problems and vent Cavendish’s frustrations with the situations society created that fuel the conflict.

At the tail end of the Renaissance and on the cusp of the Enlightenment, the seventeenth century evinces ways of thinking typical of both periods. It is a time of intense religious conflict, yet it is also the beginning of the Age of Reason and toleration. As the century wore on, violence subsided, libraries spread, publishing flourished, readership increased among the laity, and the value placed on other human beings increased as a result of trade and an emerging capitalist economy. Thus empathy for other human beings besides kinfolk increased, with increasing interest in the viewpoints of others. Pinker, drawing upon Norbert Elias, labels this sea-change in thought the Civilizing Process, as rational thinking came to predominate in writers such as Cavendish, Hutchinson and others, as this dissertation will show in chapters 2 and 3 (59-

128). Both Cavendish and Hutchinson lost many family members and much in material wealth over the course of the twenty years from 1640 to 1660, during one of the most destructive wars in English history. My goal is to ask how these two women authors processed these losses in relation to an English society in flux, with traditions and codes of conduct undergoing radical change. The empathic constructions that Hutchison and Cavendish produced are a positive response to the tragic losses of the Civil War period and indicate a society recovering from its ailments.

Empathy is a key development of the civilizing process, Elias argues, based on his research on etiquette manuals devised for aristocrats, who are in his consideration responsible for spreading civility to the rest of the population as illustrated in many examples from court culture as portrayed in tragedies and other art forms of the period. He says, “What must be hidden in court life, all vulgar feelings and attitudes, everything of which ‘one’ does not speak, does not appear in tragedy either. People of low rank, which for this class also means of base character, have no place in it” (15). Elias believes that there is an imposition of appropriate social norms through a hierarchical system that starts with an absolute ruler and the court, down to the lowest of social classes in society, a system of transmission that is the same throughout Western cultures, “be they English or Prussian or French” (16). Elias notes that human beings in the West, especially starting in the sixteenth century, became more dependent on each other, leading them to appreciate the lives of other human beings, even if they did not interact with them directly. This new emotional structure slowly but surely snowballed during the early modern period, creating modernity as we know it today (317). Another premise of the process of civilization is that nobler behaviors such as self-restraint and impulse management were a result of the consolidation of societies where physical violence, nudity, hygiene, and other crude

behaviors were lessened thanks to the changing behaviors of states away from warrior, knighthood cultures, becoming markets with exchange of goods (114-121). The monopoly on violence became a state business rather than an individual's (169); at the same time, barons and lords no longer vied for power within the state. Violence moved from within states to violence exercised on enemies from other states (423). Civility took time to develop and was affected by many variables at different times and places.

In a more recent consideration of the Civilizing Process, the historian Keith Thomas posits many examples that support Elias's claims about social changes in Western societies. His volume *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* demonstrates many patterns of Elias's civilizing process in the early modern period, emphasizing forces and historical moments that accelerated the move to modernity and civil conduct in particular. In this book he adds to Elias's arguments evidence and examples of what people in the early modern period termed as civil behavior. Thomas also summarizes the forces that lead to civilization. For example, he mentions how in 1638 the "middling sort" was required to use respectful language and affable behaviors if they were to engage in commerce (63). Thomas states that even humbler strata of English society were familiar with civility and incivility due to the fact that most of them worked in some sort of trade that required them to act in a certain way (67). Thomas's analysis adds new dimensions to Elias's consideration of aristocrats and court culture as the genesis of civilization in the society. Although in the *Life*, Cavendish does mention that villages where nobles were not resident are less civilized (Thomas 72), Thomas asserts that every social group regardless of class needed some form of civility to engage in business and everyday life; Thomas devotes a whole chapter in his book to discuss plebeian civility, which is hard to categorize or locate in print as it was part of an oral tradition that was not recorded for posterity

(74). Thomas also considers the civilizing role of the clubs and societies that connected people of similar interests, such as the positive professionalizing influence of Ben Jonson and his Apollo Club, among other still-developing professional institutions (63-4). In addition, an increase of sociability and formal public meals led to buildings where different rooms and spaces were constructed to accommodate strangers, who were expected to follow formal forms of address depending on class and venue (64).

Another gradual form of development in English society in the early modern period is an increase in those who identify as urban freemen, who, according to Jonathan Barry's article "Civility and Civic Culture in Early Modern England: The Meanings of Urban Freedom," were "the citizens, the bourgeois, of English towns," who occupied important governmental, communal, and economic positions (186). These freemen were "aware of and committed to the collective values of the place, but also capable of independent judgement and action in the exercise of their representative function," though they were not part of the gentry or royal class (187-188). The number of those who belonged to the class of urban freemen, or freeholders, as historians call them, increased during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century (184), indicating that regular civilians were able to take on active roles in significant communal practices, opening the door for even more people to participate in political affairs. This development affirmed the importance of valuing perspectives of people without titles, enabling them to feel empowered by the experience of being heard and appreciated by a local community. Barry states that freedom practices in towns and cities were associated with forms of "charity and mutual benefit," whereby urban freemen supported other families considering these noble actions as "unselfish measures for the public good, allowing even the humbler freeman to feel a supporter of charity, not as the poor, a humble dependent upon it" (195). Richard Baxter, for

instance, a contemporary of Hutchinson and Cavendish, states in his autobiography, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, that “freeholders and tradesmen,” from the ordinary sort of people, supply “the strength of religion and civility in the land” (89). The development of this dynamic social group was due to myriad changes in the way in which regular people were able to make their way into the top of the social classes in England due to participating in their local and regional economy and politics. Similarly, the widespread professionalization of social groups in England propelled economic progress. The presence of international trade markets in London, flourishing in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, enabled more people to take on new lucrative trades without depending on social class or inheritance that had historically determined one’s wealth. This increase in the importance of trade led to increased attention to civil conduct in the daily activities of the society. Elite writers such as Hutchinson and Cavendish thus expanded on themes of empathic and civil conduct in their work as an important way to address growing professional audiences who sought to be more recognized for their wealth or political activism. These readers include canonical figures such as Samuel Pepys, well known for his modest background and professional aspirations, as well as a growing milieu of female readers and writers, whom I discuss in chapter IV below.

Although Thomas draws heavily upon Elias’s model of the civilizing process, he differs in his emphasis on the role of religion in conditioning the populace. Thomas argues that Elias did not recognize the role of organized religion, an omission he takes pains to address. For instance, Bernard Gilpin, a Tudor preacher, “was famous for having helped pacify the northern people of Redesdale and Tynedale, calming their savage demeanor and reducing them to civility and better order of behavior” (73). The religious theme of encouraging civility continued through the Interregnum and Protectorate, as Puritan leaders along with other concerned magistrates sought

to “reform people’s manners, from their drinking habits to their sexual behavior” (73). The role of religion as a force for spreading civility increased dramatically during the late Restoration and into the Enlightenment period, as in Sunday school attendance, which was intended to help children of the poor become “humanized and civilized by absorbing the values of honesty, punctuality, cleanliness, decorum, and civility” (74) These examples above illustrate the positive impact of religious institutions in civilizing the populace particularly as religious leaders in churches saw themselves as responsible for social conditioning. In this regard, Thomas concludes that “in England the established Church was an active agent of civility” (72); thus the churches were at the center of the civilizing project. Similarly, Jennifer Vaught stresses that an increase in practices of mourning starting from 1620 became an important element of the Anglican tradition during the seventeenth century, marking a shift from stoicism to a greater sense of compassionate identification with those who grieve, accompanied by a “flourishing of introspective genres of writing such as the autobiography and diary” (5). Religious practices of mourning during the period became more accommodating to include, in addition to diary and autobiographical writings, funeral portraiture, all of which memorialize the dead (5). The promulgation of these practices could be collectively understood as a way to accommodate the changing sensibilities of the period.

The role of women in the civilizing process is an undeniable one as Pinker contends that “female-friendly values may be expected to reduce violence” (685). Pinker has argued that women play an especially prominent role in the civilizing process, as “a more feminized world is a more peaceful world” (685). Pinker notes that “historically, women have taken the leadership in pacifist and humanitarian movements” around the globe (685), leading to a direct decline of violence. As prolific writers, Hutchinson and Cavendish participated in the growing public

sphere of the seventeenth century as reading became a more commonplace activity up and down the social scale in England. Pinker views this dramatic increase in print production and consumption as a further key component in the civilizing process (689), as writers such as Hutchinson and Cavendish developed the skills of perspective-taking and empathy. For Pinker, the period's strides toward literacy led to a "humanitarian revolution" in which "vivid depictions of the suffering wrought by slavery, sadistic punishments, war, and cruelty to children and animals preceded the reforms that outlawed or reduced those practices" (689-90).

Empathy, as Hoffmann argues, is the glue of societies, and the civilizing process pretty much depends on how much people empathize with each other to form a less violent society (217). The civilizing process and empathy go hand in hand in the social and political construction of early modern societies, and they are linked to other forms of civilization such as exchange of goods, proliferation of the printing press, among other perspective-taking forces. Cavendish and Hutchinson provide a perfect example of how empathy is used to justify better treatment and understanding of fellow human beings during the devastating English Civil War period. Both writers deliberated on the fruitless endeavors of the war, resulting in these writers' attempts at mitigating the war's effects. In this dissertation I have specifically chosen Cavendish and Hutchinson as signature examples of empathy because of their opposite political alliances. David Norbrook's article "Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson: Identity, Ideology and Politics" was the first endeavor to find a "unique common ground" between the two authors, with their striking similarities of class and experiences during war (188). Norbrook asserts that both authors were "rebels who pushed at the limits of the conventional thought of their day" (179). This project will highlight a new perspective of how empathy can be understood during the Civil War period from the perspectives of these two politically opposed writers, linking it

with the civilizing process that has allowed civilization to flourish until the present day. Throughout their writings, these authors promoted a level of empathy towards enemies, explaining the carnage and misery of war, heightening a sense of common ground at a time when acrimony had reached an unprecedented level in England.

The life experiences of Cavendish and Hutchinson are especially marked by the fact that their husbands were soldiers and their families were subjected to the predations of soldiers. Ann Hughes stresses that during the Civil War, “women were often particularly vulnerable to aggressive soldiers in an increasingly militarized society, but they usually managed to defend their households, preserve family fortunes and protect their children, despite the absence of men” (31). Women and children were even used as pawns during garrison sieges to force the enemies to give up their defense (39). Cavendish and Hutchinson endured firsthand experience of the war with losses both familial and materialistic, allowing readers from subsequent periods to identify with their struggles in the situations they recount. However, even in the face of such hardships, Hutchinson and Cavendish foregrounded recuperative practices aimed at abating violence. As Vaught argues, early modern women “in the wake of loss” reacted to hardship with the attitude, “we rebuild ourselves and our collective identities through sad stories about grief and mourning, whether in literature or criticism” (14). Manifestations of grief, therefore, can speak to the future rather than just the present, instigating an abhorrence of violence and augmenting a sense of empathy and coexistence, as the upcoming chapters for Hutchinson and Cavendish will demonstrate.

Hutchinson’s and Cavendish’s revision of their life histories undoubtedly had much to do with the highly fraught political atmosphere at the beginning of the Restoration. Charles II’s Declaration of Breda, which was to pardon his opponents in the war who now were willing to

declare loyalty to the king, was not a clear-cut policy to pardon all dissidents, allowing for anxiety and confusion to fall upon the Parliamentarians. Republicans such as Hutchinson's husband were kept, Norbrook stresses, "on a knife-edge: if they gave themselves up they might gain a pardon but they ran the risk of being one of the exceptions," and punishment for the exceptions was usually to be treated as a traitor. For those deemed traitors, Norbrook continues, "they were hanged and then cut down while still alive, their genitals were cut off and their entrails cut out and burned, and their dismembered quarters were put on public show" (425). Therefore, the unpredictable nature of the Declaration caused anxiety for those buttressing the republican cause, including John Milton and Edmund Ludlow, among others, who were very anxious of what was brewing for them. The same argument could be made for the Royalists who were mostly in exile, including Cavendish and her husband in France, who after the Restoration went back to establish new connections with the restored monarchy, which ultimately did not work well for the Cavendishes even though they were on the side of monarchy.

The empathic constructions found in Hutchinson's and Cavendish's works stand out as ahead of their time. Both authors were functioning within a patriarchal system where women were supposed to focus on the private sphere rather than the public one; most women writers of the early modern period subscribed to some of these patriarchal ideals. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, society had loosened enough that women of prestige could venture into the public sphere through discussing religious, familial, and societal issues (Mendelson and Crawford 429). Cavendish, for example, famously spent lavish amounts of money to publish her works, and Hutchinson allowed her works to be circulated in republican circles. Hutchinson also undertook the challenge of translating all of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* into English in comparison with only one book of that work translated by John Evelyn. In response to Evelyn's

frontispiece to his short translation, Hutchinson wrote in her dedication to the Earl of Anglesey that “(though a masculine Witt hath thought it worth printing his head in a lawrell crowne for the version of one of these bookes) I am so farre from gloriing in my six” (5). This practice is unusual in the early modern period where a women writer would take on such an uneasy task seemingly to prove her intellectual rigor and fit into a world dominated by educated male contemporaries who enjoyed no societal censorship for addressing public issues. In fact, Sir Aston Cokayne, one of the early commentators on Hutchinson’s translation, states disparagingly of her endeavors,

I know a Lady that hath been about
The same designe, but she must needes give out:
Your Poet strikes too boldly home sometimes,

In geniall things, t’appear in women’s rhimes,
The task is masculine, and he that can
Translate Lucretius, is an able man. (qtd. in Lucrèce et al. xxiii)

Cokayne, as Norbrook affirms, refers to Hutchinson in these lines, dismissive of her achievements and concerned only with her identity as a women writer engaged in manly writings (qtd. in Lucrèce et al. xxiii). Though Hutchinson is aware of these criticisms, she finished the translation, further solidifying her skills as an author and defying Cokayne’s dismissive claims.

Additionally, Cavendish and Hutchinson are unique in the way they used empathic constructions, both in quality and in quantity. That is, both authors created more cognitive empathic constructions than other women writers of the period. These actions put them ahead of their time. In other ways, however, they do fit within the behavioral spectrum of other women

writers of the period such as Katherine Philips, Anne Bradstreet, and Aphra Behn, among others. Like these writers Cavendish and Hutchinson subscribed to patriarchal theory of the seventeenth century and indulged in vicious attacks on views they didn't agree with. The polarization of the war similarly impacted the kin relations in families throughout the country, where some were Royalists and others Parliamentarians. Cavendish and Hutchinson had familial ties on the other side of the war; in the case of Cavendish, her stepdaughter Jane destabilized the familial relationship that traditionally existed in a household, where Cavendish found herself struggling to make a normal relationship with older adults from her husband's late wife (Hughes 51-2). Cavendish and Hutchinson thus experienced the trials and hostilities of war the same way their contemporaries did. What is unusual about them is that they both engaged in literary productions that promote empathic readings of the occurrences of war, unlike Philips and other writers who did not have the same empathic reactions to the fighting of the period as chapter 4 of this dissertation will demonstrate.

Of particular importance to this project is the involvement of Hutchinson and Cavendish with the public sphere, which is a key part of the Civilizing Process. The steady increase in reading practices, especially for women noticeably starting from the 1650s and dramatically increasing by the 1700s in England, greatly increased the development of perspective-taking and serious consideration of the viewpoints of others (Pinker 174). Pinker rightly argues that "the cognitive process of perspective-taking and the emotion of sympathy must figure in the explanation for many historical reductions in violence" (590). Of course, empathy cannot be the only solution to world problems, as Pinker points out, as it has to be accompanied by institutional reforms to take effect (591-92). Still, to see Hutchinson and Cavendish engage in empathic

thinking reveals a change in sensibility during the seventeenth century, even if institutions lagged behind in their ability to cultivate empathy.

One of the civilizing forces that Pinker indicates is the advancement of print culture. The number of printing presses and the different types of printed material—including news journals, pamphlets, petitions, commentaries, and books—increased dramatically from 1630 to 1650, to around 2000 books published per decade (173). This trend slowed down during the Protectorate of the 1650s, but then began to increase again starting from the time of the Restoration, progressing well into the Enlightenment (Pinker 173). Furthermore, the number of literate women started to increase dramatically in the late seventeenth century, leading into the eighteenth century. Rosemary O'Day, a historian of education, concludes from her research that during the seventeenth century female illiteracy declined, especially in cities such as London (190). The gap between male and female literacy decreased from 8:1 in the last part of the sixteenth century (1580-1640) to 3:1 by the end of the seventeenth century, falling further during the eighteenth century (190). Likewise, Ann Hughes stresses that during the 1640s in almost “every village there were people who could read aloud to neighbors or discuss the information and issues that were found in pamphlets, books and broadsides” (7), making “print central to the English revolution” (7). Women “were active as printers, booksellers and distributors of pamphlets, while gendered images, tensions and arguments were a prominent theme in this burgeoning print culture” (8). After the Restoration period, female writers such as Apra Behn and Eliza Haywood, among others, emerged as the first female writers who were able to live solely by their pen, and their intellectual endeavors were slowly appreciated as a female readership progressed through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the advent of schools that catered to young girls (O'Day 187).

All in all, what this project sets off to investigate is the presence of empathy in the writings of Hutchinson and Cavendish as a response to the English Civil War. My approach of the cognitive study of literature has just started to receive more attention in the last ten years, and the study of cognitive empathic constructions in the writings of Hutchinson and Cavendish has never been discussed before in academic circles exhaustively with regard to those authors. In order to conduct such an investigation of empathy in these two writers, the project discusses the historical context of the Civil War period, particularly as it affects Hutchinson's and Cavendish's empathic constructions. Hutchinson's and Cavendish's writings can thus be understood within the historical context of an emerging human rights revolution, especially regarding freedom of religious conscience. Pinker argues that during the emerging Enlightenment in the seventeenth century, two humanist forces helped abate the violent and sadistic tendencies of previous eras. The first one is "intellectual," that is, moral advancement that employs reason and real evidence to make assertions about other human beings; the other is "an increased valuation of human life and happiness" (139), signaling "a shift from valuing souls to valuing lives" (143). In this early stirring of the Enlightenment, material developments such as the growth of print culture and commerce complemented theoretical advances made by intellectuals such as Thomas Hobbes on the role of the state in inhibiting aggression. I will place Hutchinson's and Cavendish's writings on the English Civil War in this larger Enlightenment background. The chapters will also highlight moments of the civilizing process in action as they relate to Hutchinson and Cavendish, as well as other contemporary women writers discussed in chapter 4. The dissertation thus seeks to open the door for more cognitive studies of these two authors and the English Civil War period more generally.

The two chapters following this introduction focus first on Hutchinson and then on Cavendish, demonstrating how these authors empathized with the other side in the conflict of the English Civil War. The chapter on Hutchinson addresses in detail how empathy relates to civilizing ideals. It contextualizes instances of empathy and illustrates how such empathic constructions are related to civilizing ideals in the late seventeenth century. Similarly, chapter three addresses empathic constructions in Cavendish's writings along with illustrations of some instances of the civilizing ideals. Cavendish, with far more published works than Hutchinson, demonstrates the empathic theme more fully than other women writers of the period. She envisages in multiple forms of literary expression how her characters, her country, and her sociocultural background convey her own progressive ideals, indicating a singular way of thinking and furthering an agenda that ultimately seeks to resolve political, religious, and societal discrepancies that had led to the state of chaos in her country.

The fourth chapter addresses an important question raised during my oral examination regarding whether or not Hutchinson and Cavendish were ahead of their time in the way they construct empathy. In order to respond to this inquiry, other female contemporaries of Hutchinson and Cavendish have been studied to find instances of empathy, or civilizing ideals. The figures include Brilliana Harley, Anne Bradstreet, Anne Clifford, Hester Putler, Katherine Phillips, and Margaret Fell Fox, all of whom lived through the bitter years of the Civil War conflict and endured similar circumstances that Hutchinson and Cavendish lived through. The study of these female contemporaries of Hutchinson and Cavendish is an emerging area of scholarly enquiry I am excited to be a part of. I thus try to bring a new approach, cognitive studies, to new primary materials that have received limited attention.

Finally, the fifth chapter is focused on how to teach empathic themes in English classes, drawing upon my experiences of co-teaching British literature surveys and English composition. Based on the premise that empathy is a skill that can be learned and implemented, many classroom activities can be designed to highlight empathy. In the contemporary “post-truth” media landscape, students are surrounded by misinformation and sensationalized cultural conflict; an essential skill for them, and their instructors themselves, is to understand and to practice empathy. This final chapter thus highlights ways in which empathic skills, such as perspective-taking, can be taught using various classroom activities. These activities include role-playing, summarizing the points of view of others fairly, and understanding historical difference through the use of *The Dictionary of National Biography* and *Early English Books Online*. Thus students learn to immerse themselves into the world of others.

Chapter II: Lucy Hutchinson: Empathy and the Civilizing Ideals

Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* is considered one of the best historical accounts of the Civil War incidents written from a republican perspective for its attention to detail. At the beginning of the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson includes a ten-page autobiography, discussing her noble birth, English ancestry, and comprehensive education. There are further statements that affirm the depth of her knowledge of the national history of England, the history of the Protestant Reformation, and the series of political plots to undermine the monarchy, all of which effectively set the stage for the rest of the *Memoirs*, skillfully devised so readers would acknowledge her version of history. Still, the autobiography is short and ends abruptly, due to later censorship, as Norbrook indicates from Julius Hutchinson, an early nineteenth-century descendant of the Hutchinsons (Seelig 74).

With regard to her education, the autobiography is rife with statements that affirm Hutchinson's passion for reading and accomplished writing skills from a very young age, as she achieved a higher literacy rate than her male siblings who received formal education (Hutchinson and Keeble 14). At the same time, Hutchinson disliked traditional female subjects such as music and needlework, flourishing instead in intellectual endeavors such as reading and writing (15). Hutchinson thanks her family in the *Memoirs* for providing her with private instructors in eight subjects, including Latin, an educational fashion that proliferated during the seventeenth century. In Hutchinson's day young girls were educated at home (O'Day 185), where she managed to write poems that impressed readers from her early adulthood. Keith Thomas argues that writing was seen as one of the forces leading to the civilizing process (129), an element of her upbringing that Hutchinson mastered early on and highlighted in her subsequent work as an adult. It is not just that she mastered reading Latin at a basic level, but that she had at her fingertips the more general scientific, cultural, historical, and literary associations that the Latin

language represented to the English. In addition to the subject matter Hutchinson had access to, the act of reading was also of benefit to her. Natalie Philips stresses that “close reading stimulates a truly broad set of regions” in the brain whereas pleasure reading activates other distinctive regions (63), both of which lead one to experience what Philips calls “literary transport and immersion” (71). Having read classic and contemporary texts voraciously throughout her upbringing and with tutors’ help, Hutchinson demonstrates both of Philips’s aspects of reading, becoming one of the most eloquent female writers of her time in her works on religion, politics, and philosophy. Perspective-taking instances that are analyzed below, therefore, result from such deep immersion in the ideas of others, showing Hutchinson’s dexterity in cultivating empathy in her reader.

Sharon Seelig, among other critics, has long attributed Hutchinson’s affirmation of her literacy skills in the opening pages of her short autobiography as a recurring justification that early modern women writers had to include in order to depict themselves as trustworthy and authoritative. They could then take on controversial and sensitive topics, after acquainting readers with their credibility as conveyors of sensitive information (75). Similarly, Hilda Smith argues that education for early modern women gave them two advantages: first, a personal escape from the traditional ornamental life that social norms of the period necessitated for them; second, the means to subvert negative stereotypes of idleness, silliness, frivolity, and irresponsibility that contemporary male authors ascribed to them. These explanations help to clarify why many women in the mid to late seventeenth century started seeking intellectual endeavors, even though no vocational opportunities were open for them (qtd. in O’Day 193). Accordingly, Hutchinson’s literary achievements represented these trends. As she addressed the

most pressing matters in English culture at the time, Hutchinson was especially notable for her emphasis on empathy, as the examples below discuss.

Hutchinson's literacy skills gave her the ability to become adept at creating poems, a skill that attracted her future husband and encouraged him to inquire more about her intellectual endeavors. After marriage, Hutchinson's writing flourished, as she composed *Order and Disorder*, a long religious poem paraphrasing the Bible; *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson*; and translations of both Lucretius's *On the Nature of Things* and John Owen's *Theologoumena Pantodapa*. This engagement with reading and writing from a young age undoubtedly gave Hutchinson the ability to create the imaginative spaces of the *Memoirs*, in which we are taken on a journey to reinterpret the tragedies of the mid-century, seeing the point of view of both sides of the conflict. The link between Hutchinson's voracious reading practices and empathy is clear; in the examples concerning the Royalists that I analyze below, Hutchinson emerges in the majority of cases as someone who directs her rhetoric not to support partisan politics but to promote a new set of civilizing ideals that emphasize the common experience of loss during the war period. I argue that Hutchinson embarked on a more general mission to resist the violence unleashed by the English Civil War. Above all, Hutchinson's efforts were connected with the civilizing trends associated with the early modern period, such as the spread of literacy, the expansion of book publishing and reading practices, and the increased valuation of the lives of others. The caustic tone that nevertheless occasionally appears in her *Memoirs* might be due to the inherently controversial nature of her subject matter, that is, the ebb and flow of events leading to the Civil War, the actual events during the Civil War, and the aftermath of the Civil War, including the frustrations with some figures who were involved in the short-lived republican project of the Commonwealth. Hutchinson, therefore, does not idealize the intricacies

of these years, at least at the conscious level of her narration of the history of that period. In the following pages, I discuss empathic constructions that illustrate enacted civility, or the civilizing process, phrases which I will use interchangeably in commenting on the writings of Hutchinson and others in subsequent chapters.

It is worth mentioning that Hutchinson's empathetic constructions may function as a form of rhetoric aimed at saving her and her husband during the Restoration era when the *Memoirs* circulated in manuscript form, between 1664 and 1668. The emphasis on showing her husband as empathetic to Royalists during the Civil War period and in the Interregnum may serve as an appeal for similar empathetic responses from Royalists who were recently come to power. In fact, Derek Hirst notes some of the weaknesses in Hutchinson's account of incidents during the Civil War period and in the Restoration, citing C. H. Firth, a Victorian historian and editor to the *Memoirs*. Hirst notes that Firth "observed that she 'conceals much of the truth, and misrepresents many of the facts'" (qtd. in Hirst 683); Firth also "sharply questioned her story of what happened as the King prepared to come home in May 1660" (Hirst 638). Clearly, Hutchinson may have benefited by showcasing her husband's empathic behavior. However, Firth does not completely dismiss her statements and narrations of the period, acknowledging that she is "still a consistent political commentator, and an exemplar of republican and domestic piety" (Hirst 684). I would add that most of the cases of empathy in the *Memoirs* have to do with the private history of the Hutchinsons themselves rather than national incidents of the Civil War period, showing perhaps that the empathetic instinct was one present in the couple's daily life. Still, it is important for this project to provide a word of caution about the potential rhetorical nature of empathy in Hutchinson's works.

In the *Memoirs* Hutchinson stresses how her husband, once appointed as a commissioner to the high court of the Parliament, refused to persecute rank-and-file Royalist prisoners accused by the court because he thought that it was enough that those in high positions face the penalty. Hutchinson praises his position, “his unbloody nature desiring to spare the rest of the delinquents after the highest had suffered, and not delighting in the death of men when they could live without cruelty to better men” (Hutchinson and Keeble 237). These aforementioned ideas are repeated over and over throughout the *Memoirs*, where Hutchinson sees that most of those in the lower ranks who joined either side in the conflict were driven by economic reasons to support their families rather than seeking to support one side over the other for ideological reasons (e.g., Hutchinson and Keeble 307–8). There are similar accounts in the *Memoirs* of soldiers from lower social classes whom Hutchinson treats sympathetically as having a shared emotional response to the violent conditions in the country. These moments of empathic concern highlight the Renaissance’s turn to prose as a medium to convey emotions plainly in order to reach out to as many readers as possible (Keen, “Empathy” 41). Hutchinson’s empathetic statements provide clear examples of an evolving distaste for violence in the seventeenth century and a reluctance to inflict unnecessary misery on other human beings.

Additional examples from the *Memoirs* indicate that Hutchinson views her Royalist opponents truthfully rather than in the partisan fashion so typical of the period. She takes pains to view both sides in the conflict even-handedly, writing, “Indeed, no one can believe, but those that saw that day, what a strange ebb and flow of courage and cowardice there was in both parties that day” (Hutchinson and Keeble 147) and “the events of that day humbled the pride of many of our stout men....” (147). She acknowledges that both sides suffered for their cause; when mentioning Royalist soldiers who died, she often seems to feel remorse or guilt over their

deaths. Clearly, in the language she employs, Hutchinson seeks to understand empathetically both sides in the war. Hutchinson is especially keen to praise this sense of fairness in her husband, whom she views as committed to disinterestedness in his public life, indifferent to the pain one typically feels at being criticized as well as to the “vain-glory of mutable popular applause. It was in all things his endeavor to do and deserve well and then he never regarded the praise or dispraise of men, for he knew that it was impossible to keep on a constant career of virtue and justice and to please all men” (138). Hutchinson’s husband thus becomes a paragon of civility, acknowledging that his Royalist opponents had redeeming qualities not unlike those of the Parliamentarians. As a result, the *Memoirs* strives for a tone and a point of view that could be understood by all parties in England, presenting a coherent, less partisan retelling of how Hutchinson’s husband came to be involved in the affairs of the Civil War period, reducing insofar as it was possible the partisanship that plagued the country at the time.

Hutchinson’s fairness in writing about the Civil War demonstrates her rhetorical skill in presenting the context of war, avoiding Manichean or melodramatic dualities that tend to proliferate in conflict zones. This practice of being careful not to take sides in narrating war contexts goes back to Homer’s presentation of Greeks and Trojans in the *Iliad*, where Homer, who was a Greek himself, chose not to favor one side or the other when describing characters and events in the war. An example of this impartiality occurs when Achilles, in his anger for the death of his beloved, kills Hector and then drags his body behind his chariot, violating the body of the deceased. This lack of respect for the dead was an abhorrent practice for both the Greeks and the Trojans, as well as for subsequent cultures. In a similar fashion, Hutchinson shows in many instances in her *Memoirs* the flaws of individuals who belong to her own group. Thanks to

being an avid reader of Latin and Greek, Hutchinson is able to apply the lessons of impartiality she learned from Homer to the circumstances of her own time.

Another instance in which Hutchinson relates the empathy demonstrated by her husband involves his election to the first Counsel of State. Though he tried to avoid the appointment, he eventually accepted it and became involved in other councils related to the army. He “did his duty faithfully and employed his power to relieve the oppressed and dejected, freely becoming the advocate of those who had been his late enemies in all things that were just and charitable” (237). The extent of empathy that John Hutchinson actively showed once he was in an influential position to exercise justice on the prisoners from the Royalist side again highlights an important theme for the author—the humanizing of individuals in the context of war. By explaining matters of empathy when her husband was still in power before the bitter years of the Restoration period, Hutchinson urges those in control to examine their conscience concerning acts of violence against republicans after the conflict was over.

Likewise, Hutchinson’s praise of her husband is further illustrated with actual examples of how her husband performed these empathic actions. In the case of Sir John Owen, for instance, Hutchinson writes that her husband sympathized with his plight, as he was to be executed while his superiors were spared. Hutchinson writes how her husband, “moved by mere compassion and generosity,” saved his life (238). Although Hutchinson may be exaggerating the role played by her husband in the fate of Owen (369, note 286), her impulse to idealize the extension of sympathy to one’s opponent is what stands out. Colonel Hutchinson’s empathy for prisoners had no conditions or ulterior motives; it was simply based in justice and the sake of spreading peace in the country. Compassion and generosity as motivations of empathy at times of crisis thus made both of the Hutchinsons notable examples of civility in the seventeenth

century. This detached form of empathy, as presented by Hutchinson, marks a significant change in sensibilities from pre-Renaissance warrior culture to compassion for the poor and the unjustly treated.

These instances from the *Memoirs* show how much Hutchinson valued empathy in her husband's actions. She may not have had the same power to assist others in the way her husband did, but she clearly prized empathic behavior. That is why Hutchinson's *Memoirs* contains many instances of empathy, as it was written during the dark years of the Restoration during which those belonging to the republican camp were all under attack. The *Memoirs*, therefore, acts as a testimony of the civility of the Hutchinsons not just for posterity, but also for the significance of deploying those ideals at times of adversity. Reminding imagined opponents that one of the most important of qualities in the war period was empathic civil acts rather than victory or defeat of the enemy, Hutchinson is careful in the *Memoirs* to establish that being just and sensible were the cornerstones of her husband's public service. For Hutchinson, the actions of her husband during the years of the Civil War served the function of invalidating claims of incivility charged against her husband and the republican cause in general. Hutchinson thus recounts models of empathic behavior in the hope it will be valued at the time of the Restoration, when she wrote the *Memoirs*.

Additional examples of empathy in the *Memoirs* abound. Hutchinson demonstrates empathic constructions where the Hutchinsons are at the receiving end of empathy. The Royalist close relatives of the Hutchinsons helped them when the Colonel was on trial for regicide during the Restoration, namely Sir Richard Biron and Allen Apsley, both of whom fought as captains in the Royalist army in the battle of Edgehill (Hutchinson and Keeble 282). In addition, the list of Royalists who stood by the Colonel's side in court included others who were stout enemies

during the war, such as William Cavendish, who treated the Colonel humanely and served as an important Royalist point of contact, a role Hutchinson was deeply grateful for (300–2).

Whenever Lucy Hutchinson mentions William Cavendish, the information is objective, even in her narration of his involvement in the Civil War. Her intimacy toward him increased after the Restoration as William Cavendish was reinstated to some of his previous positions held in the North of England where the Hutchinsons then lived.

One of the first officials of the Restoration that Colonel Hutchinson came in contact with was the Duke of Newcastle—William Cavendish. Hutchinson narrates that her husband was summoned by William Cavendish with regard to new accusations laid against the Colonel of suspected plotting against the King in what came to be known as the Northern or Derwentdale Plot. Lucy Hutchinson summarizes the plot as follows:

The [Duke of] Buckingham set at work one Gower, Sheriff of Yorkshire, and others, who sent out trepanners among the discontented people to stir them to insurrection to restore the old Parliament, Gospel ministry and English liberty; which specious things found very many ready to entertain them and abundance of simple people were caught in the net; whereof some lost their lives, and others fled. But the Colonel had no hand in it, holding himself obliged at that time to be quiet. (Hutchinson and Keeble 301)

In the above description of the plot to lure in remaining dissenters and expose them to the restored regime, Hutchinson denigrates political calculations that aim to harm the “simple people” who fall prey to carefully devised bait by the Duke of Buckingham, who is responsible for this behavior that takes advantage of a segment of the population that is not politically savvy and is driven by emotions. The use of “trepanners,” or agitators, and the appeal to emotionally charged lost causes such as the old Parliament were strategies targeted at commoners ravaged by

the Civil War. This was an unfair and unjustified practice, especially after King Charles II promised to spread peace and decreed the 1660 “Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.” An example of this imagined peace is to be found in John Dryden’s *Astraea Redux* of 1660, envisaging a golden age for England with the return of the king by using tropes from Roman history, referencing Augustus Caesar who created the Pax Romana after the dictatorship of Julius Caesar. In the above account, Hutchinson skillfully uses a metaphor of a fisherman drawing his net from the sea collecting all the fish that happen to be in the net, including inedible small fish caught with the rest. Of course, the Colonel did not take part in this event since he was able to discover the true intentions of the alleged uprising, and his subsequent treatment at the hands of Cavendish is instructive in the recurrent value Hutchinson places on empathy. The revengeful and immoral nature of Duke of Buckingham’s actions, however, is contrasted with the more humane treatment of other Royalists after the Restoration era, as the examples below will show.

After Colonel Hutchinson was accused of taking part in the Derwentdale plot, he was summoned to talk to “the Marquess of Newcastle, who treated him very honourably; and then falling into discourse with him, ‘Colonel,’ saith he, ‘they say you desire to know your accusers, which is more than I know.’ And thereupon very freely showed him the Duke of Buckingham’s letters, commanding him to imprison the Colonel and others...” (300). Hutchinson presents this scenario as if both individuals are having a friendly discussion about a serious topic; in the end, Cavendish “was so fully satisfied the Colonel was innocent of [the plot], that he dismissed him without a guard to his own house” (300). Even with the seriousness of the accusation—if confirmed he could be executed for treason—the Colonel was given the freedom to leave Cavendish’s property without guards. What is apparent from Hutchinson’s narration of

Cavendish's civility toward her husband is that Cavendish and Hutchinson are similar in social and political status, but happen to be in different camps during the Civil War. Cavendish had been in exile and seen his estates confiscated and sold during the Interregnum, and Hutchinson seems to conclude that empathy toward her husband resulted, at least in part, from their equally empathic treatment of Royalists in the war years. In fact, when Colonel Hutchinson was further implicated and ordered to move to Newark to be under the supervision of the mayor there in spite of Cavendish's support of his innocence, Hutchinson still describes Cavendish as a proponent of justice. For example, when Corporal Wilson, a jailor for the Mayor of Newark mistreated the Colonel by denying him amenities such as the use of a coach to travel or the freedom to stay in his own house while recovering from illness, Cavendish stepped in to resolve the situation. Eventually, Hutchinson's privileges were restored by Cavendish and he was given due process, presumed innocent until proven guilty. These instances illustrate a collective sense of empathy that afforded the Colonel proper treatment even when suspected of being involved in a plot to undermine the newly restored monarchy.

Other Royalists such as Mr. Roger Palmer, first Earl of Castlemaine, and Sir George Booth, first Baron Delamer, came to testify positively on behalf of Hutchinson's husband in court as well. Hutchinson states, "Although they knew his principle contrary to theirs, yet they so justified his clear upright carriage, according to his own persuasion, as was a record much advancing his honour, and such as no man else in that day received" (282). This instance paints a picture of a true Independent who earned the respect of his opponents, even though they disagreed with him at an ideological level. Again, Hutchinson emphasizes justice in relating these details. Here both Mr. Palmer and Sir George appeared in court to support the Colonel out of respect for his character rather than just because he was a friend or did them a favor in the

past. Since Colonel Hutchinson, as the examples above demonstrate, was just and merciful toward his opponents, Royalists who came in close contact with him subsequently repaid the just treatment for its own sake.

In the above accounts, Lucy Hutchinson highlights the collective sensibility of treating others justly as a response to the uncertain times of the Restoration period, as well as showing readers what it means to be just even with ideological differences. However, Hutchinson also shows what happens when laws and principles are not uniformly just. An example of this instance in the *Memoirs* is the hypocritical treatment Colonel Hutchinson received at the hands of the first Baron Lexington, Sir Robert Sutton. After the Parliament won the first Civil War of 1642, Lord Lexington was seen as a Royalist with possession of a lot of wealth, which he had devoted to the service of King Charles I. After the Parliament passed an ordinance in 1643 for Sequestration of Delinquents, Lord Lexington and other wealthy Royalists were being sought to pay for expenses incurred by the New Model Army. Since Lord Lexington was residing in Nottinghamshire at the time, his estates and wealth fell under the jurisdiction of Colonel Hutchinson, who was acting on behalf of the Parliament. Lucy Hutchinson narrates that Lord Lexington and Sir Thomas Williamson “who being the men of the best estates, were principally looked upon for the debt, applied themselves to Colonel Hutchinson, begging as a favour that he would undertake the management of the order of sequestration given out upon their estates” (229). In return, Colonel Hutchinson eased the severity of the situation by allowing them to manage their own estates through appointed “bailiffs only to free them from the inconveniences that otherwise would have come upon them” (229). Lucy Hutchinson affirms that “At that time they pretended the greatest sense of gratitude and obligation imaginable,” due to the many instances of compassion the Colonel demonstrated to these Royalist aristocrats. Nevertheless,

Hutchinson foreshadows what happened next in this affair when she states that her husband “was then courted as their patron, though afterwards this civility had like to have been his ruin” (230). What one notices from this instance is that empathy is an indispensable quality for Hutchinson, which both Lord Lexington and Sir Williamson failed to extend to the Colonel even though he had treated them with great leniency. Empathy, for Hutchinson, is a quality of human interaction that should be reciprocated, especially during a time when her husband was in dire need of it.

Hutchinson contrasts the example of unrequited empathy on the part of Lord Lexington and Sir Thomas Williamson with that of other Royalists who never forgot the empathy that the Hutchinsons showed them during the Interregnum. During the Restoration, when Colonel Hutchinson was in court for taking part in the regicide, Mr. Robert Palmer and Sir George Booth, as well as other Royalist friends of Colonel Hutchinson, defended him and gave positive testimonies on his behalf, but Lord Lexington completely forgot the tolerance Hutchinson had shown him and instead exacted revenge on him by preparing unfair claims. Lexington made general claims against Parliament for worsening his life conditions during the war, which of course were not specific to Colonel Hutchinson but were made to seem so. Lucy Hutchinson writes that Mr. Lexington “forged many false pretenses to obtain this [charge against the Colonel], but it was rejected in the Commons’ House, and the bill going up to the Lords, was passed without any proviso” (283). Hutchinson recounts,

After hearing at the committee, a report was made so favourable for the Colonel that the bill was cast aside, and the House being then ready to adjourn, most of the Colonel’s friends went out of town, which opportunity Lexington taking notice of, the very last day in a huddle got the bill past the Lords’ House. (285)

As Hutchinson explains, Mr. Lexington was able to pass a bill that fined the Colonel for fourteen years with interest for using his money (285). The example of Lord Lexington shows Hutchinson's keen awareness of the absence of civility and ingratitude; such moments where empathy is absent serve to highlight those where it is prominently extended from both the Puritan and Royalist sides.

Justice and empathy go hand in hand for Hutchinson, who makes a moving appeal to restore consistently just practices for all. The incident with Lord Lexington led to the tragic loss of Colonel Hutchinson's estates, and eventually the poverty of the whole family, who were forced let go of their servants, sell their estates, and incur other losses (285). From this point, Colonel Hutchinson's quality of life deteriorated, as he lost prestige and respect from those who were now in power. The fact that he was stripped of his wealth and estates must have been extremely hard to bear, especially as he and his wife had thought themselves exempted by the Act of Oblivion of 1660. Hutchinson summarizes the injustices that befell those excluded from the Act of Oblivion, how they were

now given up to a trial, both for their lives and estates, and put into close prison, where they were miserably kept, brought shortly after to trial, condemned, and all their estates confiscated and taken away, and kept in miserable bondage under that inhumane bloody jailer the Lieutenant of the Tower, who stifled some of them to death for want of air, and, when they had not one penny but what was given them to feed themselves and their families, exacted abominable rates for bare, unfurnished prisons--of some, £40 for one miserable chamber, of others double--besides undue and unjust fees, which their poor wives were forced to beg and engage their jointures and make miserable shifts for; and this rogue all this while had £3 a week paid out of the exchequer for every one of them.

Who at last, when this would not kill them fast enough, and when some alms were thus privately stolen in to them, were sent away to remote and dismal islands, where relief could not reach them, nor any of their relations take care of them: in this a thousand times more miserable than those that died... (283-4)

The incivilities to the jailed in the above lines demonstrate cases of injustice that eventually came to be abolished during later periods. However, it is thanks to writers such as Hutchinson that these inhumane practices came to be revisited by the judicial and legislative branches of government as part of the Civilizing Process over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hutchinson aims to inspire empathy for the jailed individuals so that their plight could be imagined by readers who might do something about it. As I mentioned near the outset of this discussion, there may be a good deal of self-interest in Hutchinson's depiction of these incivilities that contrast with the empathetic behavior of her husband; she most likely wants similar treatment from the Royalists newly come to power. But even if there is a compromised motive in Hutchinson's depictions of her husband, the value placed on empathy is highlighted nonetheless; over the course of the seventeenth century it was becoming a standard which writers such as Hutchinson could appeal to. After the extreme partisanship of the Civil War period, Royalist readers of her texts could find common ground for agreement at least in the appeals to shared humanity in the rejection of violence.

Fortunately, Hutchinson's hopes would eventually be realized; Pinker states that the eighteenth century was a "turning point" in abating violence in the governmental system in the West. He says, for example, "In England reformers and committees criticized the 'cruelty, barbarity, and extortion' they found in the country's prisons" (146). Pinker notes that over the course of the eighteenth century "graphic reports of torture-executions began to sear the public's

conscience” (146). Pinker provides the following graphic example of Catherine Hayes’ execution of 1726:

As soon as the flames reached her, she tried to push away the faggots with her hands but scattered them. The executioner got hold of the rope around her neck and tried to strangle her but the fire reached his hand and burned it so he had to let it go. More faggots were immediately thrown on the fire and in three to four hours she was reduced to ashes. (147)

Conveying such a horrific incident like the Hayes case above with such vivid details aimed to make readers empathize with the deceased and possibly call for change. Pinker notes that in earlier periods the victims would have just been said to have been executed, summarily dismissed as “broken on the wheel,” for instance, without the kind of detail the Hayes account provides. For Pinker, this change in language is part of a move toward new codes of moral values that are sensitive to violence in all of its forms, and in favor of limiting power of rulers to inflict violence against citizens. The lives of the Hutchinsons were part of this cultural shift.

Hutchinson employs a further rhetorical strategy to highlight the miserable conditions of Restoration-era prisons. When one looks at the beginning pages of the *Memoirs*, one finds frequent emphasis on the theme of justice and humanity in the jail system. For example, the inhumanity of the jailors toward Colonel Hutchinson when he was held at the Tower contrasts with the humane practices enacted by Lucy Hutchinson’s father, Sir Allen Apsley, when he served as a lieutenant in the Tower of London. While her father was serving in the Tower, Hutchinson’s mother passionately tended to prisoners, even if it meant sacrificing their wealth; Hutchinson’s father offered her mother 300 pounds a year as an allowance which she could spend on anything she wanted. She chose to apply it to the aid of others, especially those in prison, as Lucy Hutchinson recounts:

[W]hat my father allowed her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she laid most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr Ruthven being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert poor prisoners and partly to gain knowledge of their experiments and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek physicians. By these means she acquired a great deal of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. She was not only to these, but to all other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her own hands, visited and took care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were afflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not less bountiful to many poor widows and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. (13)

The acts of empathy that Hutchinson's mother extended to prisoners contributed to their emotional well-being, not just their physical health. The fact that her mother cared for all prisoners by wanting to "divert" their attention from their miserable conditions to experimentation and science suggests her empathic understanding of mental health and the need to address it. The image of a mother catering to all of her children with unconditional love, regardless of their beliefs or actions, lets the reader know exactly what humane treatment entails. Hutchinson was thus exposed to examples of tolerance from a young age, her mother's actions demonstrating an undeniable level of empathy towards strangers. Keeble writes that at the time, "prisoners were entirely at the mercy of the demands and disposition of their jailer, to whom fees

were due for room and board and who might exact whatever he considered appropriate for any additional services or comforts” (Hutchinson and Keeble 372, note 313). In the last portion of the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson writes extensively in opposition to such unfair practices, which further impoverished political dissenters such as Colonel Hutchinson, who were often being unjustly held. Above all, prisoners are human beings who should be treated with dignity.

Although these examples of injustice against the Parliamentarians were perpetrated by the restored regime, Hutchinson still wants readers to see hope in individual acts of empathy during this dark time for her and her family. Soldiers such as Sir Henry Wroth and the guards who accompanied Colonel Hutchinson to Sandown Castle, for instance, handled him with civility. Lucy Hutchinson especially values those who treated her husband in this way and tries herself to extend empathy to those who were honorable and just during the hard times of the Restoration period (318-19). With such accounts of civility being extended to her husband during the final stages before his death in 1664, Hutchinson envisions a world where empathic concern and civil conduct can structure the way people interact with one another.

Hutchinson’s emphasis on empathy was all the more effective because hardships endured have an impact on others who are close to them. Mia Szalavitz and Bruce Perry contend that if one’s kin are involved in a dangerous situation, it can impact one’s nervous system negatively, as humans are hard wired to empathize with kin (14). In Hutchinson’s case, as readers associate themselves with Hutchinson’s point of view, they may feel something similar for the poor condition of Hutchinson’s husband. In addition, both of the Hutchinsons drew upon good will from their Royalist kin throughout the Civil War period and Restoration. Hutchinson recounts the example of men standing up for the Colonel during his trial, demonstrating the social bonding or “communal relationships” that result in “mutual sympathy” (Pinker 585).

The Hutchinsons continued to treat Royalists well during the Protectorate when they retired from political activities, going back to the countryside after objecting to Cromwell's Protector status and the dissolution of Rump Parliament. Colonel Hutchinson was relieved of his duties in 1653 and was forced out of London after he had been officially appointed as governor of Nottingham Castle in 1643 by Sir John Meldrum and had been elected as a member of local Parliamentary committees after leading a defense of Nottingham Castle against the Royalist forces. From 1649 to 1651, he was involved in the first Council of State, right after the conclusion of the Civil War (Hutchinson and Keeble 236), but refused public office during the Protectorate rule of Cromwell, choosing instead to function as a justice for peace in Nottinghamshire (Seddon). Norbrook indicates that the Hutchinsons during this retirement period enjoyed many pleasurable activities similar to those of their Royalist peers, such as collecting paintings, teaching children music and dancing, and translating Lucretius's *On the Nature of Things* (qtd. in Richards 72–73). Even the physical appearance of John Hutchinson, a Parliamentarian with long hair, suggested Royalist affinities, as it was not appealing to fellow republicans who thought it indicated a lack of allegiance to their cause (Bryson 217). In fact, Hutchinson quotes a line from John Cleveland's satire "Hue and Cry" mocking the way the Puritan ministers looked, as "something ridiculous to behold" (Hutchinson and Keeble 87). Norbrook indicates that this attitude is an important aspect of the Hutchinsons' proximity to Royalist thinking, as they were accused of employing a "cavalier-like language" by other republican groups (qtd. in Richards 72). Thus seventeenth-century social relations, such as those the Hutchinsons enjoyed, cut through ideological divisions (73). In-group familiarity bias, which should have been directed against Royalists, is usually absent in Hutchinson's structure of feeling in her narration.

David Norbrook states in “Lucy Hutchinson versus Edmund Waller” that family relations who were Royalist, as stated above, helped Hutchinson secure her husband’s safety from persecution that had extended to the whole Puritan faction from the war. Hutchinson went so far as to write a letter on behalf of her husband where she recants her husband’s republican beliefs in 1660 in order to save his life as he was considered one of those who participated in the signing of the death warrant of Charles I and should be excepted from the Bill of Indemnity (68). Norbrook’s *Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Lucy Hutchinson concludes that such quick changes in position were not favorably seen by other republicans in the country; the Colonel was thus viewed as a traitor by both republicans and Royalists alike. One of the functions of the *Memoirs* was to clear his name with a strong ethical emphasis and to condemn other leaders of the republican government, such as Oliver Cromwell and John Lambert, whom Lucy Hutchinson saw as betrayers of the republican cause.

Oliver Cromwell, in particular, receives a great deal of attention in the *Memoirs*. Cromwell was the leading Parliamentary figure during the Interregnum and the mastermind behind the establishment of the New Model Army, which eventually was used as an instrument to impose absolute rule. The establishment of the New Model Army required advances in networking throughout the country to supply food, money, weapons, and soldiers on a steady basis; Colonel Hutchinson, as a long-standing elected community leader, did not agree with all of Cromwell’s and Lambert’s initiatives and sometimes fell into direct, even violent, encounters with them. These conflicts led to Colonel Hutchinson’s retirement from public office as long as Cromwell was still in power, starting from the early 1650s (Seddon). Lucy Hutchinson’s characterization of Cromwell is thus an interesting study in how she regards a man from her own side with whom her husband came into deep conflict. As one would expect, Hutchinson does

become subjective at times in discussing Cromwell, portraying him in highly colored, critical language when she disapproves of his conduct. But she is also capable of taking a step back, viewing Cromwell more dispassionately in terms of the themes of empathy and the civilizing process I have pointed out in previous pages.

In one of the encounters with Cromwell, Colonel Hutchinson rejected Cromwell's advances to replace one official with another. The Governor of Hull, Robert Overton, whom Colonel Hutchinson had never met or entertained before, was being accused by some faction in the city of being both religiously and politically radical. The Governor presented a convincing and just defense to the Counsel against these accusations. However, since Cromwell and his followers were siding with the accusers, they wanted to change the ruling in the case, eliciting the Colonel's objection. Here Hutchinson describes Cromwell's intervention as to why the Governor was retained in his position even after the accusations were raised; she writes, "The Colonel told him, because he saw nothing proved against him worthy of being ejected. 'But,' said Cromwell, 'we like him not.' 'Then,' said the Colonel, 'do it upon that account, and blemish not a man that is innocent upon false accusations, because you like him not'" (238). After recounting this incident, Hutchinson tells us that Cromwell tried to relieve Colonel Hutchinson from his appointments. Therefore, Colonel Hutchinson's actions

so displeased Cromwell that, as before, so much more now he saw that even his own interest would not bias him into any unjust factions, and so he secretly laboured to frustrate the attempts of all others who, for the same reason that Cromwell laboured to keep him out, laboured as much to bring him in. But now had the poison of ambition so ulcerated Cromwell's heart that the effects of it became more apparent than before. (239).

Once again, Hutchinson is careful to show these examples and their context to allow readers to come to the conclusion that empathy was extended for its own sake, even if it meant losing one's potential lucrative employments in the future. Ambition is also described as a disease of the heart that is to blame for the moral decline of Cromwell because he carried on with selfish and fruitless ambitions for the Commonwealth, betraying "the Good Old Cause" that he subscribed to early on. Cromwell becomes a vainglorious character who is blinded from the truth. Hutchinson reports that Cromwell

was moulding the army to his mind, weeding out the godly and upright-hearted men, both officers and soldiers, and filling up their rooms with rascally turn-coat Cavaliers and pitiful sottish beats of his own alliances and others such as would swallow all things and make no questions for conscience' sake. Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceived by all that were not of very penetrating eyes; and those that made the loudest outcries against him lifted up their voices with such apparent envy and malice that, in that mist, they rather hid than discovered his ambitious minings. (239)

The type of people that Cromwell employed in the offices of the New Model Army and in the Cromwellian regime in general were those who were "sottish" and "rascally turn-coat Cavaliers," who "make no question for conscience' sake." This employment practice must have been alarming amongst the leaders of the Parliamentarians, but the nature of Cromwell's changes went unnoticed by the public, except those who had the "penetrating eyes" to know the repercussions of these changes for the Parliamentarian cause. According to Hutchinson, these events led to an attempted coup against Cromwell, and Colonel Hutchinson, as a member of the

Counsel of State, heard a private testimony by Colonel Nathaniel Rich of the New Model Army. Hutchinson states that in advance of the hearing

Colonel Rich came to Colonel Hutchinson and implored his assistance with tears, affirming all the crimes of Cromwell, but not daring to justify his accusations, although the Colonel advised him if they were true to stand boldly to it, if false to acknowledge his own iniquity. The latter course he took, and the Council had resolved upon the just punishment of the men. (239)

Colonel Hutchinson, therefore, was familiar with the affairs of the New Model Army, but Keeble states that this plot of assassinating Cromwell by Nathaniel Rich was not corroborated by other sources (369, note 287). What matters in this instance is that Cromwell seems to have reacted empathically towards those responsible for the attempted assassination. Hutchinson writes,

when Cromwell, having only thus in a private council vindicated himself from their malice, and laid open what pitiful sneaking poor knaves they were, how ungrateful to him, and how treacherous and cowardly to themselves, he became their advocate and made it his suit that they might be no farther published or punished; which being permitted him, and they thus rendered contemptible to others, they became beasts and slaves to him, who knew how to serve himself by them without trusting them. This generosity (for indeed he carried himself with the greatest bravery that is imaginable herein) much advanced his glory, and cleared him in the eyes of superficial beholders; but others saw how he crept on, and could not stop him, while fortune itself seemed to prepare his way in sundry occasions. (239-240)

Hutchinson is clearly dismissive of the empathy that Cromwell showed to those convicted soldiers because she believes that this assassination attempt was orchestrated because it further aided Cromwell. A foiled coup would reinforce his designs to be the absolutist ruler of the country, just like modern-day politics where those who have a declining popularity make a staged coup in order to garner empathy and put all opponents in check or even under arrest. In the above lines, Hutchinson stresses the way in which public opinion was deceived by Cromwell's calculating moves. She refers to those so deceived as "superficial beholders" because they did not look deeper into Cromwell's actions. Additionally, Hutchinson claims that Cromwell "knew how to serve himself by them" (239), indicating that his empathy was not genuine but rather a political tool, in contrast to the genuine instances of empathy found in Colonel Hutchinson's actions. Though Hutchinson calls these acts from Cromwell potential acts of "generosity" and "bravery," indicating a potentially empathic motivation behind them, they still do not count as true empathic actions because they were intended for political gain rather than empathy for its own sake.

Nevertheless, Hutchinson makes a steady effort to treat Cromwell with fairness and understand his point of view. Norbrook notes in his article "Words More than Civil" that whenever Hutchinson mentions him in the *Memoirs*, she "qualifie[s] her attacks on Cromwell, wanting to show his part in the overall history of the Good Old Cause," frequently including the phrase "to speak the truth" to allay her critiques (68). In the 1650s, Cromwell's decisions to assume the title of Protector, dissolve the Rump Parliament, and jail dissenters struck many republicans as the actions of a dictator, posing a threat to the Commonwealth. They were doubtlessly concerned that his influence—both during his life and posthumously—might have a detrimental effect on the Commonwealth, to the extent that Colonel Hutchinson was planning a

military action against Cromwell after the dissolution of the Rump Parliament (Seddon). The subject of justice when talking about Cromwell in 1664, after both Colonel Hutchinson and Cromwell were long dead, clearly shows how people's perspectives can shift over time, caused by what scholars of persuasion call the sleeper effect, which takes shape "when people are exposed to information that changes their attitudes in way they don't approve of.... Later, when their guard is down, their change of heart reveals itself" (Pinker 388). Thus Hutchinson's occasionally unsparing language toward Cromwell and Lambert should be understood as part of a polemical context in which writers conveyed their frustrations with the instability of the English government during the Interregnum years, often with Cromwell serving as the focus of blame. Blair Worden, in *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell*, argues that Cromwell "was the scapegoat upon whom all political failures and disappointments, past and present, could be blamed" (21). Hutchinson's critiques of Cromwell originated in this political context, and one should note that she tends to present his actions as part of God's divine providence rather than just blame him for all the upheaval that happened in the country. In fact, the *Memoirs* stands as a testimony that what led to the failures of the Commonwealth project was more than just Cromwell's actions. The failures could be attributed to moral decline and selfishness among many actors during the Interregnum.

Hutchinson treats Cromwell in a number of works, from a variety of points of view. In her parody of Edmund Waller's *A Panegyric to my Lord Protector* in 1655, at least ten years before she wrote the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson, like Cavendish, joins a multitude of leading Parliamentarians and Royalists in suspecting Cromwell's political moves. As mentioned above, Norbrook indicates in "Words More Than Civill" that Hutchinson and her husband were involved in positive relationships with Royalists even during the Civil War (61), and that

Colonel Hutchinson entertained and protected properties of Royalists during the Interregnum period when working as a Sheriff to Nottinghamshire after he was appointed by Cromwell's son Richard from around 1651 to 1659.

In the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson discusses what she sees as Cromwell's failures without resorting to ad hominem arguments (239). There is evidence that Cromwell and his council were bullying powerful Republican leaders like Colonel Hutchinson. The situation was further corroborated when about six of Lambert's soldiers, who were stationed in Owthorpe seeking money from the Colonel's county based on Parliament's assessments, drew swords against the Colonel when he would not comply with their demands, eventually taking "away violently from the county" what they wanted (271). This unfriendly encounter indicates again that the hostility against the Hutchinsons was at the behest of Cromwell and his council, who wished to prevail over other notable leaders of the Parliamentary party. Philip Seddon states that "(John) Lambert's expulsion of the Rump Parliament in October 1659 led Hutchinson with other supporters of the Commonwealth to prepare for armed action," a high point in distrust among Parliamentarians in the last years of the Interregnum. Tired of these fruitless attempts of the Cromwellian regime to improve the condition of the Commonwealth project, Colonel Hutchinson, just prior to the Restoration, voiced support for George Monck and Anthony Ashley Cooper to lead the country instead of John Lambert and what was left of Cromwell's Council (Seddon).

In general, the principle of fairness structures the way in which Hutchinson reports her family's tense relationships with other functionaries of the Interregnum regime. The instances recounted above regarding Cromwell, Lord Lexington, and others are typical of many in the *Memoirs* in demonstrating the frustration of the Hutchinsons with the dysfunctionality of the

system and suggesting that it would had been better to change the regime again to favor the Commonwealth project than to continue the path of absolutist and tyrannical rule of Cromwell and his council. The occasional Royalist-leaning references in the *Memoirs* function as indications of circumspection and empathy on Hutchinson's part; they may also have played a role in saving John Hutchinson's life in the long run, when he was first enlisted after the Restoration as part of the regicide for his engagement in the signing of King Charles I's death warrant.

Readers of Hutchinson can also find direct instances of empathy in *Order and Disorder*, a long religious poem of twenty cantos, all paraphrasing the first two chapters of Genesis, which notably contains the same themes present in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. First, I would like to give just a bit of background to the poem. Norbrook in his introduction to *Order and Disorder* points out that in her dedication to the poem Hutchinson takes issue with *Paradise Lost* and its free literary treatment of the topic of divine agency (Hutchinson and Norbrook xxv). Hutchinson wrote her poem as a response to Milton's practice, something that she eventually violated herself in dictating her own interpretation of events in the Bible through the practice of writing religious commentary in the marginalia. There she shows her readers what certain verses mean for her and reflects on political happenings in England at the time (Hutchinson and Norbrook xxvii- xxviii). In the text and in the marginalia, Hutchinson refers freely to political issues that showcase her position on different matters of faith and government, a practice that she rebuked Milton for in his writing of *Paradise Lost* (xxix). Hutchinson's poem reflects her position within religious culture of the Interregnum and Restoration periods. Norbrook notes that after the death of Colonel Hutchinson, Lucy Hutchinson entered a new era of literary achievement with "a strong vein of social criticism" ("Hutchinson" in *DNB*).

Among the many topics discussed in the poem, of particular importance in *Order and Disorder* is the way Hutchinson shows empathy to animals:

The wet birds flew about but no rest found,
Their food, their groves, their nests, their perches drowned
Awhile in th' air their dabbled wings they plied,
But wearied out, fell on the seas and died. (7.481-3)

Barker-Benfield indicates that civility to women in the early modern period was compared to, and coincides with, compassionate practices toward animals (232). Hutchinson in the lines above empathizes with the birds caught in the Great Flood, unable to find a place to rest as everything is covered with water, including everything they need to survive. The smoothness of the language and attention to minute details about types of birds, housing, and food trigger an emotional response in readers, creating an imaginative account of the Great Flood as a tragedy in which every individual creature has to suffer because of human error and corruption. Only Noah, God's messenger, can save a limited number of species in his ark, with the rest perishing. The expansive and particular depictions of animals in Hutchinson's poem have attracted critical attention. Mihoko Suzuki, in "Animals and the Political in Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish," analyzes the political implications of animal depictions in writings of Hutchinson and Cavendish, concluding that "their writings concerning animals level the accepted hierarchy of human over animal with significant political implications" (229). *Order and Disorder's* animal theme is related to Hutchinson's translation of Lucretius's *On the Nature of Things*, where she "engaged deeply with his thinking concerning animals—at times taking his positions even further in her translation and exploring their implications in her own epic, *Order and*

Disorder” (229). Similarly, Hutchinson, in the following lines, gives names to the animals, which is not the case in Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, where only collective names are used.

Hutchinson’s naming of types of animals gives the creatures a more concrete identity, not only to make them easier to recall but also to show that those animals have “noble faculties” (237). In contrast, Milton refers to them as simply “brutes,” demonstrating their lower cognitive status from that of men. Hutchinson writes,

But gently thither the wild creatures came:

Doves, haggards, lions, lambs, alike were tame.

The various animals all entering here

Forsook their natural fury and their fear.

Bears, tigers, panthers, fierce gulls, did not fight,

Nor with slain creatures gorged their appetite.

Safe by the greedy hounds the swift deer stayed;

The wolf and wanton kid together played;

The fox his craft forgot, the horse his speed. . . (Hutchinson and Norbrook 7.362-71, 117-118)

What is notable in the above lines is the dramatization of the harmonious relationship that existed in the ark among the different animals that are known to be predator and prey.

Hutchinson uses words indicative of a violent state that is being dissolved once the animals are in the ark: “tame,” “forsook,” “did not fight,” “gorged their appetite,” “safe,” “forgot.” All of those words suggest issues of the Civil War period of people coming to terms with their fears, fights,

and greedy appetites; they should instead forget the wrongs they have suffered and tame their tempers so that they can coexist just like the enemy animals behaving empathically on the ark. This emphasis on the interactive nature of coexistence is a notable depiction whereby, in the lines above, “The wolf and wanton kid together played,” demonstrating that even the wolf—an animal known to be vicious and lacking the patience to deal with a vulnerable child—is now tamed and acting patiently in a time of adversity. The question Hutchinson seems to be implying is, why could the English nation not learn from this religious story how to coexist, even with their seemingly irreconcilable political differences? The above scene concludes with these lines, in what Suzuki calls a “utopian example that compared favourably to actual discord among humans” (“Animals” 239):

All else such peaceful, pleasant lives enjoyed

As once they had, before man’s sin destroyed

The lovely concord of the universe

And discord sins did everywhere disperse. (7.375-385)

The prelapsarian state that animals experienced in the ark is conditioned on being in the ark, and once they disembark from the ark, they return to their previous violent state of nature (Suzuki 239); Hutchinson thus gives readers a heightened depiction of harmonious coexistence as a teachable moment. Even animals, which enjoy much reduced cognitive abilities in comparison to humans, can forsake their state of nature—practicing self-restraint, love, and play—in order to coexist during the time they are in the ark. Suzuki affirms that Hutchinson’s animal story derives from her reading of Du Bartas’s well-known *Divine Weeks* (1578, 1584), in the translation by Josuah Sylvester (the ninth edition of 1641). Du Bartas was writing his book during the Wars of

Religion in France, where he was comparing the peaceful qualities of different animals with the treachery of the human race. What connects Du Bartas, Sylvester, and Hutchinson, according to Suzuki's speculation, is that their animal polity "derives from the authors' horror concerning civil war among humans" (239). Thus, Hutchinson's depiction of a utopia of animal coexistence provides a teachable moment for readers, emphasizing civil behavior that emanates from divine command.

Another theme in the poem relevant to the civilizing process is Hutchinson's emphasis on hope in the Genesis story, giving her and her potential readers a way to see a light at the end of the tunnel during the dark times of the Restoration period. This positive outlook is a civilizing ideal in itself, leading oppressed people to exercise patience and endurance. She writes that the Biblical book of Genesis tells of

Infinite wisdom plotting with free grace,
Even by man's fall, th' advance of human race. (5.71-2)

The sentiments expressed in these lines reveal Hutchinson to be an optimistic author, one who does not employ religion in a judgmental manner, a significant development in the evolution of religion as a personal matter between the individual and God. As Sarah Ross states, "Religious and familial tropes are preeminent modes of articulating politics" (*Women, Poetry* 10); one can see something similar here in Hutchinson's reliance on biblical content to comment on the political strife of her time and in opposition posit an environment of empathy and civility.

The same theme is underlined again in another transitional passage in the poem where Hutchinson writes,

When midnight is the blackest, day then breaks;

But then the infant dawning's pleasant streaks,
Charging through night's host, seem again put out
In the tumultuous flying shadows' rout,
Often pierced through with the encroaching light
While shades and it maintain a doubtful fight.
Such was Man's fallen state when, at the worst,
Like day appeared blessed promise first. (6.1-9)

In the above lines, Hutchinson foregrounds one of the civilizing ideals: having a positive outlook even in the darkest of times in order to cope with the distressing situations of the Restoration era. After the Restoration, injustice against the Parliamentarians began anew, and Hutchinson reminds readers of the light in the end of the tunnel—they should retain hope and not resort to despairing conclusions because God's wisdom is beyond humans' grasp. The references here of shadows and light suggest the fight between republicans and Royalists, characterizing it as a fight for the heart and soul of the nation. It was true that Royalists won the actual battle, but they could not control God's design, who after expelling Adam and Eve from the heavens gave them the appropriate means to sustain life. Invoking celestial powers in the face of uncertain times has long been a rhetorical mechanism to center one's worldview. The Restoration thus provided Puritans with the opportunity to reflect on what had happened to them in their long-standing conflict with Royalists. The "host" in the poem seems to be hiding away from light but then is reminded not to give up on the light as divine power can change doomed fates into ones that are saved by God's grace. That is, the negative outcomes of the Civil Wars can be seen as a chance

for the people of England, especially Parliamentarians, to purify their sins and be hopeful for the future. It is as if Hutchinson cannot bring herself to make a judgement on what is going on in the Restoration era; rather she prefers to leave it to God's discretion as ties of kinship and friendship with Royalist-leaning relatives prevent her from forming a completely hostile interpretation of recent events; she attempts to dissolve the differences that exist between the two parties as mere situations in the hands of the Creator. The passage illustrates Keith Thomas's point that the two parties of the English Civil War "shared a common culture and were often linked by ties of kinship and friendship" (107). Hutchinson's strategy in these lines is to encourage readers to form a peaceful state of mind when coping with trouble beyond one's reach. This imaginary space allows Puritan readers to anticipate better days.

My final examples of empathy in Hutchinson's work come from her *Elegies*, twenty-three poems that Norbrook brought to wider attention in his article entitled "Lucy Hutchinson's 'Elegies' and the Situation of the Republican Woman Writer." Norbrook notes that the poetry of the *Elegies* is much more direct and personal than her other verse (Norbrook, "Elegies" 469). In Elegy 4, Hutchinson presents an account of her husband as both a magnificent, stout soldier, and honorable religious man. She says,

Shuch Armes he had but his defence

Firme Courage was and Innocence

Shuch killing weapons too he wore

Not to destroy but to restore;

Which done he threw y^e Sword Away

Embraceing Those who prostrate Lay. (4.4–10)

Among the most wanted qualities in a fighter is “Courage,” which enables a soldier to remain in the battlefield and not flee out of fear of getting hurt by the enemy. However, linking courage with “Innocence” during a conventional war scenario is more than just a coincidental word choice. That is, it is clear that Hutchinson is re-understanding the war scene by including the idea of innocent actions on her husband’s part that contrast sharply with the calculating moves of other leaders on the Parliamentarian side such as Cromwell and Lambert. Her word choice aims to reestablish trust, as her husband, who was among the few who were involved in running the country during the Interregnum, acted out of “Innocence” during a violent conflict. Although showing mercy for vanquished foes is a heroic trope, the lines can be understood as instances of empathy rather than just heroic actions towards defeated enemies. When he “threw y^e sword away,” Colonel Hutchinson not only made peace with his enemies but actively “embraced” them, the word “Embraceing” indicative of fellow feeling toward friends rather than just heroism over a defeated foe.

Similarly, in Elegy 5, Hutchinson writes of her husband,

When by Gods blessing on his Courage he

Hightned defence to perfect Victorie

He flung his sword & with [it] hate away

Releiuing vanquisht foes whoe prostrate lay

Brauely he Armd more brauely he lay armes downe

Thinking it more to win yⁿ to weare a Crowne. (5.55–60)

Hutchinson in these lines shows that her husband's arms were used in a noble way—namely, to defend himself rather than just act as a violent perpetrator in the war. Granted, this position is a common one to take among those siding with the Parliamentary forces, but it still gives a reason as to why arms have to be used in the first place (Walters 218). Being involved in the military, as Norbrook comments, was for Colonel Hutchinson a regrettable necessity (qtd in Richards 69). Furthermore, the Colonel shows mercy to those enemies who “prostrate Lay,” language that is repeated twice in these poems. The Colonel's arms are put down once chance happens to stop the bloodshed, allowing for peace and justice to take effect.

Hutchinson's use of the word “bravely” emphasizes her husband's personal qualities rather than his noble birth or class, and she ascribes his empathic actions to civility. The association of moral qualities, rather than birth or class, with civil conduct is an important development that takes place over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jonathan Barry claims that in the seventeenth century more and more people started to associate civility with “schooling and possession of specific cultural attributes” rather than just inheriting it as part of the nobility (196). To illustrate, Barry states that “Like the political right of representation, civility ceased to be defined by continuity over time and became defined as meeting a contemporary standard of performance” (196). Word meanings obviously do change from one age to another; for example, Barker-Benfield states that in the seventeenth century, “honor” changed meaning from “title of rank” to “goodness of character.” This change in vocabulary reflects a change in sensibility, in which honor killings and other forms of violence such as duels diminished in frequency. This transformation can be attributed in part to the Protestant Reformation and the advent of humanist education (Barker-Benfield 289). Hutchinson, as part of the gentry, participates in this change in sensibility in the way she relates

her husband's actions, as resulting from nobility of character. Hutchinson drew upon the emerging structures of feeling identified above by Thomas, Barry, and Barker-Benfield, cultivating the idea of empathy in order to reach more readers in her own time, and eventually those of the future. This future-oriented thinking enabled Hutchinson's *Memoirs* to become a familiar text in the early nineteenth century when it was first released, according to Looser (28). The book is indicative of not only the Colonel's character, but of the author herself. As Sarah Mendelson argues, "among the elite, women's civility was most often associated with generalized rules of manners and deportment rather than with specifically feminine attributes" (Mendelson, "The Civility of Women" 112).

Civil practices are essential to empathy as they lead the way for a nobler society driven by empathic connection. As Pinker has argued, emotions are contagious by nature: "When you're laughing, the whole world laughs with you" (575). We see such empathic moments frequently in Hutchinson's text. Patricia Patrick notes how Hutchinson was adamant about treating wounded Royalists, even when Captain Laurence Palmer vociferously objected to her "favour to the enemies of God" (Hutchinson and Keeble 129). Hutchinson responded by saying that she was performing "her duty in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies" (qtd. in Patrick 351). This issue took place at a time when other Parliamentarians were unjust and cruel to the defeated Royalists (Hutchinson and Keeble 129). Sympathizing with the victims of the war by helping them heal was an altruistic act to alleviate their suffering, regardless of social class or ideological affiliation of those affected. The motivation behind such acts was to promote peace and tranquility, in which the empathizer does not benefit herself. Pinker argues that such acts of empathy are necessary even in instances when retribution feels justified (584).

It should be noted that Hutchinson on occasion wrote on some topics and influential persons in a dark tone, with diminished capacity for empathy. For example, Sharon Achinstein suggests in *Hutchinson and the Poetics of Darkness* that Hutchinson's *Elegies* contain a "dark Restoration vision," where "the world is turned upside down and there is an interlacing of a grief over civil war atrocity that she would rather keep private, and protest against the relentless theatre that has become the public sphere" (70). Achinstein argues that in "To the Sun Shining into her Chamber," Hutchinson suggests that "the true sources of inspiration is hidden from sight; that the poet himself barred from seeing is a sign of his elevation" (71), which is a similar position to that of other defeated republican intellectuals of the time such as John Milton in his great invocation to light in Book Three of *Paradise Lost*. Thus, Hutchinson chooses in the elegy to not let the sun enter her private life and stay assured of God's vengeance against the oppressors (71). Achinstein concludes that "puritanism and melancholy are old partners in the popular imagination; and yet in Hutchinson's *Elegies* we can see that a stubborn resistance to joy is not merely a psychic affect but also conveys political meaning, as she sets her melancholy against the oppressors" (73). Such moments demonstrate that Hutchinson is a complex figure, not a saint—we find many moments of empathy in her texts that form part of the larger civilizing process of the seventeenth century, but these are interspersed with less generous sentiments as well.

As with the *Elegies*, Hutchinson's *Memoirs* contain similar moments seemingly lacking in empathy, as when she depicts moments of frustration with historical figures such as Oliver Cromwell, a point discussed above. The instances in the *Memoirs* that express hostility can be understood as human responses to selfish behavior widely acknowledged to be beyond the normal. For instance, Hutchinson remarks condescendingly on Cromwell's family, noting that

“his wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape” (Hutchinson and Keeble 256). Furthermore, Hutchinson says of Cromwell’s children that his daughter Elizabeth and son Henry “were two debauched, ungodly Cavaliers. His son Richard was a peasant in his nature.” She also attacks other leaders of the Protectorate regime including Cromwell’s favorite, John Lambert, as well as the Earl of Warwick and Lord Falconbridge, whom she describes as “pitiful slaves” (257). Still, in these instances, Hutchinson reveals a common prejudice that many English republicans had against these figures as they were seen to have failed the revolution and caused the demise of the republican commonwealth. Thus, as part of narrating the history of the Interregnum in the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson took pains to describe for her readers the historical actors responsible for ending the republic. Her positions might not have always been empathic, but, in her eyes, they needed to be said in order to create a trustworthy account of mid-seventeenth-century violence and its aftermath in the Restoration period.

One finds similar sentiments in Hutchinson’s descriptions of those who quickly changed positions after Charles II returned from exile. For instance, when the King first passed through London after many years away, he “saw nothing but prostrates, expressing all the love that could make a prince happy” (278). Hutchinson’s reaction to the King’s return is focused on mocking those who are hypocritical, as she remarks, “it was a wonder in that day to see the mutability of some, and the hypocrisy of others, and the servile flattery of all” (278). The words “mutable,” “hypocrisy,” “falsehood,” and “flattery,” are constant words in her *Memoirs* that indicate anger targeting those who were on the Parliamentary side but then disavowed the practices of the defeated Commonwealth. Hutchinson regards these people as having a moral deficit of some kind. She writes,

Monck, like his better genius, conducted [the King], and was adored like one that had brought all the glory and felicity of mankind home with this prince. The officers of the army had made themselves as fine as the courtiers, and everyone hoped in this change to change their conditions, and disowned all things they had before adored. And every ballad singer sung up and down the streets ribald rhymes made in reproach of the late commonwealth and of all those worthies that therein endeavoured the people's freedom and happiness. (278)

Hutchinson is harsh in her critique of those who changed their allegiance for material benefit and forsook improvement of the general condition of the country. Starting with General George Monck, who invited the King back to the country, to every notable soldier in the army, Hutchinson views them as focused on their selfish interests rather than what was good for the public. In critiquing the weaknesses of her former compatriots, Hutchinson is unable to extend the same empathy I have noted in so many other examples. Again, her perspective is a human one, and she was not always successful in extending empathy toward those she felt had betrayed her.

Nonetheless, during times of adversity the Hutchinsons always valued self-restraint and composure in the face of humiliation. For example, Colonel Hutchinson was treated unkindly while in prison by the Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. John Robinson. He, in turn, received this inhumane treatment "with disdain, and laughed at, but lost not anger on them" (317). Throughout his discussions with Mr. Robinson, the Colonel's statements were full of composure and calmness in comparison with the irrational and highly emotional statements of Mr. Robinson, who is shown in Hutchinson's account to have frequently lost his temper. The example

strengthens our impression of both Hutchinsons as persons who strove to understand the perspective of others, even when they found themselves in deep conflict with them.

Hutchinson not only wrote about the political and military struggles of the Civil Wars, but also about general societal issues, including protection of the disadvantaged, an important theme in the civilizing process. Mendelson and Crawford argue that women writers found themselves facing changing conditions due to “exposure to new theories of citizenship and natural rights. Like their male counterparts, women also learned about political realities from the experience of disillusion with the succession of governmental authorities who failed to address their concerns” (393). Furthermore, Norbrook says of Hutchinson that “There is a strong vein of social criticism in her later writings, and she supported a Harringtonian agrarian law to limit landed wealth” (DNB). In her commonplace book, Hutchinson wrote a longer poem called “A ballad upon the lamentable death of Anne Greene and Gilbert Samson, executed at Tyburn the 2nd day of January for having been taken in the act of adultery,” where she says,

What a pitiful age is this

What cruelty reigns in this town

To hang a poor silly wench

For using a thing of her own

...Is not my body my own

Why may I not use it then

This is not a law made by god

But by the vile acts of men

Have you followed the sacred rule

I need not have made this moan

For where is that Parliament man

That was worthy to throw the first stone?

Oh where was Harry Martin

And where was my little lord Grey

Oh where was the good early of Pembroke

And noble Sir Harry Mildmay

Sure they did not pass this act

Nor thus did their country betray

For such trivial faults as these

To cast our poor lives away

Come gentle lover of mine

That die with me for this fact

Let us never lament to part with such slaves

As rule by this shameful act. (Hutchinson, qtd. in Hughes 137-8)

In the above lines Hutchinson is objecting to the Adultery Act of 1650 in which the Rump Parliament enforced sexual morality based on church teachings. The law was controversial as it punished married women and men with the death penalty if they were suspected of committing

adultery. Hutchinson viewed the law as unfair, as those prosecuted by it were usually commoners who had no one of power to back them up, unlike individuals of high social status who acted as they pleased. Hutchinson contrasts the poor couple with influential individuals such as Sir Harry Mildmay, whose offenses were dismissed when he was accused. A consistent standard in the application of the law is an essential ingredient in the civilizing process, and the English were pioneers in fashioning this common ground for justice in the seventeenth century. Elliot Visconsi argues that “for figures like Milton, Neville, and Dryden, the literary cultivation of an equitable imagination in the English people is a halting way forward from the bitter traumas of the previous decades” (4). Visconsi stresses that “Poesis, or serious literature, had long been understood as a school of equity, as an instrument designed to fashioning a gentleman, and an instrument for the cultivation of virtuous citizens” (4). Ann Hughes cites other manuscripts from the period that parodied the sentence against Greene and Samson, highlighting a collective consciousness that rejected unjust treatment of individuals (138). Hutchinson’s lines mention the actual names of individuals, raising our awareness of and empathy for the accused and siding with them against politically privileged elites. More importantly, the lines suggest that Hutchinson is willing to publicize her indignation at corporal punishment, especially if the laws are unequally applied. Keith Thomas notes that in England during the early modern period “cruelty was regularly denounced as ‘inhuman,’ because it was incompatible with humanity; ‘unnatural,’ because it was against natural law; ‘effeminate’.... and ‘unchristian’”(110). This sensitivity to cruelty enabled Hutchinson to engage readers in imagining the situation rather than just simply condemning the injustice. Through irony in comparing the poor who received the penalty to dignitaries who were excused due to their higher social status, Hutchinson ridicules an unjust system.

Similarly, the rising sense of human rights and justice is strongly present in *Order and Disorder*. Hutchinson below narrates the biblical story of the Flood in harsh language, but the negativity is leveled at all sinners, regardless of social class or political affiliation. Thus, Hutchinson foregrounds a sense of commonality in the way in which God's judgments are to be understood. She writes,

Down every channel ran a mixed flood,

With streams of royal and of common blood.

The princes were with vulgar prisoners chained,

Lords with their slaves one servitude sustained. (15.197-200)

The main concern here is that the princes are reduced to the commoners and made equal to them. Though it might seem as an attack on aristocracy, the above lines suggest that justice once enacted should not be applied differently across social class. This strong desire to make classes equal and potentially reduce the amount of prejudice in society's elite reverberates on many occasions in Hutchinson's writing, showing a commitment to moral values and to empathy. That is, justice in this context includes all types of social class, with Hutchinson highlighting the importance of unbiased divine judgement when considering faulty human actions. In order for justice to serve its purpose, it has to be equally enacted across social classes. The human rights revolution evolved in the Enlightenment period and early nineteenth century, when barbaric acts of violence including the enslavement of others came under steady critique. The genesis of these civilizing ideals emanates from such writings that showcase the common nature of human existence and how the results of human actions are to be judged in a similar light.

Hutchinson deploys empathy in different ways in her writings to resist residual elements of medieval honor culture and other war-related themes, including the glorification of winning at all costs and the manly virtues that lead to bloodshed (Pinker 686–87). Early modern women writers such as Hutchinson can be understood within the framework of a larger civilizing process that allows for an emphasis on civil discourse rather than violence. While Hutchinson wrote the *Memoirs* to clear her husband's name in the Interregnum, she also offers a record of empathy beyond political affiliation and the wounds of war.

Hutchinson is participating in a larger shift of thinking that began in the seventeenth century and would come to flourish in the age of "sensibility" of the 1700s. As Barker-Benfield notes, "The culture of sensibility wished to reform men, to make them conscious of women's minds, wishes, interests, and feelings, in sum, their sensibility" (249). Toward the end of the *Memoirs*, when her husband was in prison and she was appealing on his behalf in the court, Hutchinson states how her discourse enabled her to negotiate a deal for her husband to be released from his jailor at the Tower of London (Hutchinson and Keeble 307–10). Hutchinson's attempts at using the power of language and rhetoric to appeal to Royalists in order to release her husband entail a larger project than what Hutchinson first set out to do when she first started working on the *Memoirs*. Through narrating the various occasions that lead to the Civil War, and its aftermath, Hutchinson uses cognitive empathic constructions to not only color her husband's actions, but also to invalidate more generally any actions devoid of empathy. Thus, cognitive empathy becomes one of the main themes in the *Memoir*. The evidence discussed in this chapter paints a portrait of a woman writer whose main objective may initially seem to be to highlight her husband's Englishness and patriotism but expands to include emergent Enlightenment values of empathy and justice.

As this chapter discusses, Hutchinson and her prolific writing stand as a testament to empathy and the civilizing process in general. She employed her literary skills to vindicate her husband's actions during and after the Civil War period, yet at the same time extended kindness toward enemies and others who did not agree with her and her husband. Through these examples, Hutchinson emerges as a great proponent of empathy who challenged the partisanship of the Civil War period and made it possible to imagine a society where elites think of others and establish peace through empathic actions. The Civil War often led to divisions within a single family, as in Hutchinson's case, and one can see in her writing an effort to understand the point of view even of her relatives she was politically alienated from. Critics such as Anna Bryson have observed that seventeenth-century elites struggled to "find or forge new cultural forms, self-images, and codes of conduct which preserved their identity and upheld their legitimacy in a changing world" (24). Still, Hutchinson is one of the few educated women writers in England who endeavored to create a national sensibility of fellow-feeling, and justice for all. A key component in the development of empathy in the period is an appreciation for moderation. Although moderation can sometimes provide cover for hidden forms of coercion, it led to genuine advances in the civilizing process, "a desire for peace over conflict, an acceptance of compromise over ideology, a belief that virtue lay in the middle way between extremes" (Shagan 20).

Hutchinson's writings can thus be understood within the historical context of emergent human rights, especially regarding freedom of religious conscience. Pinker argues that during the emerging Enlightenment in the seventeenth century, two humanist forces helped abate the violent and sadistic tendencies of previous eras. The first one is "intellectual," that is, moral advancement that employs reason and real evidence to make assertions about other human

beings; the other is “an increased valuation of human life and happiness” (139), signaling “a shift from valuing souls to valuing lives” (143). In this early stirring of the Enlightenment, material developments such as the growth of print culture and commerce complemented theoretical advances made by intellectuals such as Thomas Hobbes on the role of the state in inhibiting aggression. I will now discuss Hutchinson’s contemporary Margaret Cavendish and how her writings on the English Civil War may also be understood against this larger Enlightenment background.

Chapter III: Margaret Cavendish: Empathic Constructions and Civilizing Ideals

Many of Hutchinson's literary choices followed ones that Margaret Cavendish had made before her. Norbrook argues in "Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson: Identity, Ideology and Politics" that these two authors must have known each other and read each other's work, with Colonel Hutchinson becoming a Parliamentary leader in the North of England after the Cavendishes migrated to Antwerp after the defeat of Royalists of 1648 (186). But Cavendish has long been a bigger presence in studies of women writers of the early modern period thanks to postmodernists who found in her writings many points of affinity to their critical paradigm (181-182). Margaret Cavendish achieved fame during her lifetime through publishing original literary works in public outlets, a move that was unusual for women writers of the time, and even more notable considering the literary genres with which she engaged. The ability to publish as a woman writer during a time when society still discouraged female participation in public life shows Cavendish's difference from a writer such as Hutchinson, who never tried publishing her works. Norbrook and Cavendish's chief biographer, Katie Whitaker, believe that Hutchinson must have read Cavendish's published works including Cavendish's *The Life*, which is one of the first published autobiographies of women writers at the time. This work by Cavendish likely motivated Hutchinson's later writing of the *Memoirs* (Whitaker 290). In many of her published works, Cavendish was actively involved, I argue, in creating empathic constructions that not only unravel the extreme partisanship of the period in order to reach a readership beyond Royalists, but also to bear in mind the Parliamentarians' perspective. In addition to foregrounding cognitive empathic constructions, Cavendish's writings emphasize civilizing themes that clearly challenge societal prejudices regardless of who is affected, extending her language to highlight animal cruelty and unjustified violence in general.

Through her investment in printing her works to the English public, Cavendish comes out as an exceptionally important agent of change in society, devising different ways of constructing a collective sensibility for her readers. In one of the poems entitled “Of the Death and Burial of Truth” in *Poems and Fancies*, Cavendish says,

First useful arts, the life of man to ease,
Then those of pleasure, which the mind do please;
Distinguishments from this to that to show,
What’s best to take or leave, which way to go;
Experiments to shun, or to apply,
Either for health or peace, or what to fly;
And sympathies, which do the world unite,
Which else antipathies would ruin quite. (Newcastle and Blake 9-16)

Cavendish, unlike Hutchinson, is much more direct about acknowledging the essential role that sympathy plays in reforming the public. A struggle to create sympathies to unite an ever-increasing reading public, I argue, distinguishes most of the themes that Cavendish expressed in her written repertoire. She provides a sense of the collective that allowed the readership of her time, both Royalists and Parliamentarians, to engage in perspective-taking without dogmatic attachment to a particular ideal unless it is uniformly agreed to.

In the time between 1660 and 1750, at the beginning of which Cavendish wrote and published her major works, a shift took place in which women writers moved “from women’s domestic, devotional, and coterie poetic practice to ‘the emergence of the professional woman poet within an expansive print culture,’ with women writers immediately following [Katherine]

Philips and engaging ‘at every level in the politics of their time,’” according to Sarah Ross who cites Prescott and Shuttleton in tracing the development of early modern women’s literary endeavors (*Women, Poetry* 3). Cavendish was a prominent figure in this “expansive print culture,” which was in turn a key aspect of the civilizing project. I would like to argue that Cavendish presents compelling evidence of a civilizing initiative aimed at subverting society’s prejudices against the powerless. Cavendish skillfully creates strategic empathizing techniques that challenge readers’ perspectives in the political debates that had been afflicted by Civil War partisanship. Additionally, she expresses other tragic themes touching human life in general, ones that almost always manifest themselves in scenarios involving the suffering of vulnerable agents of society such as women, the common folk, the destitute, and elements of nature such as animals and vegetation. It is thanks to her previous experiences that Cavendish excelled in communicating such noble ideals during the tumultuous period of the English Civil War.

After fleeing England to be a lady in waiting at Queen Henrietta Maria’s court in France, Margaret Cavendish, née Lucas, met William Cavendish, who became her husband and companion until her death in 1674. Her mother and two brothers died while she was in exile, due in large part to the conditions of the Civil War period. Her brother Charles Lucas was executed by General Fairfax. He became a martyr after uttering the famous statement before dying, “See, I am ready for you; and now, rebels do your worst” (qtd. in Whitaker 108). These personal hardships perhaps made Margaret Cavendish more assertive to leave a legacy as an author behind her, one that demonstrated creativity and promoted reform, rather than simply enjoy her comfortable life circumstances, which was the norm at the time. She chose, instead, to focus on creating a female public persona that defies unjust social and cultural norms and challenges partisan ways of thinking about the world by utilizing empathic techniques. Cavendish was

influenced by her social connections to prominent intellectuals of her time to think seriously about the critical implications of such thinking.

William Cavendish greatly influenced Margaret—he is known to have been a poet and a playwright in his own right, and with his marriage to Margaret, they collaborated in creating literary works together. Margaret’s works include plays, poems, philosophical writings, utopian fictions, and many novellas. Through her husband’s connections, Cavendish was able to talk to famous scholars, and was further taught by Charles Cavendish, her husband’s younger brother. Katie Whitaker writes, “While Sir Charles provided a scholarly input of academic knowledge, William’s philosophical teaching of Margaret was more personal, derived from his own ‘natural inspection and judicious observation of things’” (119).

In addition to intellectual influences, there were deep influences on her from the places she inhabited. When Cavendish lived in Antwerp, Brandie Siegfried stresses that the cognitive and social benefits on her work were very apparent. References to Antwerp can be found in *Natures Pictures*, *The Worlds Olio*, and *Sociable Letters*, all of which were mostly written in exile. Even in later works, Antwerp’s influence can be felt. Siegfried mentions how in *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High, and Puissant William Cavendish* (1667) Cavendish “repeatedly paints the city in glowing colors: merchants courteously extend credit, neighbors are engaging and kind, and citizens in general are ‘the civilest and best behaved people I ever saw’” (185). One of the prime benefits of living in Antwerp was the development of a tolerance for other religions.

As a publishing center, Antwerp provided Cavendish access to institutions such as the Plantin Press and exposure to materials that support different political and religious perspectives from the ones she was used to in England. Whitaker says, “With twelve printing presses and an

exceptional collection of over a hundred typefaces—including Hebrew, Syriac and musical notations—the Plantin house turned out books renowned for their neatness and accuracy, and attracted an international community of authors and book buyers to the city” (111). Thus, Cavendish’s literary coterie was a diverse one, including people from throughout Europe, regardless of politics or religious background. This experience with the publishing world of Antwerp might explain why Cavendish was seen as a celebrity in England after the Restoration, during which time she spent large sums on the publication of her own works, even when her husband was not in the best economic position to support such endeavors. We have a sense of an author determined to spread an imaginative world of coexistence, deploying empathic constructions to devise a more tolerant society modeled in part on Antwerp.

Antwerp was an ideal location for thinkers in need of a tolerant environment. Inhabitants of Antwerp, including women, commonly spoke three, four or as many as seven languages; the city was also known for its hospitality to foreigners. The beauty of the city was remarkable, exceeding that of Italy’s Florence, some have argued (Whitaker 110). More importantly, the multicultural atmosphere “actively encouraged the work of intelligent and artistic women” (121). Cavendish found herself in a civilized milieu with international exchange via “sea trade and overland communion with empires stretching from North Africa to Asia. . . [w]ith over twenty-six market places, a mercantile community boasting an unusually high number of female vendors, and a thriving population of ex-patriots from around the world” (Siegfried and Sarasohn 185). Keith Thomas commonly attributes growth in civility with expansion of trade, as globally diverse products become available through the market. It is no wonder Cavendish was greatly influenced by such an intellectually inspiring place, which demonstrated to her an alternative universe that she had not encountered up until that point in her life. These civilizing forces

enabled Cavendish, unlike many other writers of the period, to draw from a broad array of highly intellectual experiences. She then combined this intellectual background with her familiarity with the hardships of war to create literary works filled with empathic constructions that imagine a more peaceful, civilized coexistence among the different social factions in her society.

Some of the clearest instances of empathy are to be found in *Sociable Letters*, which touches on topics important for improving Cavendish's own society, though the themes addressed in these letters are myriad in scope and emphasis. In the *Letters*, Cavendish insists on "questioning, condemning, approving, laughing, moralizing, issuing judgements on etiquette and taste" (Whitaker 222). As a woman writer, she was able to expand on a multitude of topics that remained beyond the reach of her male contemporaries, as "women's supposed humoral characteristics—their slippery, liminal qualities—rendered them useful when normal rules of male political negotiations did not apply" (Mendelson and Crawford 413). Cavendish provided an insider look into themes related to women—such as difficulties during pregnancy and delivery, lack of education, dysfunctional husbands, and poverty due to death of male relatives—and society in a way that her contemporaries did not envisage. Cavendish chose to take an active role in society by communicating publicly her perspectives through the press.

Cavendish used satire to inspire societal change. Whitaker maintains that "male or female, old or young, scholarly or ignorant, aristocratic or plebeian, Anglican or Puritan, no one escaped Margaret's satire," which Cavendish used to correct society's errors and vices (223-4), themes that existed in the writings of Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. Cavendish writes in the preface to the readers in *Sociable Letters*,

My Wit Indites for Profitable Use,

That Men may see their Follies and their Crimes,

Their Errours, Vanities and Idle Times,

Not that I think they do not Know them well,

But lest they should Forget, I'm Bold to tell. (Newcastle and Whitaker 224, lines 10-14)

For Cavendish, the function of satire is one that targets “the general vices, follies and errors of mankind” (Whitaker 224), ones that a person can correct, creating a mechanism that aims at profiting readers with lessons important to the constitution of a civilized state. This emphasis on general vices was essential for Cavendish’s writing career and boosted her readership during her life and afterwards. Mendelson and Crawford stress that “While most women chose one side or the other, a significant number opted for a neutral or anti-war stance” (402). Cavendish clearly, I argue, opted for the latter taking an anti-war stance.

With regard to the theme of empathy in the *Sociable Letters*, I find *Letter 16* an example of political and religious empathic construction where Cavendish offers compelling language to a friend who differs from her own political and religious background. She says,

I Hope I have given the Lady D.A. no cause to believe I am not her Friend; for though she hath been of Ps. And I of Ks. Side, yet I know no reason why that should make a difference betwixt us, as to make us Enemies, no more than cases of Conscience in Religion, for one may be my very good friend, and yet not of my opinion ... (Newcastle and Fitzmaurice 60)

The empathy that Cavendish shows to the friend referred to, who apparently has a Parliamentary ideology or sympathy, forefronts the need for human cooperation across partisan

ideological boundaries. Cavendish's opinion that political and religious partisanship should not reduce people's personal freedoms was a significant advancement in the way people imagined their political and religious allegiances at the time. She compared politics with matters of religion, which is personal between the individual and God and should only be judged by God himself. Therefore, religion-propelled violence is absurd, unworthy of national discussion let alone action. That the Royalist Cavendish took on this position regarding Republican Puritans demonstrates her leanings toward empathy; her fictionalizing of the moment demonstrates the pacifism and religious tolerance Pinker finds repeatedly in the period (590).

In *Letter 120*, Cavendish manages to oppose violence in general without pointing fingers. She states, "for in a Civil War, Brothers against Brothers, Fathers against Sons, and Sons against Fathers, become Enemies, and Spill each others Blood, Triumphant on their Graves" (Newcastle and Fitzmaurice 174). Similarly, in her poem "Doubt's Assault, and Hope's Defense," Cavendish writes, "And Death was th'only conqueror of all" (Cavendish and Blake). As in the previous letter, the loss from war is inflicted on everybody, not just her own side. In "Doubt's Assault" the soldiers and the leaders of the different groups are mentioned in an unbiased way to create an atmosphere of objectivity that inspires acceptance of Cavendish's message, showing that the war as a whole results from mismanagement of the country's affairs rather than from the actions of one side or the other. In a similar way, Hutchinson, as mentioned in chapter 2, explains in many instances that the national conflict stems from a corrupted court and a King who did not know how to manage the country as did his previous ancestors, creating the seed of discord. Both Cavendish and Hutchinson avoid accusing unprivileged people who are just fighting from a supposedly honest motive to support one side over the other; thus those injured

or killed in the span of the war are a loss to their families regardless of where they stand politically.

Another important aspect of living in the early modern period is religion. As part of her daily interactions, Cavendish finds many points of departure through which a critique of current religious practices could be launched as part of her reformation of civility. Religious themes appear in *The Blazing World* as Cavendish devotes pages to philosophizing about the Jewish Cabbala, but with a civilizing mission—favorable coexistence with Jewish people at the time through her explanation of the Cabbala (also Kabbalah). Cavendish writes,

The Empress asked further, whether the Cabbala was a work only of natural reason, or of divine inspiration? Many, said the Spirits, that write Cabbala's pretend to divine inspirations; but whether it be so, or not, it does not belong to us to judge; only this we must needs confess, that it is a work which requires a good wit, and a strong faith, but not natural reason; for though natural reason is most persuasive, yet faith is the chief that is required in Cabbalists. But, said the Empress, is there not divine reason, as well as there is natural? No, answered they: for there is but a divine faith, and as for reason it is only natural; but you mortals are so puzzled about this divine faith, and natural reason, that you do not know well how to distinguish them, but confound them both, which is the cause you have so many divine philosophers who make a gallimaufry both of reason and faith. (Newcastle and Lilley 167)

In the above passage Cavendish points out the difficulty of understanding Cabbalism from a neutral perspective, showing that Cabbalism is something that is hard to explain. But what made Cavendish expand on a topic like this? Mendelson states that Cavendish's "association with Jews

and Judaism was due to her close friendship with the Crypto-Jewish Duarte sisters” (qtd. in Siegfried and Sarasohn 172), who were wealthy and influential neighbors during her stay in Antwerp during the 1650s (Whitaker 121). Mendelson states that “By the mid-seventeenth century, Christian attitudes to Jews and Judaism had improved sufficiently in some quarters to allow Cavendish’s Judaic interests and interfaith friendships to flourish” (qtd. in Siegfried and Sarasohn 172). Through interacting with the Duarte sisters, Cavendish doubtlessly came to better understand this important Jewish tradition of the Cabbala. Yet Cavendish also reflects on the intellectual difficulties of properly attributing what others believe. This attention to detail when discussing views of others and objectively presenting their thoughts on the Cabbala is a precursor to the civil practices of debating and argumentation in western culture. In fact, since Cavendish uses moral didacticism, which was taught to be essential to great literature (Whitaker 120), she is more likely than not, inculcating a civil practice of questioning.

To clarify this topic to a local audience, Cavendish insists that the Cabbala is a metaphysical construct, just like Christian mysticism, which cannot be explained by natural reasoning. Rather, it is governed by divine interventions, only known to God. In *The Blazing World*, Cavendish asks,

But, said she again, is it a sin then not to know or understand the Cabbala? God is so merciful, answered they, and so just, that he will never damn the ignorant, and save only those that pretend to know him and his secret counsels by their Cabbalas but he loves those that adore and worship him with fear and reverence, and with a pure heart. She asked further, which of these two Cabbalas was most approved, the natural, or theological? The theological, answered they, is mystical, and belongs only to faith; but the natural belongs to reason. (Newcastle and Lilley 168)

Cavendish's goal in discussing the Cabbala seems to be to demonstrate an empathic and inquisitive Christian perspective toward this body of writings, appreciating its quality of mysticism and how this line of thinking might offer an alternative means for perceiving the world of others. Cavendish most likely saw the Cabbala as a parallel to her own unorthodox way of viewing the world, a kind of appropriation of a faith tradition for her own professional ends. But her experience with the Duarte sisters, as documented by Whitaker and Mendelson, suggests genuine empathy for those practicing this arcane form of Jewish tradition, a very rare form of worship during the seventeenth century.

In tandem with her sympathetic portrayal of the mysticism of the Cabbala, Cavendish was vehemently critical of religious expression of the seventeenth century that was opposite in tone, the fairly common fire-and-brimstone discourse of intolerance one finds during the Civil Wars. In "Of the Death and Burial of Truth," from *Poems and Fancies*, Cavendish castigates those clergy who played a negative role by increasing discord in English society, leading to the violence of the Civil Wars. Cavendish's anger is directed toward the use of pious disguise to lure unsuspecting worshipers into extreme partisanship, which she sees as a main reason for the conflict:

Instead of peace, the priests shall discords preach,
And high rebellion in their doctrines teach.
Then shall men learn the laws for to explain,
Which learning only serves for lawyers' gain.
For they do make and spread them like a net,
To catch in clients, and their money get.
The laws, which wise men made to keep the peace,

Serve only now for quarrels to increase.
All those that sit in Honor's stately throne
Are counterfeits, not any perfect known.
They put on vizards of an honest face,
But all their acts unworthy are, and base. (Newcastle and Blake 67-78)

Cavendish realizes that preaching should give rise to a harmonious state of living rather than aggravated partisanship. Smith stresses that Cavendish recognizes that “it is not important to which faith another person belongs and no entity or individual should attempt to compel another's belief” (17), and that it is nature that allows for different religions or different strands of faith to exist. The preachers' appearance of honor and honesty belies the wretched consequences of their actions in society. Cavendish holds them partially responsible for breeding a corrupt system where laws are manipulated to serve materialistic, conflict-ridden goals rather than function to preserve justice. Thus, she affirms that even “if they sit in a stately throne,” those preachers are just “unworthy” and “base” because they violate an important ingredient of a civilized state—the message of empathy and perspective-taking that biblical teachings uniformly impart, a condition that usually goes missing during a war. Similarly, Hutchinson was not a fan of preaching of this sort. In Norbrook's article “Words More than Civil,” he indicates how almost every time Hutchinson discusses preachers she employs derogatory language (70).

In reflecting on the violence unleashed by the Civil Wars, Cavendish writes with profound empathy for the many victims of the conflict. Cavendish gives her own theory of what drives violence. In *Letter 120*, she skillfully crafts an analogy between violence and diseases, writing that “Fever of Fury, or a Furious Fever of Cruelty ... the Plague of the Mind...where many Errours gather into a Mass, or Tumor of Evil, which Rises into Blisters of Discontents, and

then breaks out into Civil War” (Newcastle and Fitzmaurice 174). That is, she describes violence in medical terms like a tumor that develops blisters that eventually burst, leading to conflict. She appeals to readers’ disgust at the most awful diseases of the time to strengthen her appeal to pathos. Ultimately, Cavendish’s view of the situation of an individual who engages in violence is similar to Hoffman’s idea of “hot cognition,” where the emotional side of the brain takes over, leading a human being into acts of irrationality.

In “The Ruin of this Island,” Cavendish captures moments of destruction to an unnamed island—taken to be England—during war. She writes,

What place to squeeze that poison, in which all
The venom was, that’s got from the world’s ball,
Which through men’s veins, like molten lead, it came,
And did like oil their spirits all inflame,
Where malice boiled with rancor, spleen, and spite.
In war and fraud, injustice took delight,
Thinking which way their lusts they might fulfill,
Committed thefts, rapes, murders at their will;
Parents and children did unnat’ral grow,
And every friend was turned a cruel foe;
Nay, innocence no protection had;
Religious men were thought to be stark mad;
In witches, wizards they did put their trust;
Extortions, bribes were thought to be most just;

Like Titans' race, all in a tumult rose,

Blasphemous words against high Heaven throws. (Newcastle and Blake 41-56)

Cavendish in these lines describes the progression of violence, starting from an individual's own body, to inflicting violence on others, to eventually ruining the whole island. This progression does two things: first, it shows readers the unnatural fury that overtakes the human body in a violent state. This strategy helps readers understand that violence leads to unspoken atrocities, as those involved do not use their cognitive capabilities once engaged in war. Second, it shows the bigger destruction to the communal fabric of the country where trust among people is no longer an option. Cavendish, by zooming in on the individual's condition and zooming out to show the bigger aftermath of violence, effectively influences readers' empathy. More importantly, the perpetrators are never named so it could be from either side of the conflict, avoiding demonizing or justification from either side. Therefore, it becomes the responsibility of everyone to abate the violence in order to avoid such an unfortunate fate.

Cavendish presents the disturbing details of war in order to argue against it. The experience of war led her to reflect on the causes of the mayhem, especially those linked to "Unwise Government, where many Errours gather into a Mass" (Newcastle and Fitzmaurice 175). Graphic details of violence appear in a longer poem called "A Description of the Battle in Fight," where she depicts in minute detail the countless instances of violence that soldiers experience in war situations. She writes,

Some with sharp swords—to tell, O most accursed!—

Were above half into their bodies thrust,

From whence fresh streams of blood run all along

Unto the hilts, and there lay clodded on.
Some, their legs dangling by the nervous strings,
And shoulders cut, hung loose like flying wings.
Heads here were cleft in pieces, brains lay mashed,
And all their faces into slices hashed.
Brains only in the pia mater thin,
Did quivering lie within that little skin,
Their skulls all broke and into pieces burst,
By horses hooves and chariot wheels were crushed.
Others, their heads did lie on their own laps,
And some again, half cut, lay on their paps,
Whose tongues out of their mouths were thrust at length.
For why? The strings were cut that gave them strength.
Their eyes did stare; their lids were open wide,
For the small nerves were shrunk on every side.
In some again, those glassy balls hung by
Small slender strings, as chains to tie the eye.
Those strings, when broke, eyes fall, which trundling round
Until the film is broke upon the ground.
In death, their teeth strong set, their lips left bare,
Which grinning seem'd as if they angry were.
Their hair upon their eyes in clodded gore
So wildly spread, as ne'er it did before.

With frowns their foreheads did in furrows lie,
As graves their foes to bury when they die.
Their spongy lungs heaved up through pangs of death,
With pain and difficulty fetched short breath. (Newcastle and Blake 1-30)

The graphic nature of the above lines creates visual images in the minds of readers, functioning to remind them of the gravity of the situation and its tragic consequences. These lines enable Cavendish to indirectly press for a reforming agenda to stop violence. She exaggerates the war scene to move readers on the whole issue of violence. Such detailed descriptions of violence trigger readers' empathic distress, prompting them to put a stop to such horrible acts. The graphic descriptions depict a human corpse dissected for autopsy, a strategy which follows in the footsteps of metaphysical poets such as John Donne, who employed human biology as metaphor in service of his rhetorical objectives. Showing the injuries to the nervous system and the brain, the different muscles, the parts of the face and body—all of these are part of an inventive techniques to raise awareness of the issue of violence in war. After all, Keith Thomas states that Cavendish "regarded war as the enemy of the 'civil society'" (104). In "A Battle between King Oberon and the Pygmies," Cavendish depicts the King rallying the fairy host to fight a force of pygmies:

Let not your foes with scorn upbraid your flight,
But let them see you can with courage fight,
And teach them what their folly rash hath brought
Upon themselves, when they this kingdom sought.
But O, vain princes, that for glory seek,
Which will not let poor subjects in peace keep.

Foolish ambition sets the world on fire,

Which ruins all to compass its desire. (Newcastle and Blake 71-76)

Here Cavendish reveals who is responsible for such unnecessary carnage and misery and condemns what the “folly rash hath brought.” It is “vain princes,” who, first of all, drive “poor subjects” to die in the battlefield based on “foolish ambition,” causing all the destruction without regard to human loss. It might seem that Cavendish is referring to England when she says “this Kingdom,” with the attackers being foreigners such as the Dutch or the Spanish. However, it is more likely that “vain princes” refers to leaders in the Civil Wars. In restricting the fighting to the sphere of fairy lore, Cavendish is able to condemn such violent acts in a general way, regardless of political allegiance or geographical location.

In many of her poems Cavendish offers readers the opportunity to reflect upon violence and its emotional aftermath; it was a subject she and her contemporaries had much experience with. In her poem “On a Furious Sorrow,” she presents in ironic fashion the practice of mourning when it is not practical, in particular through her representation of an allegorical figure called Sorrow. The poem begins with Sorrow grieving loudly at a grave site when she is approached by a man who takes her to task for her public display of despair. He tells her that one cannot reverse decisions made by the gods:

Your sorrow cannot alter their decree,

Nor call back life by your impatency.

Nor can the dead from Love receive a heat,

Nor hear the sound of lamentations great,

For Death is stupid, being numb and cold,

No ears to hear, nor eyes for to behold.

Then mourn no more, since you no help can give,
Take pleasure in your beauty whilst you live,
For in the fairest Nature pleasure takes,
But if you die, then Death his triumph makes.”
At last his words like keys unlocked her ears,
And then she straight considers what she hears.
“Pardon, you gods,” said she, “my murm’ring crime;
My grief shall ne’er dispute your will divine,
And in sweet life will I take most delight.”
And so went home with that fond carpet-knight. (Newcastle and Blake 23-38)

Through the poem’s ironic ending—in which Sorrow leaves off grieving to pursue pleasure with a “fond carpet-knight”—Cavendish presents a complex vision of how to take advantage of life while one can, with an earthy stoicism and reasonableness over rashness and needless mourning. Although the poem acknowledges the severe grief a figure such as Sorrow suffers from, Cavendish suggests reconciliation with oneself and moving on is a better choice, especially if there is nothing to be done to lessen a tragic situation. And so Sorrow, the “she” character in the poem, “went home with that fond carpet-knight,” suggesting that after sadness, the carpet-knight “whose achievements belong to ‘the carpet’ instead of to the field of battle” (OED) is successfully able to make oral arguments to convince Sorrow that she is better off without grief. To be sure, there are tones of sarcasm throughout the poem as Sorrow is persuaded by the arguments of a carpet-knight, that is, a knight who knows only the carpet of the court rather than the hardships of the field of battle. So the poem acknowledges that an uncomplicated sunny view of life is the perspective of those who lack real experience. Nevertheless, the poem questions the

value of remaining in a state of perpetual sorrow; the depiction of grief is thus not God's decree, but a choice to waste one's life in mourning. The poem suggests that after a period of lamenting the dead, steps should be taken to enjoy Nature's pleasures and value life. Cavendish presents the psychological need to move on after a period of sorrow even while acknowledging the limited perspective of the "fond," or foolish, carpet-knight.

Yet Cavendish clearly grieved deeply over the experience of the English Civil War and the unnecessary deaths associated with it. In "Upon the Funeral of my Dear Brother, Killed in these Unhappy Wars," she reflects upon her brother Charles Lucas, who was executed by General Fairfax after surrendering during a siege. According to Keith Thomas, the custom of the period was to execute those responsible for unnecessary suffering (105-106), especially after long castle sieges where many civilian lives were affected. Though such sieges were painful for both sides of the war, Cavendish takes on her brother's voice to express his personal agony:

For here's no mourner to lament my fall,
But all rejoicèd in my fate, though sad,
And think my heavy ruin far too light,
So cruel is their malice, spleen, and spite!

For men no pity nor compassion have,
But all in savage wilderness do delight
To wash and bathe themselves in my pure blood,
As if they health received from that red flood. (Newcastle and Blake 5-12)

In the poem Cavendish takes on the common experience of losing a brother in the war, referring to Lord Fairfax and his counsel of war who chose to execute three leading Royalist officers.

Among these were Charles Lucas, who was executed without trial as a lesson to other Royalists to stop fighting, while the rest of the regular soldiers were spared (Whitaker 108). Cavendish's choice of a first-person point of view in the lines allows the reader to form a close connection to her brother's state of mind, taking his perspective as he faces an unfair summary execution. Charles Lucas in the poem makes no plea for vengeance; rather the poem focuses on the pathos of his death and his final wish to be left to rest in peace. Cavendish thus creates an empathic moment where the reader identifies with the suffering of victims of the war, not mentioning the perpetrators by name, leaving it to the judgement of the readers to think about the consequences of wars rather than feel anger toward those responsible for violence. The poem offers a point of view different from the one just discussed in "On a Furious Sorrow"; here the value of mourning is valued, especially if it moves one in the direction of empathy with suffering rather than anger at injustice. Mendelson and Crawford argue that the kind of perspective-taking we see in Cavendish is a special point of view regarding the Civil Wars that is linked to her identity as a woman writer. They note, "Women's social identity thus gave them greater freedom to appeal for the cessation of armed conflict, and to play an active role in urging warring male factions to negotiate each other" (403). Cavendish's empathic portrayal of her brother's death compounds with her position as a woman author to further strengthen her stance of anti-violence.

Like Hutchinson's discussion of the violence toward animals, as discussed in Chapter 2, Cavendish's prose and verse take on similar themes. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford indicate that women and animals have a "proverbial affinity" in the culture of the early modern period (61). Likewise, Graham Baker-Benfield discusses the interconnections between women and animals, stressing that Cavendish's work on animals demonstrates an undeniable level of

sensitivity toward them (232). In “The Hunting of the Hare,” Cavendish’s empathy is clearly with the hare. She questions the anthropocentric view that animals exist to be hunted as sport,

As if God did make creatures for man’s meat,
To give them life and sense, for man to eat,
Or else for sport or recreation’s sake,
Destroy those lives that God saw good to make,
Making their stomachs graves, which full they fill
With murdered bodies, which in sport they kill.
Yet man doth think himself so gentle, mild,
When of all creatures he’s most cruel, wild,
And is so proud, thinks only he shall live,
That God a godlike nature did him give,
And that all creatures for his sake alone
Were made, for him to tyrannize upon. (Newcastle and Blake 95-106)

Humans’ image of themselves as rational beings is called into question when performing acts of needless cruelty against animals. It is not that Cavendish is against eating meat at the time, but she opposes the enjoyment of the acts of violence inherent in hunting. Cavendish questions the long-standing religious belief derived from Genesis 1 that God created other creatures to serve man. The lines draw upon war imagery, all too familiar to readers of the mid-seventeenth century, depicting the destruction of animal bodies to evoke emotions of guilt in her readers, with the aim to lessen such violence. The sadistic enjoyment of violence toward animals becomes tantamount to ungratefulness to God, even if God allows humans to consume these animals as meat. In this regard, Barker-Benfield affirms that in the last part of the seventeenth

century, perceived cruelty against animals “widened out to embrace hare-hunting, vivisection, the caging of wild birds, brutal methods of slaughter, and the cruelties involved in gastronomic refinements” (Barker-Benfield 231). Cavendish’s poem is an important moment in this wider empathic view of animals.

Cavendish takes this empathic identification with an animal even further in “The Hunting of the Stag,” a poem that depicts a deer living in harmony with nature until spotted by hunters. Here, Cavendish portrays the stag, personified as a human, heroically fighting for its life till the end. After a long chase from the hunters and their dogs,

The stag no hope had left, nor help did 'spy;
His heart so heavy grew with grief and care,
That his small feet his body scarce could bear.
Yet loath to die or yield to foes was he,
And to the last would strive for victory.
'Twas not for want of courage he did run,
But that an army against one did come.
Had he the valor of bold Caesar stout,
Yet yield he must to them, or die no doubt.
Turning his head, as if he dared their spite,
Prepared himself against them all to fight.
Single he was; his horns were all his helps
To guard him from a multitude of whelps. (Newcastle and Blake 120-132)

Cavendish in the above lines allows this animal the capacity to think and feel like a human being. Finding himself isolated—"Single he was"—the stag goes through a series of human emotions as he faces "an army against one." The whole chase resembles a battlefield, and the animal is personified as a heroic human soldier fighting to stop the unjustified aggression of the attackers. The hunters and their dogs are depicted as the aggressors who "for sport" end the life of the stag. Cavendish relates to readers the elaborate details of the stag and its plight in order to throw into question the way of thinking that allows such violence to take place. Just as in the previous poem about the hare, the stag is a creature that deserves protections similar to the ones provided to humans. The poem is written in a melancholy tone throughout, as the stag roams through different tree varieties such as cedar and pine until it finds in a field wheat stalks at seed that it can forage on. The owner of the field then sees the stag and organizes a hunt to kill it. The farmer's traditional ownership of land justifies in his eyes the hunting of the animal, but Cavendish critiques this reasoning as opposed to the way God created the world: without ownership. The stag of course proceeds to eat from the field without even noticing that it belongs to a human being. Throughout her depictions, Cavendish refers to the stag as "he," "him," and "his," pronouns that refers to a singular male person, who sheds tears "at his own funeral." Although the stag is mourned in the poem by no one except himself, the loss is a visceral one felt by all those reading the poem, enlarging the scope of empathy to the stag's plight.

Similar to the stag's enjoyment of a meal in his natural habitat while danger is lurking, "A Dialogue of Birds" (1653) presents various birds at feeding time, asking the question, "did human beings have to shoot sparrows for taking cherries and then eat the fruit themselves?" (Baker-Benfield 234). Cavendish counts different types of birds such as the lark, nightingale, owl, robin, magpie, sparrow, finch, linnet, partridge, cock, peewit, snite, quail, pigeon, swallow,

blackbird, and yellow hammer, all of which take turns talking to each other about how traditionally humans have unfairly affected their livelihoods, expressing their frustration with the status quo of abuse from humans. The sparrow says,

No creature doth usurp so much as Man,
Who thinks himself like God, because he can
Rule other creatures, and make them obey;
“Our souls did never Nature make,” say they.
Whatever comes from Nature’s stock and treasure
Created is only to serve their pleasure.
Although the life of bodies comes from Nature,
Yet still the souls come from the great Creator. (Newcastle and Blake 109-116)

The sparrow’s words show a state of helplessness in order to illustrate the misery that Cavendish finds in the lives of birds, including hunting games where birds are killed for mere enjoyment. In this regard, Keith Thomas in *Man and the Natural World* argues that Cavendish “rejected the whole anthropocentric tradition, applying a sort of cultural relativism to the differences between the species and arguing that men had no monopoly of sense or reason” (128). Therefore, from Cavendish’s perspective, since animals were created by God, they can reason just as do human beings, and their lives should be protected against unnecessary violence.

As a final example, Cavendish wrote a parable called *The Animal Parliament*, an allegory in moral reasoning in which animals are pictured figuratively in an idealized utopia, reflecting

the desire for orderliness in human kingdoms. Just as in Du Bartas and Hutchinson, as discussed in Chapter two, the goal in this work is to project orderliness onto the political upheavals of the mid-seventeenth century by presenting an animal congregation as analogous to a human one. The parable places the English commonwealth within “the wider frame of the natural world” (Siegfried and Sarasohn 42) and forms the concluding section of *Poems and Fancies*. Siegfried argues that the work advocates for “the superiority of debate, rather than war, as a means of continuously maintaining order” (43). As political allegory, *The Animal Parliament* paraphrases famous accounts of the last Parliament during Elizabeth I’s reign, which “provides a view of how the best of England’s political past might be recovered for the sake of a salubrious future” (Siegfried and Sarasohn 44). Cavendish thus hits two targets at the same time. The first is that the parable mirrors current instances of mismanagement in England during the civil war period, thus affording Cavendish the ability to address real-world problems and suggest successful models of governorship. For example, the King in the parable is seemingly righteous and humble. He is also welcoming, gentle, and willing to negotiate to fix the errors of his reign before a rebellion can start. The second target that Cavendish is hitting is one she addresses in several of the poems discussed above: how animals behave according to orderly systems not unlike those of human beings, a view that bestows upon them human-like subjectivity and encourages more tolerant treatment of them by the human world. To make these points, Cavendish taps into longstanding literary themes of animal cooperation, as in ant colonies and beehives, to show how animals can belong to organized systems of coexistence.

In addition, the parable foregrounds a state of nature in which cooperation results from “intelligent (if passionate) conversations between self-aware, independent entities despite their conflicting interests or momentary disorder” (Siegfried and Sarasohn 45). As part of this mood

of cooperation, Cavendish draws upon the Apostle Paul's metaphor of the church as a human body (1 Corinthians 12), whereby if one part fails, the whole system crumbles to pieces. This cooperative model contrasts with the "flat authoritarian mechanisms that Descartes and Hobbes prescribed" (Siegfried and Sarasohn 45), allowing for empathic signals on the part of the monarch who actively imagines the perspective of Parliamentarians, a counterpoint to the absolutism of Charles I. Cavendish's King announces to his listeners,

The reason why I called this Parliament is not only to rectify the riotous disorders made by vanity, and to repeal the laws of erroneous opinions made in the mind, and to cut off the entails of evil consciences, but to raise four subsidies of justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance, whereby I may be able to defend you from the allurements of the world, as riches, honor, and beauty, and to beat out encroaching falsehoods, which make inroads, and do carry away the innocency of Truth, and to quench the rebellion of superfluous words, but also to make and enact strict laws to a good life, in which I make no question, but everyone in my Parliament will be willing to consent, and be industrious thereunto. (Newcastle and Blake)

In having her King speak against the "allurements of this world," "encroaching falsehoods," and "superfluous words," all of which represent vices both Royalists and Parliamentarians were guilty of, Cavendish imagines a monarch and Parliament going out of their way to take the other's perspective and cooperate. She sees law as a binding force from which civilized life springs, where protections are offered to all parts of society, and that none of the citizens would have a claim against the King in the first place if order is followed. The response of the Lord Keeper imagines the King, in fact, consulting the Parliament and working with them rather than

just absolutist tactics that weaken the economy and drive the populace into poverty. The Lord Keeper says,

Thus is our gracious sovereign wise in choosing his time, valiant in not fearing his enemies, careful in calling the help and advice of his Parliament, and most bountiful, in that he requires not these subsidies to spend in his particular delights, but for the good and benefit of the commonwealth, and safety of his subjects. Wherefore, if any be obstinate in opposing, or seems to murmur thereat, he is not worthy to be a citizen thereof, and ought to be cast out as a corrupt member. (Newcastle and Blake)

The King's overtures of civility thus lead the subjects to obey and live thereafter in tranquility, as they know that the King and his court are not abusing their positions or spending public funds on personal extravagances. Although Cavendish belonged to a Royalist elite that had suffered on multiple levels at the hands of the Puritan Parliament during the 1640s and 1650s, she understands the harmful effects of continued conflict and goes out of her way to empathize with the Parliamentarians, as depicted in this work. She thus gains the reader's trust as someone who seeks out the perspectives of both sides in the most bitter national conflict her country had ever known.

In the Lord Objection's speech, Cavendish articulates the misery of the Commons in response to the financial failures of the government, which taxes them heavily without improving the condition of the subjects. Lord Objection states,

Yet let me tell your Lordship, that I do believe the Parliament will never be able to raise a subsidy of justice from the commonalty: it is too strict a demand, as it is impossible for us to satisfy the king's desire, unless the commons were richer in equity. But if our gracious

sovereign will take a subsidy of faith in lieu of it, I dare say it may be easily got, raising it upon the clergy, who are rich therein. (Newcastle and Blake)

Cavendish reiterates her position, which opposes that of mainstream Royalists, that the Parliament functions according to its representation of the people's voice. Whereas those in power, such as the King and his court, are not able to see beyond their privileged status, Lord Objection sees that the House of Commons is justified in insisting on a transfer of funding from the clergy who are much better off. Though it might sound like an innocuous proposition, the demand is a response to religious dogmatism and alleged corruption charged against the clergy. Cavendish may imagine a negative role played by religious rhetoric if it originates from a desire for personal advance rather than justice for its own sake. To side with the poor against the clergy in this matter shows an instance where Cavendish shares the frustration of Parliamentarians with wealthy clergy who were not described in kind terms in Hutchinson's *Memoirs* as well, due to their overall negative role in the war. Hilda Smith stresses that Cavendish looked critically upon the religious fervor of both sides in the English Civil War, arguing that "Her lack of religious enthusiasm also allowed her to adopt an attitude of tolerance toward individual religious belief while condemning theological controversy and the trouble it caused" (15).

In presenting the King as a model of discretion and moderation, Cavendish in part draws upon the words of the last English monarch to evince these qualities, Queen Elizabeth. In particular Elizabeth's speech to the Troops at Tilbury, where she affirmed, "I have the heart and stomach of a King, and a King of England, too," lies behind the words of the King in *The Animal Parliament*. A favored ruler of both Royalists and Republicans, Elizabeth provided a rhetoric that suited Cavendish's portrayal of an imagined King (Siegfried and Sarasohn 47). Starting the speech by addressing his "loving subjects," the King says he aspires to be a monarch "of

affection, ruling them with clemency, rather than to be only king of power, ruling them with tyranny and binding my subjects to slavery” and that the power he enacts has the purpose “to decide truth from falsehood, to give equity, and to do justice” (Newcastle and Blake). The reiteration of qualities such as clemency, justice, equity, and truth—all of which elements Cavendish foregrounds as essential to stabilize the country—hearken back to the Golden age of Queen Elizabeth I.

These passages from *The Animal Parliament* demonstrate the imaginative depth of Cavendish’s thinking in response to the authoritarian theories of government posited by Descartes and Hobbes. Whitaker indicates that the Cavendishes, just like the other exiled Royalists, were engrossed in discussing questions related to what went wrong in the country to cause the Civil War to take place: “How should a king and his ministers govern? How could royal rule be made strong, ensuring lasting political stability?” (119). Cavendish developed her own critical skills by disagreeing with many intellectuals in these discussions. William Cavendish, for example, was not for furthering the education of the general public, who he thinks are educated enough, as “too much reading and debate in both politics and religion had made them disputative and factious, fomenting sedition and leading to war” (120). Margaret Cavendish disagreed with her husband regarding his fear that educating the general public would lead to an overabundance of written anonymous publications, especially those spreading discord. She valued the circulation of print material even if she disagreed with it, as long as she could in turn respond to these writings with proper reasoning. Hilda Smith argues that Cavendish took a comprehensive view of the issues of her time, demonstrating “a mind interested in theology and science but unwilling to bow to the views of others” (25), as long as the disagreement does not lead to discord.

A final instance I would like to consider of Cavendish's investment in a moderate temperament as part of the Civilizing Project appears in her poem "Peace Betwixt Animal Spirits," where she depicts the origins of this psychological state:

When [the spirits] keep peace, and all do well agree,
Then is commerce in every kingdom free,
And through the nerves they travel without fear;
There are no thieves to rob them of their ware.
Those wares are several touches which they bring
Unto the senses, which buy everything.
But to the muscles they do much recourse,
For in those kingdoms trading hath great force,
Which kingdoms always join by two and two,
That they with ease may pass and repass through. (Newcastle and Blake 1-10)

Here Cavendish employs the metaphor of commerce to illustrate what constitutes the psychology of a peaceful person. If fear disappears, commerce is boosted, and thus civilizations flourish. Norbert Elias, Keith Thomas, and Steven Pinker all identify commerce as a major force in the creation of a civilizing existence for all; commerce is impossible without attention to the value of other human beings, who are one's customers and trading partners. A civilizing force such as trade enables warrior nations to transform into peaceful ones, with the goal of abating unnecessary violence.

Another important aspect of the flourishing of foreign trade is the recognition of and respect for foreign nationals. In *The Animal Parliament* Cavendish has a character named “the Gentleman” address to “the Master” his support for a suit made by a foreign national:

I would not prefer this gentleman’s suit, had he been born in the Land of Obligation, Civilities, or Courtesies. But he was born in the Land of Sympathy, whereunto this Kingdom hath a relation, by reason our king hath a right therein, and ought to have the power thereof by the laws of justice. (Newcastle and Blake)

In this political allegory involving a character from “the Land of Obligation, Civilities, and Courtesies,” Cavendish stresses how he has noble qualities like anyone else in the kingdom. What distinguishes this human being is that he observes civility, the key quality in the Civilizing Process I have been emphasizing. It is according to civility that Cavendish organizes her imaginary society; civility is the quality that is essential to persuade others in these “debates in political and moral philosophy” (Siegfried and Sarasohn 38).

With such humanistic insights, Cavendish emerges as an author engrossed in the idea of civilizing society and reforming its negative impulses, especially against women. Cavendish critiqued the model of education of wellborn women who were supposed “only to dance, sing and fiddle, to write complemental letters, to read romances, to speak some language that is not their native: which education is an education of the body, and not of the mind” (Newcastle and Fitzmaurice 36). Mendelson and Crawford remind us that “women’s speech was the ‘glue’ that held female collectivities together, facilitating a culture of co-operation and exchange” (218); for Cavendish, the finishing-school model of education was clearly not up to this task. Cavendish advocates for a strengthening of women’s minds through an education that can improve their

ability to foster societal cohesion. Whitaker argues that after hostile responses to Cavendish's writings began to appear, both she and her husband changed their perspectives on how to reply to these critiques, emphasizing in the later writings that "women shared men's rational souls, and were inferior only by nurture, not nature" (192). In her dedication of *Philosophical Opinions to Oxford and Cambridge Universities*, Cavendish addressed both students and faculty to reassess women's achievements (192).

In addition to resisting common attitudes about women's education and publishing opportunities, Cavendish also challenged norms concerning what was appropriate for women to wear. During Cavendish's famous public appearances after the Restoration, she wore clothes that defied conventional women's dress codes. Pepys documents on 26 April 1667 that Cavendish appeared wearing a knee-length black justaucorps, a seventeenth-century garment usually only worn by men—a choice in personal dress that "had definitely masculine connotations in a London social setting" (Whitaker 301). In the Restoration, Cavendish became an important public figure whom Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn would interrupt their daily routines to come and see, especially when the royal community was involved. Keith Thomas also affirms that early feminists such as Cavendish "found it necessary to flout the accepted rules of polite behavior by women, because they saw them as deriving from, and helping to sustain, an unequal distribution of power between the sexes" (246). Cavendish wrote that she "excitedly titters, when instead of curtseying, she made legs and bowed to the ground like a man" (Thomas 246). She clearly wasn't afraid of courting controversy or flouting cultural constructions.

This chapter has endeavored to show the empathic constructions that Cavendish advanced, and how they go hand in hand with the Civilizing Process. Cavendish's empathic strategies are closely linked to her status as a woman writer in the seventeenth century. As

Mendelson and Crawford have written, “the female sex was culturally constructed as timid and compassionate; partly for this reason, women believed it was natural for them to be actively disposed towards pacifism” (403). Mendelson and Crawford note in addition that “even when hopes for reconciliation were reluctantly abandoned, women were still inclined to appeal for moderation, to counsel against bloodshed” (415). As the works analyzed in this chapter demonstrate, Cavendish wrote steadily to diminish violence in a period that was filled with it, constructing narratives and images that highlight empathy and the Civilizing Process. Many of her writings depict animals, both as creatures that elicit our sympathy in themselves and as allegorical representations that prompt us to extend empathy to our fellow humans. Religious tolerance and civilized discourse are the recurrent themes that appear during her prolific career.

Chapter IV: Empathy in Contemporary Women Writers of the Period

In the previous two chapters, the writings of Hutchinson and Cavendish demonstrably empathize with the different perspectives of others. Furthermore, both authors engage repeatedly with aspects of the Civilizing Process, such as highlighting the importance of justice and abating violence, among others. Likewise, this chapter discusses the question of whether Cavendish and Hutchinson are typical or unusual for their time in their capacity for empathy by providing some context for other women authors of the period such as Brilliana Harley, Anne Bradstreet, Anne Clifford, Hester Putler, Katherine Philips, and Margaret Fell Fox, who have been chosen for their approximate age and experience with the English Civil Wars. The chapter highlights the aforementioned women writers in terms of their political allegiance either as a Parliamentarian or a Royalist, showing how far, if ever, those authors tried to empathize with the other group, with the exception of Margaret Fox, who maintained a position removed from the polemics created by Civil War partisanship. The remaining writers took different sides during the period. Those who backed the Parliament during the Civil War include Brilliana Harley and Anne Bradstreet, whereas writers sympathetic to the Royalists include Anne Clifford, Hester Putler, and Katherine Philips. This chapter's analysis of empathy in other authors of the period allows this project to place Hutchinson's and Cavendish's empathic and civilizing constructions in juxtaposition with those of their contemporaries, furthering an understanding of why Hutchinson and Cavendish stand out. By the end of the chapter, I seek to place all of the different authors in relation to each other in the way they deploy empathic constructions.

This chapter surveys writings of the contemporaries listed above, analyzing cognitive empathic constructions, as well as Civilizing Process themes. Cognitive empathy, as defined in the opening chapters of this project, is the construction of perspective-taking scenarios where the

author visualizes an enemy in positive light. This type of empathy is done for its own sake rather than in anticipation of some immediate or material reward. I would like to admit at the outset that such value judgments are problematic; it can be frustratingly difficult to say with any confidence whether a writer is empathetic or not, especially when we think of how many writings by individual authors have been lost to time. Katherine Philips presents a particularly challenging case, as her husband sided with the Parliamentarians while she herself was a Royalist, a domestic situation that caused her considerable anguish, as the lyrics I discuss below will show. My understanding of empathy in seventeenth-century writers entails, however, direct perspective-taking of one's enemies in the Civil Wars, and Hutchinson and Cavendish stand apart in this regard. In distinguishing Hutchinson and Cavendish in this fashion, I acknowledge that I run the risk of finding what I am looking for; to guard against this risk, I have made some attempt earlier to consider possible rhetorical motives Hutchinson might have had in writing the *Memoirs* in the way she did. But in the end Hutchinson and Cavendish express empathy in a manner that for me is different from anything we encounter in their contemporaries, to whom I now turn.

Brilliana Harley or, as she is commonly called, Lady Harley (1598-1643), was an influential Parliamentarian known for the abundance of letters she sent to her husband, Sir Robert Harley, and her son, Edward Harley, in which she expressed her political views on Civil War incidents in Herefordshire. Additionally, she also commented on religious and social issues. She managed to forestall the Royalists' siege of her family estate in Herefordshire during the Civil War period at a time when her husband was representing his region in the Long Parliament. She was also able to support Parliamentarian military actions against some of the remaining Royalist gatherings near her town. Notable examples of empathy in her work come from the time

when she wrote letters to the King asking him to withdraw his troops from besieging her family's castle.

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Throughout it [the Royalist siege] Lady Harley conducted a series of negotiations by letter, parley, and a petition to the king, in which she maintained that she and her family were faithful subjects, and that Vavasour [the Royalist military commander] should withdraw" (Eales). In a letter entitled "The Protestation," written to the king, Harley questions the legality of Parliamentary army leaders such as General Fairfax acting in war without the consent of the King. She also writes in the letter "that the two Howses of Parliament without the King's consent hath noe authority to make lawes, or to bind and oblige the subject by their ordinances" (Harley and Lewis [225](#)). She affirms in addition,

That I believe noe power of pope or Parliament can depose the soveraigne Lo. K.

Charles, or absolve mee from my naturall allegiance and obedience vnto his royall person and successor... That myselfe will never beare armes in their quarrel; but if I shal be thereunto called, will assist my soveraigne and his armyes in the defence of his royall person, crowne, and dignity, against all contrary fforges, vnto thevttermost of my skill and power, and with the hazard of my life and ffortunes. (225)

Harley's protest succeeded in persuading the King to withdraw Royalist troops from their siege of the property she owned. Harley's letter clearly reflects her self-interest in wanting to preserve her property, but in order to achieve this aim she did have to acknowledge the perspective of the King regarding the Parliamentary army and his relationship to the two Houses of Parliament. The *DNB* documents that Lady Harley was working at the time of her letter to the King to support Parliamentary troops, and so her act of empathy for the King and his party did not extend

beyond the avoidance of danger and sequestration of her family's wealth. But at least she understands the King's perspective.

In another letter from 19 March 1641 to Edward Harley (she refers to him as Ned in the letters), Lady Harley questions why other members of the Parliament did not support the declaration that approves Charles I's prerogatives. She says,

Deare Ned—I thanke you for your letter by Hall. I did much long to receaue the declaration to the kinge. I thanke you for it; I am sorry the kinge is pleased yet, not to conseaue anny better thoughts of this parlament. The Lord be mercifull to this poore land, and to this country wheare I ame; for I think theare is not such another. I heare the justices haue sent vp theare ansure, why they would not take the protestation. Sr William Crof gouerns all of them. (152)

At the beginning stages of the Civil War, the partisanship was not so severe and it seemed possible for Harley, a member of the gentry class, to agree to give the King his due prerogatives. But before long the strife grew into a full-fledged war, and the area where she lived became embroiled in the war. She states to her son that she “cannot thinke this cuntry very safe; by the papers I haue sent your father, you will knowe the temper of it” (180). Since many areas close to Herefordshire were for the King, Harley felt that she couldn't trust anyone with the management of her family's estates. She expands in her letter to her son,

My deare Ned, at first when I sawe how outrageously this cuntry carried themselves aganst your father, my anger was so vp, and my sorrow, that I had hardly patience to stay; but now, I haue well considered, if I goo away I shall leaue all that your father has to the pray of our enimys, which they would be glad of; so that, and pleas God, I purpos to stay

as long as it is possible, if I live; and this is my resolution, without your father contradict it. (182-3)

From Harley's letter it is clear that the public in Herefordshire backed the King and that the Harleys were a minority in the area; Harley offers herself as a necessary sacrifice to guard not only the estates of the family, but also to help save the Parliamentary cause. After all the trouble that she had been through in negotiating with Royalists to leave her estates untouched, she is determined in the letter to continue the fight even if it cost her life, demonstrating her conviction and character.

The last correspondence between Lady Harley and her son documents instances where Harley is thinking about the future and tries to give reasons why events have taken such an unfortunate turn. She writes to her son,

My deare Ned—By the enclosed paper to your father, you will knowe how poore Herefordshire is affected; but, deare Ned, I hope you and myself will remember for whose cause your father and we are hated. It is for the cause of our God, and I hope we shall be so far from being ashamed of it or troubled, that we beare the reproche of it, that we shall binde it as a crowne upon us. (179)

The fear of Royalist reprisal during the Restoration definitely affected Harley's son afterwards. Edward and his father were oppressed by the Cromwellian regime afterwards for refusing to acknowledge the Protectorate rule, a position more extreme than the one that Colonel Hutchinson took when the Hutchinsons retired to country life and dispensed with political activism. The Harleys shifted their allegiance from the Parliamentarians during the years of the Protectorate and after. Based on this shift among the Harleys during the Restoration, General Monk

recommended Edward Harley, considering him as a man with strong character and love of his country. Edward writes in a letter that

As for my affection to his Majesty's service, it is now twenty years since, upon that account I have constantly lost, done, and suffered: and in order to his Majesty's happy restoration I did, without the vanity of comparison, employ all the poor ability of estate and person...But in this part of the country, where I reside, I can truly affirm the King's service, in all respects, hath been diligently and faithfully managed. (241)

In spite of Edward's allegiance to the King in this letter, his mother's legacy as a Parliamentarian followed him in the form of suspicion during the Restoration. The precarious nature of the Parliamentarians and all who assisted them in 1661 increased Edward's anxieties, leading him to assume that because of his mother's involvement in the Civil War some officials would be targeting him. Thus, it is crucial to see the ripple effects that Lady Harley had on her family after she died in 1643, as this gives us perspective into the amount of distrust that at least her son faced after the Restoration.

Even though Lady Harley was able to limit the amount of damage to her property and self by convincing the King and his officers to withdraw from their siege, her empathy for Royalists was confined to the letters she sent to the King and his affiliates at the time. Her son in turn did not continue his mother's support of the Parliamentarians, as his mother was a leading female figure who supported the Parliament during the early years of the war. Due to her untimely death of a cold, possibly due to the amount of stress she had to go through to defend her castle in 1643, it is hard to have a full picture of her engagement with the Royalists and the King.

The second Parliamentarian author I would like to consider is Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672), the first woman writer to publish love poems directly in London, though she was residing

in America at the time her work was published. There are many instances of empathy in her work as well, which offers the perspective of someone whose religious group was oppressed and who migrated in the 1630s to New England after enjoying aristocratic status in England.

Bradstreet wrote a number of dialogue poems, a genre which flourished during the Civil War period. “A Dialogue between Old England and New, Concerning their Present Troubles, Anno 1642” draws upon the complaint tradition as two speakers—one from Old England and one from New England—discuss the English Civil Wars. In the first edition of the poem Bradstreet demonstrates her commitment to nonconformist religious practices and the Parliament, but in a later 1678 printing of the poem, as Ross and Scott-Baumann note in *Women Poets of the English Civil War*, her position “softened and sanitized” these political leanings. But her bipartisan condemnation of the Civil War in this poem can’t be missed in both the earlier and later editions (58). She writes in the 1650 version,

But now I come to speak of my disaster:
Contention’s grown ’twixt subjects and their master;
They worded it so long, they fell to blows,
That thousands lay on heaps, here bleeds my woes.
I that no wars so many years have known
Am now destroyed and slaughtered by mine own;
But could the field alone this cause decide,
One battle, two, or three I might abide;
But these may be beginnings of more woe,
Who knows, the worst the best may overthrow. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann, lines 184-193)

Ross and Scott-Baumann argue that “they fell to blows” refers to the starting of the conflict of the English Civil War in 1642 (54, note 186). Bradstreet refers to the war as a “disaster,” emanating from a “contention,” rather than oppression inflicted on subjects who rebelled against it. They also “worded it so long,” which refers to pre-Civil War polemical rhetoric that overtook all rational discourse. To Bradstreet, the negative role of written discourse is one of the forces that led to the war. The aftermath is that the speaker is “slaughtered by mine own” rather than killed by foreign opponents, indicating her belief that the English are killing each other for apparently no good reason. This representation of the conflict takes a nonpartisan position on the whole affair rather than trying to back one side over the other. Bradstreet’s neutrality complicates her position as a supporter of the Parliamentary side; that is, though she holds a Parliamentary position, her attitude toward violence is a negative one regardless of who is conducting it. In the following lines, she expands more on this general condemnation of violence:

O pity me in this sad perturbation,
My plundered towns, my houses’ devastation,
My ravished virgins, and my young men slain;
My wealthy trading fall’n, my dearth of grain.
The seed-time’s come, but ploughman hath no hope
Because he knows not, who shall in his crop;
The poor they want their pay their children bread,
Their woeful mothers’ tears unpitied;
If any pity in thy heart remain,
For my relief, now use they utmost skill,

And recompense me good, for all my ill. (qtd. in Ross et al, lines 196-207)

The “Old England” speaker seeks empathy from readers as “virgins” are “ravished” and “young men” are “slain,” among many other disasters. Bradstreet portrays the fate of Old England as lacking hope. Even if the time is good for farmers to harvest their crops, they can’t do that in a country fractured by civil unrest. Old England appeals to New England, “If any pity in thy heart remain, /Or any childlike love thou dost retain, / For my relief, now use thy utmost skill, /And recompense me good, for all my ill” (204-207). Although the poem ends with New England’s injunction, “Parliament, prevail,” the emphasis is on the general destruction that has been visited upon England.

The poems “In Honour of that High and Mighty Princess, Queen Elizabeth, of most Happy Memory” (1643) and “An Elegy upon that Honourable and Renowned Knight, Sir Philip Sidney, who was Untimely Slain at the Siege of Zutphen, Anno 1586” (1650) eulogize two eminent figures from English history to remind both parties engaged in the Civil War in England that this is not how England was governed in the past. In the poem for Queen Elizabeth, Bradstreet writes,

No Phoenix Pen, nor Spenser’s poetry,
No Speed’s, nor Camden’s learned history,
Eliza’s works, wars, praise, can e’er compact;
The world’s the theatre where she did act.
No memories nor volumes can contain
Th’ eleven Olympiads of her happy reign,
Who was so good, so just, so learned, so wise;
From all the kings on earth she won the prize.

Nor say I more than duly is her due,

Millions will testify that this is true; (19-28)

Both sides in the English Civil War hearkened back to Queen Elizabeth's golden rule of the country; Bradstreet emphasizes its stability that led to peacefulness. Unlike Hutchinson, who praises the male counselors behind the Queen's decision making, Bradstreet gives agency to the Queen's herself, acknowledging her achievement as unparalleled in English history. Looking back at a glorious time of English history during the tumultuous times of the Civil War period serves as an example of Bradstreet's interest in recuperative language directed at all of those involved in the mid-century crisis.

Similar to Bradstreet's portrayal of Queen Elizabeth, she eulogizes Sir Philip Sidney:

When England did enjoy her halcyon days,

Her noble Sidney wore the crown of bays,

No less an honour to our British land,

Than she that swayed the sceptre with her hand.

Mars and Minerva did in one agree,

Of arms, and arts, thou should'st a pattern be; (1-6)

Bradstreet values Sidney as both an artist and a warrior who died in an honorable way defending England, fighting a common enemy of the English people and providing a reminder to the English people of a time when they were united against an enemy of the state. In her references in the poem to both Sidney and Queen Elizabeth, Bradstreet seeks models of English heroism that can transcend the partisanship of her own day.

In “David’s Lamentation for Saul and Johnathan, 2 Samuel 1:19,” Bradstreet may be lamenting the death of Charles I. Adopting the voice of David, the rightful King of Israel, Bradstreet writes,

Alas, slain is the head of Israel,
Illustrious Saul, whose beauty did excel;
Upon thy places mountainous and high,
How did the mighty fall, and falling die? (1-4)

Even though some critics read the poem as “a reminder of Charles’s role in bringing about his own destruction” (Ross et al. 75), the general tone of the poem credits Charles as a King who ruled over all of England until he died in a strange way, an anomaly that violates the expectation of how a decent king is supposed to die. It is as if to suggest that the demise of the Kingdom is linked to the tragic death of the monarch, a subtle critique of the precariousness of the government at the time of the Interregnum.

To summarize, Bradstreet employs a bipartisan rhetoric, as the examples above show, to demonstrate her distress at the state of chaos that overwhelmed the English, not because she has anything to lose in England as a dweller of the American colonies, but because immigrants in a new place tend to be anxious when they reflect on their birthplace. Bradstreet envisions England in chaos, disorientation, and hopelessness, empathically reflecting on the hardships men and women of any political affiliation experienced in her home country.

Bradstreet treats Civil War themes extensively in her works, but with a different emphasis from that of Hutchinson and Cavendish. From her distanced position as a writer in North America, she writes more from a neutral point of view rather than empathizing with the perspective of her opponents in the way Hutchinson and Cavendish often do. As someone living

in North America, Bradstreet experienced the events of the Civil War secondhand and was not directly affected by them; she thus did not have the experience of living with someone she did not agree with politically or religiously. This experience contrasts with the way in which Hutchinson and Cavendish opted to stay in England, living amongst the people whom they did not agree with politically. Hutchinson's and Cavendish's empathic constructions connect directly with the perspective of others, signifying how invested these two authors were to the causes of the Civilizing Process.

Parliamentarians weren't the only authors to write with empathy—women Royalist writers also demonstrate this capacity. One such author was Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery (1590–1676), a well-known diarist who wrote about her family history and heritage while managing large estates and battling to secure her rights of ownership. She gives readers brief yet revealing signs of where her sympathies lie through the mention of Royalist figures in her diaries, where recounted meetings indicate her associations and affections. She writes in January of 1676, “The 6th day, being Twelfth Day, I remember how this day was fifty-four (1620) years at night, at a masque performed in the King's Banqueting House at Whitehall and in the Privy Galleries there, did I see King James the Scotchman, and it was the last time I ever saw him or her [*sic*] me” (Pembroke 229). Such elaborations of memories of her meetings with Royalists are numerous throughout her writings, and most of the time they carry emotional undertones of lineage and pride. Her account of seeing King James, and of him seeing her, displays a sense of privilege to be in the proximity of the King and possibly to converse with him and his close network of powerful Scottish Lords; however, the description of this memory may also be tinged with melancholy, as James died only five years after this encounter.

Most of Clifford's diaries focus on her inheritance of castles, great lands, houses, and other types of wealth. When relating in 1650 the situation of one of her estates, she writes that she found it "in extreme disorder by reason it had been so long kept from me as from the death of my father till this time, and by occasion of the late civil wars in England " (Pembroke 120). She equates the miserable condition of her estates with the Civil Wars in general, stressing the negative impact of these conflicts on her property. The main concern in the diaries is usually whether or not her estates were damaged by the forces of either side. In the summer of 1650, Major General Thomas Harrison, of the Parliament, was stationed with his forces in her castle at Appleby, followed by King Charles II later in the year. She writes, "But I thank God I received no harm or damage by them [Royalist soldiers] nor by the King" (123). The diaries prioritize the safety of her wealth, not engaging with the political partisanship of the period but also not empathizing directly with either side; her concern is always with her belonging.

Passages in the diaries that recount the hardships of war are mixed with ones where Clifford discusses pleasures such as an extended stay in the countryside, away from the conflicts taking place at her estates such as Appleby Castle, Brougham Castle, and Skipton Castle. She writes,

I do more and more fall in love with the contentments and innocent pleasures of a country life, which humour of mine I do wish all my heart (if it be the will of Almighty God) may be conferred on my posterity that are to succeed me in these places, for a wise body ought to make their own homes the place of self-fruition and the comfortablest part of their life. (Pembroke 124)

The war context did not diminish Clifford's confidence in her ability to hold on to her land and manage it, regardless of which side might win the war. Even in the new Parliamentary

commonwealth, Clifford was able to secure her aristocratic position. In 1651, her stepson, Philip Herbert, 5th Earl of Pembroke, was appointed by Parliament to head the Council of State, an executive body that was commissioned to replace the King and the Privy Council. After Herbert was approved by the Parliament, Clifford then appointed Mr. Thomas Gabetis to act as her deputy sheriff to make sure her tenants continued to pay rent. As a result, the Parliamentarians did not confiscate her properties or the properties of her family. For Clifford during the Civil War years, she maintained her bipartisan position to ascertain the safety of herself and her estates, a strategy that proved itself to be circumspect during a troubled time, especially in view of her strong Royalist heritage.

In one entry, twenty-seven years after the death of King Charles I, she remembers the King fondly. In the January of 1676, she sadly relates that the King “was beheaded on a scaffold in the open air near the Banqueting House at Whitehall and his dead body afterwards buried in the chapel at Windsor in Berkshire. And when this tragedy was performed did I lie in Baynard’s Castle in London and my second Lord was in his lodgings by the Cockpit at Whitehall where he died a year after” (Pembroke 239). In the passage Clifford links her sadness at the death of her husband with a commemoration of the King’s death. The regicide triggers painful memories for her, coupled with the death of her husband. The use of words such as “scaffold,” “tragedy,” and “open air” (239) as descriptions of this painful memory are in line with the way other Royalist contemporaries wrote about the incident, as seen in Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion*.

Even when Clifford stresses the beheading of the king as a notable time in English history, her emphasis tends to be on his importance as a religious figure rather than a political one. Thus she states in January of 1676, “and this day did my family keep as a fast for the Martyrdom of King Charles the 1st, though he was beheaded the day before. The day being

commanded to be kept by Act of Parliament” (Pembroke 240). The editor of Clifford’s diary, Isabella Barrios, notes that such statements indicate her “constancy” in religion, especially regarding the Book of Common Prayer (1559), rather than a focus on the loss of the King as a political figure. Barrios notes that Clifford even went so far as to support Bishops in exile, displaying her steadfast attachment to her Anglican beliefs, against the beliefs of the Cromwellian regime which forbade the use of the Book of Common Prayer in Church practices (240, note 51).

Barrios indicates as well that between 1675 and 1676 some of Clifford’s favorite suppliers of goods and food to her estates were Quakers such as Mr. Thomas Wright of Mallerstang and Edward Guy (Pembroke 247, note 70), both of whom represent an instance of empathy towards those others who clearly do not share her religious beliefs. These relationships further show Clifford to have been a pragmatist who did not dwell upon political allegiance as long as her estates and relations were left intact.

When her property was infringed upon in some way, Clifford tends to note the incidents without partisan rancor. In 1658 a deer’s set of antlers were vandalized at one of Clifford’s estates. She writes,

This summer by some few mischievous people secretly in the night, was there broke off and taken down from that tree near the pale of Whinfell Park (which for that cause was called the Hart’s Horn Tree) one of those old hart’s horns, which (as is mentioned in the summary of my ancestor Robert Lord Clifford’s life) were set up in the year 1333 at a general hunting when Edward Balliol then King of Scotts, came into England by permission of King Edward the third and lay for a while in the said Robert Lord Clifford’s castles in Westmorland. Where the said King hunted a great stag which was

killed near the said oak tree. In memory whereof the horns were nailed up in it, growing at it were naturally in the tree and have remained there ever since, till that in the year 1648 one of those horns was broken down by some of the army and the other was broken down (as aforesaid) this year. So as now there is no part thereof remaining.... Whereby we may see that time brings to forgetfulness any memorable things in this world be they never so carefully preserved, for this tree with the hart's horn in it was a thing of much note in these parts. Ecclesiastes 3. (148)

Here the property discussed is an object that contains a symbolic connection to Clifford's family heritage. In 1648 the country was still unstable, and the movement of soldiers occasioned losses for many property owners due to lack of provision for the army. The removal of the horns from the oak tree is to Clifford an erasure of history, as the site itself—Hart's Horn Tree—was named after them. The moment shows the recurrent theme in Clifford's writing, that is, her strong connection to family property and history. As in the previous examples I have noted, Clifford does not name the political affiliation of the soldiers who destroyed the horns; for her the loss is part of the general collateral damage of the Civil War years.

As a wealthy landholder, Clifford demonstrated empathy for the disadvantaged in her community, but in a way typical of traditional Christianity. For instance, she housed a group of women who were without support for various reasons. In a diary entry from 1653 she states,

In the beginning of this year was my almshouse here at Appleby quite finished, which had been almost two years abuilding. So as I now put in to it twelve poor women, eleven of them being widows and the twelfth a maimed maid, and a mother, a deceased minister's widow. Some of whom I put into the said house in December and the rest in January and the beginning of March following. Luke 7:5; Psalm 116.12-14. (128)

Clifford's view of her support as an "almshouse" and her citation of Luke and Psalms shows that she views her actions in a traditional Christian fashion. Her support was provided during winter months and when it would be extremely hard to survive without proper shelter. The types of women in this shelter were mostly poor, but also widows, and a young woman who has a form of disfigurement, as well as a mother. The diversity of situations these women were in—whether because of lack of wealth, beauty, or husband—shows us the vulnerability of women during the period, when there was no governmental assistance available. Clifford's actions demonstrate a form of empathy central to Christianity.

In sum, Clifford is careful to spotlight her legal fights to regain her estates from tenants and relatives. Her lack of direct connection with the actions of the period—except in cases where soldiers had to be stationed at some of her castles—informs her worldview, which tended to focus on the difficulties managing large estates as a woman during the period. Those issues consumed her attention, displacing other themes in the period that were of importance to women writers who had more direct engagement with the events of the Civil War.

Clifford's diaries, consequently, do not demonstrate the perspective-taking I have emphasized in Hutchinson and Cavendish. Instead, she commemorates specific incidents, such as the King's death, without empathizing with either side. In fact, Clifford's wealth was not affected by the change of government during the war or after; she was not under threat in the way others were who directly took part in military or official actions. It is apparent that Clifford was not invested in the partisan politics that were going on and chose to retire to her estates far from military operations. This choice kept her safe, as she abstained from involvement in politics, improving her chances of winning legal fights over inheritance, a strategy that helped her to retain her estates and wealth regardless of who ruled the country.

Another Royalist author, Hester Pulter or Lady Hester (1605-1678), detested the Parliamentary fervor that eventually led to the death of King Charles I. In response, she wrote poems commemorating the death of Royalist heroes such as Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, both of whom were killed at Colchester during the summer of 1648 after General Fairfax ordered the execution of those in charge of the garrison while sparing the rest of the group working for them. Hutchinson mentions how her husband, like Fairfax, would spare the lives of regular soldiers while executing those in charge, as I note in Chapter 2. Charles Lucas's death became a politicized matter that was used to highlight the horrors of the war, especially when experienced by people of high social status like the Lucas family.

As for Pulter's family relations, although it's not known that her husband, Arthur, had a different political affiliation from his wife, his close relationship with a Presbyterian minister named Thomas Gardiner in Hertfordshire suggests that he might have, according to the *DNB* (Robson). Pulter's sister, Margaret, belonged to the Parliamentary side, and her husband Sir John Harington Kelston documented how Pulter visited them in London in 1647 and 1652. In fact, "these records show that Parliamentary and Royalist sisters continued to interact with each other" (Ross et al. 90). Sarah Ross argues in *Women, Poetry, and Politics of Seventeenth Century Women Writers*, that there was no rift between the sisters even with such political partisanship existing (137). Pulter thus tempered some of the political passions I mentioned initially in her relationships with her family.

Ross has studied Pulter's engagement with what is sometimes called the retirement trope in seventeenth-century literature, a theme frequently taken on by Royalist writers. While living in her home of Broadfield in Hertfordshire, where she could "construe her situation there as one of lonely and politicized isolation" (137), she composed poems in dialogue with Royalist-leaning

writers of the period, such as Marvell (who began his career writing Cavalier-like verse), Herrick, Vaughan, Traherne, Cowley, and Philips. Her correspondence shows her not only keeping up with the same literary themes that her contemporaries engaged with, such as the retirement trope, but also suggests how print culture had grown in a way that a poet in a remote location could engage with relatively recent literary production. In the writings penned during her rural retirement of the 1640s and 1650s, Pulten employs standard Royalist images to engage with recent events. In her twenty-fifth emblem poem, she writes,

So have I seen a hart w:th Hounds opprest
An Arrow sticking in her quivering Breast
If she goes on her guiltless blood still Flows
If she stands still she Fals among her foes
Soe have I known (oh sad) the Best of kings
(Ay mee the thought of this such horroure brings
(to my sad soul) his Princely spirit posed

In strange Delemmas every where inclosed. (qtd. in Ross, *Women, Poetry* 137).

In these lines, Pulten is using an image of a stag that is being hunted, and then fuses that image with the execution of King Charles I. The image of the attacked stag conveys the pathos of a stricken King. Pulten then associates the King's ordeal with the religious themes of fortitude and fate, accepting what happened as part of God's overall plan for the English people. Thus Royalist politics and religion merge in the poem.

In emblem poem number 4, Pulten presents an allegory of Virtue and Wisdom engaged in a duel with Fortune and Folly. She writes,

Virtue once in the Olympics fought a duel,

Her second, Wisdom, that transcendent jewel;
Fortune courageously did her oppose,
And giddily for second, Folly chose.
The sad spectators grieved to see this fray,
Fearing that Virtue's side would win the day;
Thus pitying Fortune, and her fellow, Folly,
The city cockneys sat most melancholy.
But see the fate of war: Fortune was blind
And madly laid about her foes to find,
Nor cared on who, or where, her blows did light;
Folly as bravely did maintain the fight,
Not valuing what she did, or what she said,
And now the people that were so afraid

'Gan to rejoice. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann 142, lines 1-15)

After many years of the civil war, Pulten sees the events as subject to randomness and folly, even though she takes a moral approach not unlike that of Margaret Cavendish, as discussed in Chapter 3). This rhetorical move is an important one in discussing violence, as it does not put anyone in the spotlight. Rather it brings about a picture that paints the Parliamentarians as fools who thought that by ousting the King, they could simply just replace him with another functioning system of democratic government. This Royalist position is commonplace among poets of the period (Ross and Scott-Baumann 143). Pulten's innovation is to emphasize the haphazardness of the whole affair, showing that those who are hurt from such reckless action include more than just the Royalist army but also common people and the Parliamentarians

themselves. The final line in the poem predicts a consolation that will bring peace to all. She says, “Unless our God his princely son restore” (line 27), a Royalist wish that would come true in 1660.

Although some of her relatives, such as her sister and possibly her husband, did have connections to the Parliament, Pulter did not have many dealings with Parliamentarians during the Civil War period. She lived and composed most of her poems in Broadfield, Ireland, a place away from the direct influence of the conflict (Ross et al. 89). As a result, most of her poems represent a one-sided Royalist view of the war, with limited imaginary space for the Parliamentarian side.

The final, and probably the best known, female Royalist author I would like to discuss is Katherine Philips (1632-1664). Though she clearly had Royalist sympathies, as illustrated in many of her poems, including “Upon the Double Murder of King Charles I,” her husband, James Philips, was a moderate Parliamentarian who supported the Cromwellian regime, serving as colonel in the Parliamentary army and as member of the High Court of Justice. The *DNB* stresses that he was seen as moderate in his political stance; one of his contemporaries writes of him, “One that had the fortune to be in with all Governments but thriv’d by none... regarding something more the Employments then the Authority from whom he received the Same: he hath done much good and ill rewarded by those he deserv’d most of” (Chernaik). Because of this mixed personal situation, Philips had no choice but to understand both sides in the Civil War conflict. In her works she does not fully assert a loyalty to either side; having connections on either side seems to have complicated her willingness to take a stance. In addition to her husband’s Parliamentarian involvement, her uncle John Oxenbridge was a Puritan who befriended Marvell and Milton, and her aunt was married to Oliver St. John, a well-known

Parliamentarian lawyer (Chernaik). With such visible Puritan connections, Philips demonstrates empathy in contemplating the Parliamentarian side, though she does not define her antagonists as clearly as do Hutchinson and Cavendish.

Philips describes one of her most divided instances of allegiance between the two sides in “To Antenor, on a Paper of Mine.” She had been threatened by Jenkin Jones, a Puritan known to be against the Cromwellian Protectorate, who said that he would publish some of her poems glorifying the dead King in order to injure her husband’s reputation during his employment in the Cromwellian regime. Philips writes,

Must then my crimes become his scandal too?

Why, sure the devil hath not much to do.

The weakness of the other charge is clear,

When such a trifle must bring up the rear. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann 188, lines 1-4).

The figure of Antenor refers to the Trojan who tried to bring peace between Troy and Greece, a name that Philips uses in most of her correspondence to refer to her husband, associating him with a noble character from antiquity. Mihoko Suzuki in *The History of British Women's Writing* has argued that the name is also used in contexts that indicate the one who betrayed Troy (273), but the stronger connotation seems to be the positive one, as it is hard to see why Philips would associate her husband with a traitor. Even though Philips had to recant her Royalist position to ensure her husband’s safety, she directly asserts her individuality in the poem and argues that her own intellectual endeavor has not hurt anyone or caused any disorder; she addresses her spouse as a “wife who wishes to speak from a different position from her husband’s, thus dramatizing the conflicting obligation to husband and king” (Suzuki 273). With divided loyalties, she

struggles to take a clear side. Still, in affirming her individual agency is to blame for the faults she committed, she writes,

My love and life I must confess are thine,
But not my errors, they are only mine.
And if my faults must be for thine allowed,
It will be hard to dissipate the cloud:
For Eve's rebellion did not Adam blast,

Until himself forbidden fruit did taste. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann 152, 7-12)

Here Philips further stresses her faults are hers alone to bear; she notes that Eve's sin did not redound upon Adam until he had himself eaten the forbidden fruit, and Antenor—her husband—has committed no such fault. Philips makes an appeal to readers not to judge her husband; instead, they should distinguish between her and her husband. Although she is being blamed for siding with the King, the fault is of a private nature, one separate from her husband's career. Philips ends by stating that “Nor yet my follies blast Antenor's name” (line 18), which functions as a way of saying that her husband's reputation should not be injured.

In addition to defending her family's reputation, Philips writes frequently of love toward one's friends; in particular, she is known for establishing a “society of friendship” that included fellow women and men such as Anne Owen, Mary Aubrey, Jeremy Taylor, and Francis Finch (Chernaik). The women particularly valued the association. Commenting on the value of friendship in her poem “A Friend,” Philips writes,

If soules no sexes have, for men t'exclude
Women from friendship's vast capacity,
Is a design imperious and rude,

Onely maintain'd by partiall tyranny. (Philips and Thomas lines 19-22)

Philips places great value on the “vast capacity” of friendship; to not allow them one of life’s great pleasures is an injustice tantamount to “tyranny.” For Philips friendship is particularly associated with the retirement theme I have discussed above, as seen in her poem “A Country Life.” She contrasts the “tumult” of the wars with the peace of rural life:

How sacred and how innocent

A country life appears,

How free from tumult, discontent,

From flattery or fears!

This was the first and happiest life,

When man enjoyed himself;

Till pride exchanged peace for strife,

And happiness for pelf. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann 190, lines 1-8)

Philips’s use of the retirement theme here links to her disapproval of the general tumult of the Civil Wars; without specifying who is responsible for the conflict, she imagines a space removed from it. Later in the same poem, Philips refers back to the Greco-Roman “golden age,” free of greed and conflict. Philips writes,

That golden age did entertain

No passion but of love;

The thoughts of ruling and of gain

Did ne’er their fancies move.

None then did envy neighbor’s wealth,

Nor plot to wrong his bed:

Happy in friendship and in health

On roots, not beasts, they fed. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann 190, lines 13-19)

Alluding loosely to the negative elements that plagued King Charles I's reign, the poem imagines a pastoral moment evocative of the golden age described by Hesiod and Ovid, before humans ruled over each other and consumed their fellow creatures. The poem ends with a moment of individual agency as Philips stresses she is not forced to take up a country life but makes the choice of her own free will:

There are below but two things good,

Friendship and honesty,

And only those alone would

Ask for felicity.

In this retired integrity,

Free from both war and noise,

I live not by necessity,

But wholly by my choice. (qtd. in Ross and Scott-Baumann 192)

In her emphasis on the retirement theme, Philips contrasts the tumultuous status quo of the Civil Wars with a retreat to a world of friendship and honesty. She reminds readers of the essential lesson that the success of any society is the ability to build communal relationships based on trust, regardless of political and religious affiliation.

In in the poems above, Philips highlights the qualities that define successful human societies. The emphasis on friendship develops further in her writings composed during the Restoration. Suzuki discusses how Philips's translations of Corneille's *Horace* (1641) and *Death of Pompey* (performed 1644) in the later part of her life in the 1660s show instances of

“reconciliation after the Civil Wars” (*History* 270). Her later works are written in a retrospective tone, empathizing in part with those who backed the Parliament and suffered persecution during the Restoration. Her husband, for instance, was accused of signing the death warrant of King Charles I in the Restoration and relied upon the assistance of Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, to clear his name. Boyle had been a Parliamentary confidant of Cromwell but changed his position later to back Charles II in the Restoration and was in a position to help Philips’s husband. Suzuki notes of Philips’s translation of *The Death of Pompey* that “these contexts suggest that Philips’s translation was a political act of mediation between two opposing forces” (273). In the play, Philips presents an example of reconciliation when Caesar, the king figure, emerges victorious and praises Pompey, the equivalent of a Parliamentary leader. Caesar states, “Prepare tomorrow for a glorious day... Pompey to appease, and Cleopatra Crown, / To her a Throne, to him let’s Altars Build, / And to them both Immortal Honours yield” (qtd. in Suzuki 280). In another instance from the play, Philips further stresses reconciliation when two Egyptian priests rejoice in the memory of Pompey, who they say “Should be Deified,” while affirming at the same time that Caesar has to “keep the world h’ has won:/ And sing Cornelia’s praise” (280). The clear identification of Caesar as Charles I, and the reference to Caesar as “Dictator” in Act III, complicates our understanding of Philips’s well-known Royalism. Her poetry as well as her dramatic translations indicate familiarity if not empathy with Parliamentary positions.

In Philips’s translation of Corneille’s *Horace*, the central theme is how female characters must divide their loyalties among their relations. Sabina, Horace’s wife in the play, affirms her role as mediator in telling him, “I the sole link am of your sacred knot,/ Which will unty, as soon as I am not” (qtd. in Suzuki, *History* 281). Mediation represents an important theme for Philips,

who played a role in clearing her husband's name during the Restoration. But Sabina is torn by the question of whether to side with those who won or those who lost the war, especially after King Tullus retakes the throne at the end of the play, without regard for those who lost their lives in the conflict. Suzuki notes that the play "refuses to embrace one side of the civil war and demonize the opposing position" (*History* 282). In these late works by Philips we thus see her cultivating a nonpartisan if not exactly empathetic stance; she found in the dramatic stories of antiquity parallels to her own divided loyalties. One can imagine a woman in her circumstances, with a husband on the opposite side of the political spectrum, would learn empathy from experience. Her poems to Antenor express a certain amount of anguish, and the translation of the two plays by Corneille reveals an understanding of opposite sides in a political divide. But these instances are not direct statements of empathy with one's enemy in the manner of Hutchinson and Cavendish, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation. This difference is a fundamental one for me. Hutchinson, Cavendish, and their contemporaries experienced similar events and were exposed to similar voices in print; Norbrook, for example, affirms the circulation of manuscripts among early modern women writers is more than just a possibility ("Elegies" 480). Yet Philips does not empathize with her opponents in a direct way. There is always the possibility that empathic constructions may be located in future literary study of Philips, especially when one considers that many women's writings of the period remain unstudied, perhaps revealing instances where Philips addresses directly and with empathy potential foes who do not share her worldview. For the time being, however, her writings seem to me not to display empathy in the same way Hutchinson's and Cavendish's do.

The final author I would like to analyze in this chapter is Margaret Fell Fox (1614-1702), a key advocate to the state and general public for her religious group—called "Friends" at the

time and “Quakers” today—to play an active role in society and enjoy freedom of movement, preaching, and assembly. These democratic values were central in seventeenth-century religious conversion rhetoric, as Fell and others sought to reach people with dissimilar beliefs. Because the emphasis was on conversion, Fell’s work is different from the instances of empathy I have discussed thus far; rather than understanding another person’s perspective for its own sake, with proselytizing, the emphasis is on bringing one’s audience around to one’s own point of view. Though Fell did not hold political affiliation or declare her politics in her writings, she still had to maneuver through the existing political system; most of her attempts were successful, even if they took some time. The following instances can be seen, therefore, as examples of religious tolerance rather than empathizing. Thanks to recent publications of Fell’s work, we understand better her prominent role among Quakers and her masterful persuasive techniques in her letters to key players in the politics of the seventeenth century, the Restoration period in particular.

Religious conversion rhetoric is apparent in many of Fell’s writings, such as “A Letter Sent to the King,” where she makes a plea to release Quakers from prison. She starts off the letter with statements reminding Charles II of his years of exile, and how his ultimate restoration forms part of God’s plan for him. She writes,

In the fear of the Lord God stand still, and consider what thou and you have been doing these six years, since the Lord brought you peaceably into this realm, and made you rulers over this people. The righteous eye of the Almighty hath been over you, and hath seen all your doings and actions. (Fell and Donawerth 151)

Even though at the time of writing this letter Fell was still in prison, she writes to the King with firm confidence, employing the imperative as she directs him to “stand still” and “consider” his actions. Fell wants the King to remember the painful tribulations that he has been through as a

way of understanding the oppression orchestrated against followers of her denomination. Just as many Royalists lost their lives in the course of the war, injustice in the Restoration present “hath brought hundreds of God’s people to their graves. It hath also rendered this realm and the governors of it cruel in the eyes of all the people, both within its own body, and in other nations; besides the guilt of innocent blood lies upon this kingdom” (152). Fell parallels painful memories experienced by the King to her own group’s suffering.

Fell further states that her religious group will never attempt a violent action as committed during the Civil Wars when the Puritans took arms against the King. She stresses to him that she “wrote to thee several times concerning our faith and principles, how that we could not swear for conscience sake; neither could we take up arms, nor plot, nor contrive to do any man wrong nor injury, much less the king” (Fell and Donawerth 153). Fell thus distances her group from violent practices from the past in order to dispel unfounded suspicions against her group. As a result, Fell’s words might be considered an appeal to mutual coexistence. The reason why Fell and the followers of her faith were in prison was that they declined to take the oath of allegiance mandated by the King. Fell wants to make clear that the Quakers should not be perceived as a threat, even though they will not take an oath; their reasons have to do with religious conscience rather than rebellion against the authority of the King.

In addition to advocating for Quakers, Fell fought for female equality, arguing that equal opportunity for women is part of her faith. In “Women’s Speaking Justified,” Fell presents women as equal to men, envisioning equality and liberty of conscience as essential components for successful implementation of God’s teachings, as evidenced in the Holy Bible. Fell recounts, for instance, the moment when Jesus (peace be upon him) meets Mary Magdalene and Mary outside his tomb after the Resurrection. Referring to Matthew 28:10 and Mark 16:9, Fell writes,

“For when he met the women after he was risen, he said unto them, All Hail! And they came and held him by the feet, and worshiped him; then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid. Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there they shall see me” (Fell and Donawerth 162-63). After citing more instances of active roles played by women in the Holy Bible in which they spread God’s word to mankind, Fell comments, “Mark this, you that despise and oppose the message of the Lord God that he sends by women! What had become of the redemption of the whole body of mankind, if they had not cause to believe the message that the Lord Jesus sent by these women, of and concerning his resurrection?” (163). Fell understands the link between erroneous religious ideology that sees women as weak and incapable of preaching and her contemporaries’ reluctance to allow women active roles in the public sphere; she sees both of these sets of views in dire need of critique. In order to fix the latter issue, the religious rhetoric has to be put straight through reformed interpretation of it; she invokes a right that the Reformation afforded for all segments of society—the priesthood of all believers—including women. Fell’s writings form part of the outpouring of print that occurred during the Civil Wars, in which many groups voiced opposition to the dominant social and religious structures of the time. In Fell’s case she spoke out against both religious and patriarchal control. Fell provides in her essays a thorough examination of women in the Holy Bible, the most advanced position of its time on women speaking on matters of religion, and by extension, topics in general.

Similarly, in “A Loving Salutation to the Seed of Abraham among the Jews,” Fell, following many other millenarian groups, wants to do her part in conveying a peaceful yet persuasive message to the Jews to convert them to her faith. Although this gesture will be viewed as an inappropriate proposal today, in the seventeenth century it was considered empathic concern, counter to anti-Semitic attitudes of the time. Fell declares, “So as ye love your souls and

your eternal peace, turn to the Lord that calls you, whose Spirit will not always strive with man, whose hand of love is continued and held forth to you” (Fell and Donawerth 132). In these words, the intention is to bring a convincing message to the Jews, using the language of love rather than warning. This rhetorical approach is repeated throughout the piece. Toward the end of the essay Fell writes,

See here now if this be not fulfilled. Is there not even a bowing down unto thee in this loving invitation, and even a licking of the dust of thy feet, with their faces towards the earth, who have the standard of the Lord set among us, which is for the gathering of all nations together, that we might bring thy sons in our arms, and thy daughters upon our shoulders. Our souls’ desire is that you might all be gathered, and come into the covenant of light and love, and partake with us of the everlasting riches and inheritance that never fades away. (134)

Fell emphasizes love in her invitation, presenting the subject of conversion in positive rather than negative terms. The message is so well written that Baruch Spinoza was paid to translate this piece into Hebrew in order to publicize the merciful message in Amsterdam (Popkin 14). George Fox, Fell’s husband, was also deeply involved in the act of writing the document (Broad). The work’s collective pronouns such as “us” and familial forms of address such as “sons” and “daughters” highlight the communal relationship that Fox embedded in Fell’s invitation.

Many of Fell’s writings respond to persecutions endured by the Quakers. Some Quakers were involved with “Venner’s Rising” of 1661, the final rebellion of the Fifth Monarchy Men against Charles II, and were subsequently imprisoned. The Fifth Monarchists were not a peaceful group and tried to reclaim London from the King’s rule to establish the rule of “King Jesus.” As a result, Charles II signed a new order called “The Quaker Act” of 1662 that would put Quakers

in prison if they refused to take the oath of allegiance (Fell and Donawerth 59). Fell says, “we had great liberty, and had our Meetings very peaceably for the first half year after the king came in, until Fifth Monarchy Men raised an insurrection and tumult in the city of London, and then all of our meetings were disturbed...” (58). Fell’s narrative indicates a conscious distancing from non-peaceful groups such as the Fifth Monarchists, indicating to readers that Quakerism is a peaceful movement and its guiding figures see no future in this association. Fell invested in a lengthy correspondence to convince the authorities of the peacefulness of the Quaker cause, culminating in the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687, in which King James II freed all Quakers as long as they did not become involved in violence against the state (66).

Most of the themes that Fell emphasizes in her career include promoting the Quaker cause and marshalling support to safeguard Friends from persecution both from the state and from other dominant religious groups. She accomplishes this end by showing the suffering and misery that Quakers had to endure even if they had not participated in the violent actions that took place during the Civil War period and after. In her writings, Fell does not employ the same type of cognitive empathy that Hutchinson and Cavendish engage with; these two earlier writers always had to contend with extreme partisanship and thus employ empathic strategies to bridge the gaps between opponents. This is not to say that Fell does not consider other points of view; she just does so to benefit her group rather than to cross through ideological divides for empathic reasons.

This chapter has explored the empathic constructions of women writers of the mid-seventeenth century. As the analysis above demonstrates, Hutchinson and Cavendish were actually ahead of their time with regard to employing empathic constructions in their writing; they appealed to the imaginations of their readers, using techniques of strategic empathizing.

Hutchinson and Cavendish shared the personal experience of loss during the period of the Civil War and beyond, an experience that originates in their husbands' employment during those years, either by leading troops, as in the case of William Cavendish, or being involved in the Interregnum political system as a governor, mayor, and member of the high criminal court, as in the case of John Hutchinson. The other women writers discussed above did not have the same direct political engagement that Hutchinson and Cavendish experienced.

In the end, the ability to generate empathic constructions tends to result from direct experience with individuals from the other side of a conflict; when one does have this experience, other personal and educational factors further determine one's capacity for empathy. Both Hutchinson and Cavendish were able to add to their extensive personal experiences contact with thinkers and other authoritative figures in England; they were also well versed in reading literature and other influential writings from other important languages in Europe at the time, including Latin and French. This mix of direct personal experience with conflict and extensive intellectual preparation seems to have given them a special capacity for empathy. The direct engagement of Hutchinson and Cavendish with others who didn't hold the same views on politics or religion they did, rather than just hearing about the plight or struggle of others, played a significant role in how they created imaginative empathic constructions to be understood by whoever reads their writings. Both Hutchinson and Cavendish had very close experiences with the horrors of the Civil War period by experiencing the death of a close relation, attending to the injured, and losing property and/or social status. As a result, both writers did their best to highlight empathic constructions and other civilizing ideals with the aim of reforming society. The other women writers considered in this chapter did not have such unhappy experiences, so the drive to empathize was not as central. Philips, for example, had sympathies for her husband's

Parliamentarian side, but he never suffered persecution in the way John Hutchinson or William Cavendish did. Similarly, Bradstreet's engagement with the Civil War was solely an artistic one, focused on nonpartisan positions rather than negotiations with people holding opposing views; although she grew up in England, she had long been a resident of the Massachusetts Bay Colony when fighting broke out in the 1640s. The need to create social harmony between Puritans and Royalists was not a direct concern for her in America.

Although they do not emphasize cognitive empathic constructions, the women writers discussed in this chapter do construct prosocial scenarios that highlight civilizing ideals aimed at healing society's ailments. But Hutchinson and Cavendish, in contrast, hit the bullseye in their use of cognitive empathy to directly address perceived others and engage with the ideological, political, and religious differences that those others subscribe to. They repeatedly allow space for perspective-taking and other empathic manifestations in order to bridge gaps created by the partisanship of the Civil War period.

Yet all of these authors taken together can be viewed as an important element of the Civilizing Process, a movement that paved the way for female authors to engage with the public sphere. Most importantly, the Civilizing Process, as mentioned above on many occasions, was accompanied by a general upward pattern that lifted the morale of society in diverse walks of life. Keith Thomas comments,

Partly because of the efforts of these various civilizing agencies [hard work, temperance, thrift, self-education, and religious knowledge], and even more because of the growth of towns, trade, industry, and the improvement of communications, the manners of the common people were generally agreed to have softened between the early sixteenth and

late eighteenth centuries. Higher wages, more regular working habits, and the spread of consumer goods were all helping to civilize the lower classes. (74)

All in all, the Civilizing Process is a historical movement that is based not just on one element like the proliferation of trade, or the spread of the printing press. Rather the movement encompasses many different aspects in society across social classes, and ideological divides. Hutchinson and Cavendish played a major role in this process, in large part because of their attention to empathy.

Chapter V: Teaching Empathy in the Literature and Composition Classroom

This chapter focuses on the pedagogical applications of empathy in the literature and composition classroom, demonstrating how empathy could be taught through classroom activities, drawing from my experience teaching the British Literature survey and composition courses. These activities include role-playing, summarizing the points of view of others fairly, and understanding historical difference through the use of *The Dictionary of National Biography* and *Early English Books Online*. Based on two cooperative internships I completed to fulfill PhD requirements and on teaching assistantships in composition, I would like to argue how empathy might be taught or highlighted in the college classroom. I explore Krista Ratcliffe's seminal work on the pedagogical applications of empathy and how it can be integrated into my approach. I discuss specifically how empathy can be studied in a British Literature survey course, a World Literature course, and a composition course.

It is well understood that lack of empathy in the classroom can impact in a negative way the student, the teacher, and the institution itself. Teaching literature with empathy in mind, using techniques discussed below, can make the whole instructional process result in positive outcomes where students become active agents in the development of civility and optimism in their interactions. For example, composition class projects can allow students to work with vulnerable members of their community such as the homeless, the disabled, the elderly, and immigrants, among other groups.

Empathizing with the unfortunate or the marginalized is a lesson all of the world's major religions have taught. My religion of Islam is no different. Mohamed (Peace be upon him), just like Jesus (Peace be upon him), embodied the spirit of empathy throughout his life as a prophet, leading by example what it means to be empathetic. In one instance, Mohamed (PBUH) and his

friends were chatting when he told them, “You can never be (true) believers until you show mercy to one another.” His friends responded, “We all show mercy, O Messenger of Allah.” Then Mohamed (PBUH) replied, “It is not the compassion that any one of you shows to his friend. It is the compassion and mercy that you show the people in general [that I mean]” (Narrated by Tirmidhī et al.). This quality of empathizing with others outside one’s friends and family, especially one’s opponents, has been the emphasis of this dissertation. This kind of empathy is integral to one’s faith because not doing so might indicate that the person not empathizing lacks an important ingredient of what it means to be human, even before being faithful to God. It is as if faith and empathy go hand in hand. If one is merciful to God’s creation, God is going to be merciful with you. Having lived my life believing in the importance of being empathetic to others by genuinely listening to them, and endeavoring to prioritize their well-being before mine, I have sought to follow these religious examples as best I can, even during difficult times.

As with the religious traditions of the world, literature classroom activities can highlight empathy. In fact, literary study in all of its forms is an important part of the answer to the lack of empathy in educational institutions. If activities are designed to highlight perspective-taking, students can connect not just with troubled characters or situations in a piece of literature such as *The Convent of Pleasure*, which depicts the suffering of the poor. Students will also be able to benefit personally from such encounters. They can relate what they are reading in a literature classroom to similar challenges in reality faced by people today. To master the rhetoric of cognitive empathy and its role in ameliorating society’s ailments, teachers can redesign their courses and instructional activities to emphasize perspective-taking activities. Emphasis on pedagogical empathic techniques can further students’ ethical engagement with the world and

deepen their understanding of the role of literature and its relationship to the reality students inhabit today.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to describe classroom exercises that can be used to increase students' ability to analyze a work of literature in an empathetic way that corresponds to the latest research findings on the relationship of empathy to literature. In order to accomplish this goal, the chapter describes the importance of interdisciplinary empathic approaches relevant to English instruction, explaining how works of literature can be taught by focusing on the theme of empathy. I present classroom exercises that boost students' literary skills with particular attention to the theme of empathy and its relationship to commonly experienced human emotions. Examples of literary material to be adapted in undergraduate courses derive from my experience with surveys of British and World Literature, both of which are regularly offered at ISU and which I have had the experience of teaching as part of cooperative internships. I also present some composition activities that highlight empathic skills, based on my experience of teaching first year composition (FYC) courses.

My ideal is that in the early stages of education in elementary school, teachers would be asked to measure how well a child empathizes with other children in need of help, or how well the child understands the emotions of others who are hurt or different from them. Thus, there would be emphasis from a young age on developing interpersonal communication skills, which are seen as signs of future success. Then in middle school and high school education, students would work together as a community while acknowledging their differences in order to find an answer to some question or complete a task on a bigger project. Articles such as Katrina Webber and Christa Agiro's "Not from Around These Parts: Using Young Adult Literature to Promote Empathy for the Immigrant Experience" argue that empathy can lead to "profound" experiences

for students as they learn about the diverse experiences of those around them (2). In higher education, however, attention toward the use of empathy in the classroom is much more limited.

There does seem to be growing interest in the pragmatic instruction of empathy in the workplace, however. Advanced empathic skills are important for workers in fields such as social work, clinical psychology, and medical science. As indicated in the introduction of this dissertation, clinical psychologists and cognitive scientists use empathic strategies to become closer to patients who are suffering from illnesses such as autism, PTSD, and depression. Keen also highlights a growing tendency among different sciences to instruct their students or employees on the importance of empathy and morality by using literary material, an approach she refers to as “the affective turn” (qtd. in Jaén and Simon 24). This idea is an important shift in the way in which disparate fields of study are taking steps toward including literary material into their instruction and research. For example, in the medical profession, Doctor Helen Riess co-founded Empathetics Inc, which provides specialized empathy training for medical professionals. She stresses that contemporary physicians face tremendous pressures in terms of the number of patients they are expected to see, the short amount of time in which they have to see them, the complexity of the health problems, and increasing burdensome documentation requirements. Empathy is challenged and to some extent diminished by many of the factors that are beleaguering health care today (Riess 13).

The main impetus of Riess’s work is that empathy can be taught; individuals can be given training on how to approach challenging situations, especially practicing doctors currently serving patients. In this training, Empathetics Inc presents specific scenarios that can be worked through online, in person, or whichever way fits the professional seeking this type of service. In what is called “medical humanities,” empathy is at the center stage of “narrative medicine,”

which “is a field that focuses on the pedagogical perspectives of medical humanities. The aim is to train medical students to carefully listen, by learning to close read, in order to gain a more nuanced insight into an illness” (Lauritzen 129). In fact, medical schools throughout North America started including actual works of literature into their student preparation phases. In the journal *Medical Teacher*, Hewitt asserts,

Literature can provide a powerful insight into healthcare experiences. Medical schools could, hence, use literature to help students develop a more empathic approach. Good books can challenge our *modus operandi* by forcing us to stand in the shoes of another. Small changes in our behavior can have huge impacts on those around us and there is no doubt that encouraging doctors to be mindful of this can have a hugely positive impact on patient experiences. (845)

Using literary material to elicit empathy and highlight ways to deal with challenging human experiences has become a part of the research agenda of different fields, an educational turn that higher education English instructors should pay close attention to. For instance, reading literary works like fiction or lyric poetry can affect the way autistic adults perceive the world around them, combining both literary studies and psychology or medical sciences. The English instructor can take a similar interdisciplinary approach in discussing empathy in the classroom. For example, literary scholars have benefitted from the way in which neuroscientists explain how emotions are experienced and how they should be interpreted. Thus, the emergence of the field of cognitive literary studies, which uses an interdisciplinary approach to examine literary works, suggests new pedagogical approaches English instructors might employ.

Examples of the important intersections between literature and pedagogy abound. Martha Nussbaum stresses how literature can stimulate ethical reflection. When reading, personal

prejudices are challenged and different perspectives are the new focus (qtd. in Lauritzen 130). Similarly, Lauritzen urges medical educators to adopt a literary approach that inculcates empathic skills. She argues,

By entering the role of “*the judicious spectator*,” we can create a personal, yet distant connection to literature. As a reader, one can feel compassion but at the same time remain analytic and critical. This supports the argument that reading fiction contributes to the development of empathy, which also involves the ability to create a balance between close and distant. (130)

In being taught to inhabit the role of “the judicious spectator,” students participate in a cognitive empathic activity that imagines the position of others, mastering the skills appreciated in an English classroom such as interpretation, close reading, and others. Literature can thus serve as a vehicle to communicate empathy and shed light on the plights of others, whether it be divorce, mental illness, power struggles, or racial issues faced by immigrants and other minority groups. The judicious spectators can learn those skills that will help them advance as critical readers of literary texts and apply those skills to their work in the medical world and elsewhere.

Lauritzen’s stance is further supported by literary critic Suzanne Keen’s essay entitled “Novel Readers and the Empathetic Angel of Our Nature” in *Rethinking Empathy through Literature*. In the essay Keen both revisits the claims she made early on in her 2007 book *Empathy and the Novel* and responds to Pinker’s book *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. In her response to Pinker, she acknowledges that he is in agreement with her own belief that reading literature leads to good citizenry; however, she notes that Pinker places insufficient “emphasis on novel reading” (22). In her article, Keen argues that empathy in Pinker’s book has not received enough discussion, lamenting the very little direct mention of

readers' narrative empathy, points of critique that Keen sees could have been better covered in Pinker's account of the Civilizing Process. Indeed, Keen states that reading literature can lead to prosocial practices if done correctly, as I explain below with regard to reading clubs and other community outreach activities. In a prison program she calls "Changing Lives Through Literature," Keen discusses how placing convicts through a reading and discussion program boosts the convicts' morale and leads to better citizenry in the end and lower rates of recidivism (30).

Survey of British Literature II

In satisfying the requirements for the PhD program, I was fortunate to participate in two cooperative internships—Survey of British Literature I and II. First, in the spring of 2017, I co-taught English 2268 with Professor Roger Schmidt, where I was responsible for teaching literary material covering the Romantic, Victorian, Modern, Postmodern, and Contemporary periods. In this course, I taught literary materials from a diverse set of authors, and in different genres. As I worked my way through the course, I noted especially Keen and Zunshine's insight that the Romantic and Victorian periods were literary eras especially illustrative of empathic authorial constructions, where empathy is directly and purposefully applied to discuss different societal ailments. Characters are carefully created by Romantic and Victorian authors so that readers can identify with them, whether in poems, novellas, or dramas. In this section, I would like to discuss how poetry, short stories, and plays taken from the *Norton Anthology* can be directed toward a focus on empathy.

1) Poetry

Terry Eagleton defines poetry as "a fictional, verbally inventive moral statement in which it is the author, rather than the printer or word processor, who decides where the lines should

end. This dreary-sounding definition, unpoetic to a fault, may well turn out to be the best we can do” (25). Although this definition is broad, students can learn from it how to respond to poetic language and its privileged status as an artistic form of language creation, written by another human being wanting to communicate an idea, protest a social dilemma, express gratitude, lament the loss of somebody, or explicate a specific moment. Whatever the intent or subject the author is writing about, teachers can promote critical reading techniques, which are essential to understand carefully what the author is saying or not saying; critical reading pursues an understanding of the author’s perspective, which is in itself an empathic move. I learned from Professor Schmidt to start with “teaching students how to read the material” and then move on to asking questions and becoming critical readers based on evidence from the poem (Bain 89). Slow reading of the lines of a poem, accompanied by critical questions about the choice of words, metaphors, images, tone, and context contributes to a better understanding of what the author meant or suggested.

In order to increase the quality of perspective-taking, especially through an understanding of the choice of certain words or unusual sentence structures, poetry should be read aloud in class. Professor Schmidt and I read poems out loud and asked students to read them out loud. After reading out loud, teachers can create a conversation about the poem by asking prepared questions about tone, rhythm, meaning, and context, the function of which are to engage critically with the text in an open-minded approach as different students respond to the poem’s content. Eagleton argues that because “poetry is a language organized in such a way as to generate certain effects” (89), it is bound to “reveal the nature of words” which are “concerned with meaning as well as with investigating its own verbal materials” (89). Reading poems aloud enhances student awareness of the effects Eagleton mentions. An empathic approach to poetry

can thus be enriched when teachers have students read poems aloud and critique the oral effects of the poem and how they relate to meaning.

I also learned in my internship with Professor Schmidt to bring in artistic images to help students understand an author's work. Artworks and other images were very appealing to the students, especially when we taught Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn" and Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience*. We thought about how images and texts can function together to help understand, for instance, the context of the French Revolution behind Keats's and Blake's works. Mitchell asks, "How do we get from Blake's images to his text? What are the routes (not roots) of reference between visual and verbal signs?" (qtd. in Gleckner et al. 43). Understanding the relationship between Blake's paintings and his hand-written texts is crucial in interpreting his work.

Because poetry usually employs visual imagery, as in Keats's poems, perspective-taking increases when instructors present images to aid students in understanding the text; students come out better prepared to respond to the poem critically when they create connections between the different elements of the poem's verbal and visual elements. In the same vein, Rhodes argues that "students find it interesting and enlivening if a course includes some visual help in stimulating their imaginations" (qtd. in Evert and Rhodes 13). In class, Dr. Schmidt and I exhibited visuals for students to encourage this kind of perspective-taking. We showed the Grecian urn that Keats describes in his ode and Blake's drawing of "The Tyger," both of which depict a visual that emphasizes important themes that the poems discuss. Professor Schmidt's lesson-planning around presentation of text and image led students to make interpretive statements about meanings of words, statements, and structures within a specific poem.

2) Fiction

When researching Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, I encountered Eagleton's statement that "Virginia Woolf's prose is much more metaphorically charged than John Dryden's poetry" (25). Though I did not teach this work, I was able to see in detail how Professor Schmidt employed empathy in order to make this difficult novel intelligible to students. He started off by explaining the impact of World War I on the English people and the world in general, stating that *Mrs. Dalloway* was written right after the war. People were traumatized and psychologically anxious in the aftermath of the war as they realized the destruction it had brought upon Europe and the potentiality for retaliation it had unleashed. This practice of contextualizing a work is a fundamental step aimed to help students understand the worldview of the author. In other words, Professor Schmidt indirectly brought students to put themselves in the author's shoes. He explained that Woolf made use of stream of consciousness in the work, and that her aim was to represent the changing reality people experienced after the war. Woolf, as a Modernist, was part of a new artistic movement that does not see, for instance, importance in a regular narrative arc; instead, fragmentation, abstraction, and lack of resolve become the norm for this new art movement. One of the elements that Professor Schmidt clearly explained was how *Mrs. Dalloway* exemplifies the struggles of urban life; students were, as Rosner puts it, "consistently impressed by how much the form and content of the text can be extrapolated from its city setting" (qtd. in Barret & Saxton 43).

In tackling Woolf's novel, Professor Schmidt started the class with general questions about the text. This approach helps to flush out student-led observations that can prompt constructive class discussion, where students respond to one another. Students, at first, seemed reluctant to talk about the book since the text was difficult for them. One of the students, eventually, said that reading Woolf's work seemed pointless; she said she did not know why

reading Woolf's work still matters. After listening to the student's complaints, Professor Schmidt continued his rigorous questioning of Woolf's artistic choices until more students joined the conversation. The range of approaches that Professor Schmidt implemented with this text were not random; he began with simple generalization, then moved to more complex and specific ideas in the text, using familiar terms before specialized ones and finally letting students construct knowledge using the means available to them, such as formulating claims about the characters and using evidence from the text to back the claims (Bain 123-126).

Following the general-to-specific questioning method, Professor Schmidt employed critical reading practices with the same deftness. Such methods are one of the ways to ease student difficulty with a text, a strategy that is essential for unpacking such a challenging novel. For example, Professor Schmidt asked students to read aloud a paragraph and then posed specific questions about it, such as why the author chose a specific word, character, or situation. Through such questioning, Woolf's work emerged as not just an example of stream of consciousness but a deeply felt expression of frustration with the world and the contradictions that exist in it. By showing students examples of the different types of consciousness that Woolf explores in her work, and how she switches between the different consciousnesses of Clarissa and the other characters, Professor Schmidt brought to the fore Woolf's empathic method. In her work this author leads student to reflect on the complexities of the post-WWI period; she is an example of how Modernist authors responded to the war's tragic consequences.

Most importantly, what I learned from my internship was not just the techniques of teaching, but the importance of empathy in responding to student questions. Professor Schmidt responded empathetically to student questions, especially when one of the students objected to the choice of reading at the start of the class. This empathizing with a student's situation is what

made her realize afterwards to value the perspectives of others—both of other readers and of the author herself. The student was able to see a model of empathy in the way Professor Schmidt dealt with this difficult situation. Professor Schmidt was always able to collect student responses and relate them to each other as he uncovered character features, time sequences, and shifts of consciousness, creating a community of learners intellectually participating in knowledge creation. Without these tactics, students would not have easily entered the critical interpretive discussion of the text. The care that Professor Schmidt showed to every student in the discussion created a safe environment for participation, without fear of embarrassment.

One final element that I learned in these sessions was the importance of context in creating empathetic responses to a literary work. Professor Schmidt viewed Woolf's novel within the context of the Modernism movement, in its political and social landscape. Whitebrook argues that a literary work that reflects some sort of conflict "will be concerned with some aspect of the life in the community which is presently undergoing some form of struggle for power and/or conciliation of interests" (5). Such was the case with Woolf's fiction, which voiced a political protest in the wake of the First World War. The challenging style of *Mrs. Dalloway* forms part of Woolf's protest as an artist of the Modernist avant-garde.

3) Drama

Drama performance establishes an instructional dynamic that fosters empathy toward characters, especially when students are asked to choose to identify with a specific character. When I taught the last act of Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*, students first watched an adaptation of the play on YouTube. I then divided students into groups and asked them first to select a character and then perform a scene. They then explained the themes that stood out to them in the part they chose to perform. Their classmates then asked them further

interpretive questions about how this selected part could be seen as part of the comedic structure of the play as a whole. Students worked together as a community to discuss which scene they wanted to perform and what this part would signify. I set the condition that everyone in the group must play a role and was amazed that even students who were reluctant to speak actually took part in the activity. One of the features of comedy that students picked up on right away was how incidents happen quickly, with quick development of theme. What does not change as fast is the features of the characters, and students reflected on that when they performed their scenes. The performance model for this session—in which students choose and identify with specific characters—was also used regularly in a graduate class I took with Professor Winston, where students were asked to perform a scene of one of the plays studied in the class. We then commented on the performance choice and the significance of the chosen part in the overall plot of the play. Used in tandem with the think-pair-square-share technique (Bain 130), the performance model enables students to understand a scene's thematic importance in a profound way.

Thus, the practices that Professor Schmidt and I emphasized in the British Literature course foregrounded empathic teaching technique, an enhancement on traditional literary techniques of close reading, interpretation, and research. We sought to foster an environment of healthy perspective-taking and negotiation. As Parker Palmer comments, “disciplined group inquiry led by a skilled teacher is one of the most reliable ways to extract information from data of all sorts. And the more experience we have with this kind of inquiry, the more likely we are to read our own feelings” (210). It is true that we are not professional counsellors, but discussion of ideas in a community-based classroom is essential for literature. Rosenblatt argues, “the effort to help the student arrive at a more balanced and lucid sense of the work thus involves the parallel

effort to help him understand and evaluate his personal emphasis” (96). Thus if we dismiss the emotional package that students apply to a text, we are also going to forego an important interpretive tool for literature. Empathy training for a literature teacher can then provide an invaluable tool to enhance students’ understanding of texts through personal connection.

Survey of British Literature I

My second cooperative internship was conducted during the fall of 2017, when I co-taught English 2267 under the supervision of Professor Curtis Whitaker, covering literary material from the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century. In this course, the theme of empathy and the Civilizing Process were central ideas around which class activities and assignments were organized. I was particularly responsible for teaching the writings of Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish, with an emphasis on the theme of empathy. Before I started teaching the chosen works, contextual information was needed so that students would understand the opposing cultural identities these writers subscribed to during the English Civil Wars. Professor Whitaker provided this information through class activities and assignments leading up to our study of Hutchinson and Cavendish. Hutchinson and Cavendish represent a group of writers who were touched personally by the tragic incidents of the war, but as this dissertation has sought to demonstrate in previous chapters, both authors participated in activities to understand their peers and empathize with their perceived foes. Hutchinson’s *Memoirs* clearly describe scenes where there is violence against her group, with accompanying inquiries as to why all of this violence had to happen; yet Hutchinson also writes positively about fellow human beings from the other side of the conflict. Cavendish, similarly, depicts in *A True Relation* her family’s losses in the Civil Wars, especially the death of her older brother Charles Lucas in the conflict, as well as the deaths of both her mother and sister. However, Cavendish also imagines

her opponents in her works and considers seriously their reasoning as to why the war had to be conducted in the first place. Her other works, such as the play *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668), extend the boundaries of compassion to unfortunate circumstances of everyday women, especially married women in distress. This portrayal of female hardship in marriage assists those watching or reading her play to empathize with women, and the whole play can be understood as an argument against methodical violence against women. Thus Hutchinson and Cavendish, in their advocacy for women and peace, and their mastery of writing for its own sake, point to the changing sensibilities of the period. In fact, Sarah Mendelson and Patricia Crawford argue in *Women of Early Modern England* that “women as a group expressed strong views in favor of peace, a bias which was acknowledged by contemporaries. Even when hopes for reconciliation were reluctantly abandoned, women were still inclined to appeal for moderation, to counsel against bloodshed” (415).

Teaching the Hutchinson and Cavendish material in ways that develop empathy in students can be achieved by creating what Parker Palmer calls “the community of truth.” He defines this quality as “our willingness to put forward our observations and interpretations for testing by the community and to return the favor to others. To be the truth, we must know how to observe and reflect and speak and listen, with passion and with discipline, in the circle gathered around a given subject” (107). This community of truth—between teacher and students—is “held together not only by our personal powers of thought and feeling but also by the power of ‘the grace of great things’” (109). Palmer finishes by stating that “the health of education depends on our ability to hold sacred and secular together so that they can correct and enrich each other” (114). In teaching the writings of Hutchinson and Cavendish, I aspired to Palmer’s ideals; consulting with Professor Whitaker, I developed lesson procedures that highlighted the kind of

empathy Palmer describes. Recently I discovered that Robin Everhart, Katie Elliot, and Lynn Pelco have come up with strategies to enhance empathic experience. Although the strategies are designed for what they call service learning environments aimed at younger learners, these tactics can still be adapted to include college students as well. The strategies require teachers to “give students experiential opportunities for building empathy” (5), for example by creating assignments that require students to go and ask someone else about their opinion. Researchers also suggest incorporating empathy into students’ reflections, either formally or informally. This approach develops students’ metacognitive strategies regarding empathy as a skill in itself. Then the researchers ask that teachers use the empathy toolbox, which is basically a collection of words that students draw from when they describe empathy, such as perspective-taking, emotional contagion, familiarity bias, and other cognitive expressions of empathy. This toolbox also includes active listening, understanding context, and other metacognitive skills needed for analysis of empathy. Finally, Everhart et al. recommend that teachers should “assess and reimagine classroom culture and design” (5), a task accomplished through group discussion, reading, and performance of outside-classroom visits. The teachers are then asked to include empathy in the learning objectives of the course and in the grade book (5).

Knowing that the contextual and historical perspective for Hutchinson and Cavendish is remote for college students, in my cooperative internship with Professor Whitaker we designed assignments involving consultation of the *DNB* (*Dictionary of National Biography*), the *OED* (*Oxford English Dictionary*), and *EEBO* (*Early English Books Online*). These resources enabled students to perform archival work and report back to the class on their findings, creating an atmosphere of enthusiasm amongst students. In more than one instance, Professor Whitaker seemed surprised by student answers, which is an indication of the co-learning that happens in

class using these rich platforms. Of course, before students drew from these online archives independently, Professor Whitaker and I worked with them in class on how to do such research. At one point, Professor Whitaker read a passage from Chaucer and then pulled out a word from it and gave its meaning from the *OED*, which has a totally different meaning from today. In another instance, students were exposed to some information about Spenser from the *DNB*, which was a gateway for class discussion and assignments. Similarly, using *EEBO*, during a class session on Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, Professor Whitaker introduced students to some of the printing habits of the period and interpretive challenges that they pose. Without modeling for students and instilling in them the skills needed to perform these mini-research tasks, without brief and informative readings on print culture of the early modern period, for example, students would not have known how to delve into this research area. As Heidi Hackel and Ian Moulton put it, "to teach from the archives is to introduce into the classroom the awareness that literary texts are artifacts and that they survive by design and by chance as part of a larger collections of texts and materials" (5); for Hackel and Moulton, using archival research in the classroom is "a revolution" that is still in the making (3). Such learning experiences increase student empathy towards the authors they are reading, understanding their lives and the difficulties they faced in bringing their works into print. Professor Whitaker and I also worked at perspective-taking ourselves, as we tried to understand students' state of readiness and not leave them alone with few models of how to complete the assignments.

Remodeling the syllabus that Professor Whitaker and I used for this class will require, as Everhart and his colleagues indicate above, highlighting empathy even more through designing activities such as dramatic student performance. Once students have their empathy toolbox ready, they should be able to analyze texts they are reading or performing for empathetic content.

An example of this strategy would be to ask students to perform one of the women characters in a Cavendish play such as *The Convent of Pleasure*. These performance activities, as David Hennessee advises, help students identify with the characters performed. Hennessee advises instructors to have a student performer introduce “him/herself as their character, using first person pronouns. Instruct them to describe their character’s main traits and contributions to the plot, especially as they interact with the novel’s protagonist and add to the novel’s main themes” (qtd. in Murphy and Ribarsky 119).

In my internship I also taught parts of Cavendish’s *Blazing World*, where she presents different dialogue scenarios that mirror the situation in England during the Civil Wars. At the North Pole the two main characters, the Duchess and the Empress, discuss the Duchess’s recent flight from home:

The Duchess told her, the reason was, that there had been a long Civil War in that kingdom, in which most of the best timber-trees and principal palaces were ruined and destroyed; and my dear lord and husband, said she, lost by it half of his woods, besides many houses, land, and movable goods; so that all the loss out of his particular estate, did amount to above half a million pounds. (193)

In reading sections of the novel, students were able to point out the relationship between the real situation in England in the seventeenth century and the imaginary kingdom Cavendish creates. Equipped with information from the *DNB* on Cavendish and her husband, students noted the context needed to understand what the above quote meant for Cavendish. According to Seelig, “Cavendish concludes with a tale that provides perspective on Cavendish’s life and her views on society” (146). In the above quotation, the tale signifies the loss of her family’s material goods that were not recovered, even after the Restoration. Douglas Grant, Margaret Cavendish’s

biographer, explains that William Cavendish “was slowly ousted [during the early 1660s] from the King's inner counsels. When once he had recognized the hopelessness of expecting to play any part at court, he decided to retire to the country and set about restoring his wasted estates” (qtd. in Cavendish & Fitzmaurice 201). When the King’s court learned that Margaret Cavendish had visited the Parliament asking for money, her husband fell even further out of favor; these events created some feelings of guilt in Cavendish as her husband was unable to gain a higher position in court after the Restoration.

In addition to introducing students to the ideas of civility and empathy, we also asked them to read Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* and Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis*, opening up class discussions to idealized “utopian” societies. Cavendish’s *The Blazing World* was chosen as a continuation of the tradition of utopian fiction. With regard to Hutchinson and Cavendish, Mendelson and Crawford see women writers’ positions persistently evolving “modes of participation...in response to changing conditions, and as a consequence of the increased intellectual sophistication that accompanied women’s exposure to new theories of citizenship and natural rights,” leading women writers to notice the “political realities from the experience of disillusion with a succession of governmental authorities who failed to address their concerns” (393). Such political concerns surface in *The Blazing World* as well as in *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668), where Cavendish employs a play-within-a play design to showcase the miseries of married women from all classes. She depicts “marriage as a critical turning-point in life [where] women were liable to experience wedlock as a violent discontinuity” (Mendelson and Crawford 129) or as an experience of “physical displacement, of being wrenched out of a sheltered environment and plunged into a hostile milieu” (130).

Using empathic strategies to study the Civilizing Process in Cavendish's *Convent of Pleasure* or Hutchinson's *Memoirs* adds a new method of inquiry into existing seventeenth-century studies about women writers, employing historical criticism to understand the general politics of the era and other cultural influences on women of the time. For example, when Cavendish portrays marriage and child delivery as a dilemma in England, she is strategically implanting an empathy-based response in her readers. This response is created by perspective-taking, when the reader starts thinking about the dangerous conditions of child delivery that women have to go through, especially in the seventeenth century. Cavendish herself suffered from complications related to pregnancy, as Hilda Smith's archival research has shown. Physicians' letters to Cavendish's husband depict her as a hard case to manage as she doubted the medical practices of her doctors, a skepticism with a good deal of justification behind it, given the level of medicine available in the seventeenth century (Smith 23). This portrayal of women's issues, such as the trials of pregnancy, resulted from increases in literacy among women in the period and an accompanying desire to be heard. Barker-Benfield argues that "women's literacy dramatized the reality of women's secret wishes and private wills" (326), resulting in a flourishing of female speech as they expressed their views on politics, religion, society, and gender.

Furthermore, based on archival research about women in the seventeenth century, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford explain that most women showed anxiety about their pregnancies and that "every woman feared her own death" (151-52). They note that girls grew up "seeing adult women around them die in childbirth: even if the birth was successful, many women suffered illness afterwards" (153), including Hutchinson's grandmother, who "lost her most excellent understanding after a difficult childbirth" (Hutchinson and Keeble

119). Encountering details such as these about the difficulties of childbirth and death allows students to connect the dots with regard to women's lives in the seventeenth century, as depicted in the works of Hutchinson and Cavendish.

In my internship with Professor Whitaker, I drew upon works by Hutchinson and Cavendish to show the development of the Civilizing Process through a cognitive lens. Women played a key role in their reflections on the violence of the period. Critics of early modern women writers, such as Mendelson and Crawford, note a range of attitudes among women writers to violent acts, such as the regicide: "while Lady Fairfax understood female compassion in terms of sparing the king's life, Lucy Hutchinson and Mary Cary had different perceptions of the political situation in 1649, in which regicide was seen as merciful, or at least the lesser evil, rather than monstrous" (416). What is noteworthy is that women weighed in on this central event of the century, however different their interpretations may have been.

An additional element of my internship with Professor Whitaker was the teaching of prose. Professor Whitaker's approach was to take the Moodle Forum discussion points and expand or problematize them in class. For example, Professor Whitaker would make notes on every student response and would begin class by asking contributors to expand on the point he or she stressed in the online forum. Another approach was to focus on points students wrote in two-page reading responses, which were written before class started. Both of those techniques encouraged student participation and indicated to them that the instructor was interested in their perspective on the matter discussed.

In addition to the techniques observed above, Professor Whitaker and I taught expository prose using other techniques that involve asking important questions about the text under investigation. Using the Think-Pair-Share model, students were asked to focus on certain

passages in a text, linking these passages to one of the focus points for the day. I would sometimes give small groups of students a passage to read that had a direct link to the theme of the Civilizing Process. The reason for focused readings of this kind is the nature of the genre itself—expository prose—and the way it looks on the page. Expository prose does not have a plot, and for undergraduate students, they sometimes find it difficult to engage with. The other issue facing students was that early modern expository writing is often not divided into paragraphs; the long blocks of text filling up all the pages can be difficult for students to get a foothold on. Giving students focus points and certain passages to illustrate these focus points enables them to work on a text even with the aforementioned challenges, including those who did not even read the text as homework. Thus I learned from Professor Whitaker to work with whatever state of preparation students bring to class, providing them with the tools they need to respond to a specific question.

As for teaching the poetry of Hutchinson and Cavendish, the method that was applied required students to work with pairs to scan meter and consider word choice, meaning, and occasionally punctuation. The first step that I learned from Professor Whitaker is to ask questions of students so they can become critical readers based on evidence and conclusions about a poem. I also learned to urge students to reread poems, as lines of verse are hard to understand after only the first reading (Bain 89). I also learned to ask students about tone, rhythm, context, and images. Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder* has recently become an important Restoration-era text for critics as this long poem sheds light on the religious, political, societal, and gender issues of the period. The sections of the poem I chose to teach targeted themes related to women's struggles with marriage, birth, and the upbringing of children. Students actively engaged with Hutchinson's view of these issues. Terry Eagleton has written,

“the imagination, like memory, is indispensable in an everyday sort of way” (24), and the poetry of Lucy Hutchinson enabled students to understand better the everyday challenges women faced in the seventeenth century.

Poetry is an oral genre meant to be read out loud. Consequently, Professor Whitaker and I tried to use this feature by reading a poem to the students, or making them read it out loud. After these readings I would ask prepared questions about tone, rhythm, meaning, or context, with the goal of engaging deeply with the text. One other aspect of reading poetry out loud is that it creates a connection to the way people experienced poetry in earlier times, especially from the early modern period, when poetry was more a medium of the ear than the eye.

Finally, I learned how to use images critically to assist in reading a poem. Using pictures and other visuals from the early modern period made students realize many general themes of the era such as the English class system, politics, court culture, science, nature, and much more. These images highlighted themes that the sessions addressed, followed by questions and a discussion of how to understand the period and its themes. Seeing Professor Whitaker effectively portray notable artwork from the period increased student autonomy as a result, and made it possible to imagine living in the period.

Poetry was a genre particularly difficult for early modern women writers to publish in, as it carried the greatest cultural prestige and was dominated by famous male writers such as William Shakespeare, John Donne, Edmund Spenser, and Sir Philip Sidney, among others. Hutchinson’s determination to write in such a genre identifies her with a new cultural trend that allowed space for women’s points of view in a volatile political climate. Students in the survey course spent time becoming familiar with the perspective of this author and understanding where it came from.

The last genre that I taught during my internship was drama, in the form of Cavendish's *Convent of Pleasure*. The plot and language of this play are straightforward, making it "require less background work for most English majors" (Shaver qtd. in Woods and Hannay 197). The main aspects of the play we asked students to attend to in their homework were the setting, the roles of women, and the play-within-a-play format. I started the class by asking students for general observations about the play and then proceeded to address focus points from the homework. The students commented well on the setting of the comedy, which surprisingly takes place in a convent, which is converted to a place of total enjoyment and comfort of the senses. After looking at instances in the text where Miss Happy, the heroine in the play, explains the creation of the place, our discussion moved to the subject of female agency and leadership as portrayed in the text. As students had already read *The Blazing World*, this play augmented their sense of Cavendish as a prolific creative force in the seventeenth century. As Shaver notes, "one of Cavendish's main characteristics is the profusion of her output, the sheer amount of it, its generic variety, and the ways it challenges customary generic boundaries" (196). She had a "passion for singularity" (Shaver 196), as students saw repeatedly.

A method I plan to use in the future is to ask students to perform parts of the play as a form of interpretation, as recommended by Shaver (201). Students will be given specific parts of the play and asked to perform it in a way that sheds new light on its themes. Shaver even has her students edit the play, writing introductions and criticism for the assigned acts. Her students also research Cavendish's biography and literary reputation and finally perform the work based on their literary studies (201). This approach would be viable in a course that exclusively discusses early women writers and their literary works. In a survey course this was not as viable an option, as students have only two to three weeks to read the works of Hutchinson and Cavendish and

discuss ways in which these writings relate to the canonical works of literature written by their male counterparts.

First-Year Composition and Rhetorical Theory of Empathy

For the past four years, I have taught composition to both American and international undergraduate students in courses such as English 1101P, 1123, and 1122. Additionally, I have benefitted from professional development activities that honed my skills further through the mentorship program from different professors in the English Department. Before discussing empathic techniques for teaching English composition, including for non-native speakers, I would like to review rhetorical theories around empathy that inform my thinking about how empathy intersects with teaching composition.

In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke argues that persuasion happens only if one party identifies with the other, a situation that is at the heart of perspective-taking activities for rhetorical listening. The act of persuasion implies that both the author and the reader are already in a mediated sphere that allows for better understanding of topics. Without that similarity between the author and the reader, it is hard to understand or take the perspective of others without listening to what they have to say. While it's important that speaker and hearer share a common ground, we should also recognize that those communicating effectively with principles of rhetorical listening don't have to agree with each other. Rhetorical listening to Krista Ratcliffe means "paying attention to what others say as a way of establishing good will and acknowledging the importance of their views. And yes, it means taking seriously and engaging with views that differ, sometimes radically, from our own" (qtd. in Lunsford et al. 8). Burke's theory of identification focusing on similarity and Krista Ratcliffe's idea of engaging differences indicate the versatility of theoretical approaches within composition and rhetoric. Unlike literary

studies, composition and rhetoric have paid more attention to the pedagogy of empathy and its related skills. In fact, there are a plethora of new first-year-composition rhetoric books and essays that focus on empathy using rhetorical listening practices. In the upcoming sections in this chapter I will address some of the most important themes related to empathy that emerge in these materials.

Probably the most quoted book in composition and rhetoric studies with regard to empathy is Krista Ratcliffe's *Rhetorical Listening*, which is a foundational theoretical work that can be used to teach many composition assignments. In order to apply rhetorical listening methodology when designing assignments, Ratcliffe stresses four main components in the designing process, summarized by Cui in "Rhetorical Listening Pedagogy" (6). First, instructors should promote activities that buttress an understanding of self and other. Second, composition instructors should focus on accountability logic. Third, instructors should locate identifications of commonalities and differences among social groups. Finally, composition instructors and students should analyze claims of speakers based on cultural, historical, and social logic. These four concepts and their application to my work are worth exploring in depth.

The first element is to enable listeners to acknowledge the various discourses that exist between speakers and audiences. In order to understand self and other, listeners acknowledge that speakers have their own discourses which "might not only affect themselves but also others" (qtd. in Cui 6). Ratcliffe stresses that listeners "listen [to speakers' discourses] for (un)conscious presences, absences, unknowns and consciously integrate this information into their world views and decision making" (qtd. in Cui 6). This deep listening might be further complicated in my composition courses for non-native speakers where students' grasp of English requires a slower and clearer form of communication to assess how what is being said relates to self and others.

The second element is inviting listeners, who are not responsible for the history of inequality or prejudice, to think critically about how dominant classes are privileged historically and culturally. As a result, students start seeing why they might be seen by others as partly accountable for some of the issues of inequality and injustice. While it's important to have discussions and assignments addressing issues of inequality or prejudice in my composition courses, the danger of alienating students means I need to be intentional and thorough in my preparations.

Ratcliffe's third point of rhetorical listening affirms the strategy of non-identification. That is, rhetorical listening assumes that non-identification is a metonymic aspect where juxtaposition of the commonalities and the differences is at play. The element of non-identification would allow convergence and divergence of speakers and listeners with regard to the produced discourse as long as both interlocutors have the intention of attaining identifications and communicating across the differences and commonalities (qtd. in Cui 6). An essential element of non-identification is that those involved in rhetorical listening activity should be independent agents without any difference in status, power, class, or any other variant that suggests superiority or inferiority.

The fourth element of rhetorical listening makes it possible that listeners recognize that claims made by speakers are almost always shaped by some form of logic related to the culture they reside in. Acknowledging cultural logic requires familiarity and communication. Wenqi Cui, commenting on this fourth element, writes that "listeners may not agree with a speaker's claims, but they need to understand that that claim is not wrong, rather, it is different because it is grounded on his/her historically, socially, and culturally constructed cultural logic" (6). For those of us in my composition courses, we would need to recognize ways in which our behavior

is formed or influenced by the culture of Idaho, the intermountain West, other parts of the United States, or any other country that influences our thinking.

Following in the footsteps of Ratcliffe's *Rhetorical Listening*, Lisa Blankenship published a book in 2019 entitled *Changing the Subject: A Theory of Rhetorical Empathy*, reviewed and summarized by Anita Voorhees for *Community Literacy Journal*. Blankenship defines empathy as "an epistemology, a way of knowing and understanding, a complex combination of intention and emotion" (qtd. in Voorhees 193). Specifically, Blankenship argues that rhetorical empathy encapsulates interplay among rhetoric, empathy, and pathos in order to form a cohesive whole. She explains that rhetorical empathy is "coming alongside or feeling with the experiences of an Other rather than feeling for or displacing an Other, which is usually associated with pity or sympathy" (qtd. in Voorhees 193). Blankenship contends, "[m]y purpose is to frame pathos in new ways and make a case for rhetorical empathy as a means of ethical rhetorical engagement" (qtd. in Voorhees 193). Blankenship discusses how to include empathy in the composition classroom, dividing her book into chapters that discuss many important issues of concern in the American context such as a whole chapter about feminist rhetorical practices of storytelling, as well as rhetorical empathy in the gay-rights/religious divide. Those chapters offer teachers a venue for enabling students to take an empathic approach in discussing issues of inclusion and acceptance of LGBTQ people into society, while also keeping the traditional gender categories in religious services and practice. The author takes the lead in conducting and analyzing discussions of fundamentals with regard to issues related to LGBTQ and religious practice.

One of the best ways of triangulating better methods of talking about and using empathy in the classroom is by recognizing what the educational system has been doing that has been

ineffective. In her chapter entitled “Beyond Common Ground: Rhetorical Empathy in the Composition Classroom,” Blankenship critiques the status quo of teaching composition in American universities: “The kind of empathy and change that can occur as a result of what Michael Polanyi calls ‘personal knowledge’—the basis of rhetorical empathy—represents a valuable means of persuasion, one that has been downplayed in composition courses focused on argumentation as a primary genre in recent years” (24). Argumentation in the composition classroom has too often been approached, generally speaking, as a mode based exclusively in secondary research, divorced from the valuable resource of student experience and connection. Blankenship warns that engaging student perspectives is not to be confused with trite calls to “find common ground.” Instead, “the kind of deep listening and knowledge that can result from using personal stories as a way of knowing and engaging with others resists the tired, mostly useless trope of finding common ground we hear so often in discussions about civic discourse” (104).

Clearly, Blankenship’s goal is to create a new model for teaching composition, one that focuses on the individual’s self as the locus of writing about others. This move represents a departure from Ratcliffe’s rhetorical listening approach which is based on working in groups to construct meaning about disadvantaged groups. Blankenship notes a shift in “the focus of rhetoric from (only) changing an audience to changing oneself (as well) and extending rhetorical listening in new directions by accounting for the role of the personal and the emotions in rhetorical exchange” (18). Personal experience is the window through which a person’s knowledge of the world could be expanded; rather than leaving this as an abstract concept, she uses a familiar traumatic event—the shooting in Parkland, Florida—to illustrate. She says,

I argue that we should combine these more deliberately and often in light of the challenges we face, not only within the academy but as citizens. The power of story in argument is hard to deny given the rhetorical power of the students from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, and across the United States who have experienced gun violence firsthand and have spoken out for change on legislative and societal levels. (105-106)

Through the social justice platform that uses ultimate examples of injustice in illustrating the importance of individual stories in affecting policy, Blankenship plans on grounding rhetorical empathy in real-world scenarios based on real stories that influenced, and could still influence, policy with regard to gun violence, among myriad possibilities. She continues that “such narratives result from seeing the Other as an individual who is part of a larger system, but an individual nonetheless, and such rhetorical moves invite an audience to adopt the same topos and tropes in turn. Rhetorical empathy invokes change as (and because) it disarms” (109).

Blankenship provides a helpful example of rhetorical empathy integrated into pedagogy that could help me gain insights into my teaching; she asks students early on in the semester to write about their experiences with regard to language and English, in particular through a literacy narrative assignment. She also asks them to consider the “cultural capital that literacy entails, both for them and their family” (110). Later on, she asks students to do a public-argument assignment, where students have to call for change either intellectually, or practically in literacy education, or “the public access to education” (110). Following is an assignment she calls Narrative Argument that draws on Excelsior College’s Online Writing Lab. The assignment blends storytelling and persuasion, and it builds off of the literacy narrative assigned earlier in the semester. After reminding students of the narrative they wrote exploring their family’s

formative encounters with English and communication in a variety of domains, Blankenship repeats the main questions of that assignment before building off it:

What role has education played in your family's life? How has your family's background influenced your own decision to come to college (or not)? What role has your family's ethnic or racial background and/or social class played in your education and relationship to literacy (reading and writing)? For this Narrative Argument project, I want you to revisit that narrative you wrote and think about how it connects to larger, public issues around literacy, education, and race or ethnicity. Your own story can—and should—serve as a powerful form of evidence and an example supporting your larger argument. I will ask that you not only draw from your own experiences and memories to write this paper; you should cite at least four sources in your paper besides your own and/or your family's story. You should establish an audience for your project, and your sources of evidence should be credible and persuasive to them. (110)

Blankenship affirms that following such an approach enabled her students to write papers that tend to be persuasive, interesting to read, and based on research that joins an academic conversation of some sort. Examples include one of her students who discussed the undervalued multilingualism in the United States, or other students who wrote about other political matters affecting education or the lack thereof. Blankenship confirms that this assignment is a canonical example of rhetorical empathy because “it asks students to use their own stories as a way of learning about what they already know and as a way of forming new knowledge as they purpose a research project on a topic they care about” (115). The assignment description does make it clear that the personal narrative validates, frames, and persuades the audience to take a certain position in an issue. Hearing the backstory behind a student's argument enables rhetorical

listening to understand the thesis statement in the essay. Blankenship argues that “This rhetorical decision helps disarm his audience so the issue at hand...becomes framed by personal stories and appeals to love rather than theological arguments” (115). Blankenship concludes that

One of the most important contributions rhetorical empathy adds to composition theory and pedagogy is an emphasis on students as real people with stories and motivations behind their responses in class. This focus on students affects every aspect of pedagogy, from how we write syllabi and assignments and design our curriculum to how we try to anticipate how students may react to a particular reading and discussion about it. (116)

What one notices in Blankenship’s statement is how well she articulates her approach, and how instructors should consider a holistic approach to teaching, whereby they view students as a source of knowledge in the classroom which rhetorical instruction helps to shape. Moreover, she notes another implication of rhetorical empathy for teaching is “the importance of doing work along with our students whenever possible” (116). Finally, she stresses how rhetorical empathy can be enacted in the classroom through “the use of writing groups, which I’ve used in my classes for many years, carefully selecting groups of (usually) three to work together all semester to discuss readings and their writing at various stages” (117-118). Although I don’t follow Blankenship in every respect, I draw upon her work to emphasize the importance of not overlooking students’ personal experiences in composition assignments, of working along with students, and of helping students recognize the humanity of their classmates.

Other meaningful empathic endeavors in the field of rhetoric include work by Sonja Foss and Cindy Griffin. In an article entitled “Beyond Persuasion: A Proposal for an Invitational Rhetoric,” they define invitational rhetoric as “an invitation to understanding as a means to create a relationship rooted in equality, immanent value, and self-determination” (5). This

approach reconstructs the whole purpose of communication into one that is built on empathic grounds, whereby the receiver and the sender are both mutually independent, yet also relying on empathic principles in sharing a message. One sees a similar endeavor in Arthur Brooks's essay "Empathize with your Political Foe," which highlights the negative effects of political polarization in America, calling for people to take on an empathic approach of perspective-taking, rhetorical listening, and critical analysis of what others are saying. These articles in addition to the work of Blankenship and Ratcliffe explore rhetorical theories of empathy in composition.

Ratcliffe's seminal work in *Rhetorical Listening* and Blankenship's work in *Changing the Subject* (among others) have influenced my thinking on how to integrate assignments and classroom activities that draw on concepts of empathy in teaching composition. In the following section, I discuss empathic techniques for teaching English 1101, and then I move to composition techniques for teaching English 1122 and English 1123.

English 1101: Writing and Rhetoric I

The first issue that I discuss with students when teaching an English 1101 course is how to be a critical reader of a text, knowing that it is written by a fellow author for a specific purpose and audience, with appropriate tone, genre, and design. This approach requires students to analyze, interpret, and even evaluate the information given, as they use critical skills to question a text and their own individual reading of it. In order to prepare students for critical reading practices, the instructor can create a self-reflection activity by asking students to respond to questions like such as, What experiences, assumptions, knowledge, and perspectives do you bring to the text? What biases might you have? Are you able to keep an open mind and consider other points of view? After students master self-reflection, they should be ready to understand

the text. Some of the points to consider when tackling a text are to first examine the text and its context: Who is the author? Who is the publisher? Where and when was it written? What kind of text is it? Next, students can skim the text, responding to questions such as, what is the topic? What are the main ideas? After that, first-year-composition students can be taught to resolve any confusion by looking up unfamiliar words using the dictionary, learning the historical origins of words and different meanings associated with a word throughout its history, among other valuable information. Subsequently the instructor can go over difficult passages to clarify any ambiguity. Thinking about the author in this way not only helps students better understand the subject matter, but also humanizes the author and material as real people who have had real experiences.

The process of critical reading starts with analysis of what the author is actually saying or not saying about a specific topic. Some activities that can accompany critical reading are summarizing and paraphrasing activities. An assignment asking students to summarize an essay or article enables them to read the text under investigation closely and know what the author intends to say. Such practice enables students to understand the perspective of the author and the themes discussed (Sullivan 37). Raising the inner critical antennas of students requires such rudimentary activities as mastering bottom-up skills of research like summarizing information and paraphrasing.

Another related activity is what is called the slow-reading movement activity, where I spend a whole session analyzing a short essay in terms of tone, audience, purpose, meaning, design, organization, word choice, among other themes. This is done through what rhetoricians call the interanimation of words, by which words exist only in relationship to other words in the context in which they are mentioned. For example, the tone or purpose of a specific essay can be

revealed through word choice, sentence structure, and other contextual cues. Though it might sound like a tedious process, students actually learn how an accomplished author whose essay they are reading paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence, word by word, is able to relate an effective communicative message about a specific topic. The connection between how words fit together and the results they can bring about in people is at the heart of both rhetoric and empathy in composition.

I also use rhetorical listening practices in my teaching as mentioned above. These include activities that value students' involvement both orally and in writing. This approach can be accomplished through targeted activities either in class or on Moodle. John Bean's "goal-oriented use of small groups"—which is "aimed at giving students supervised practice in disciplinary thinking under the tutelage of the teacher as coach"—enhances student perspective-taking skills (184). One of the techniques Bean mentions is called "circular response, in which each speaker begins by summarizing the views of a previous speaker in order to promote attentive listening and mutual respect" (184). Bean claims that such a technique, especially when shared with the whole class afterwards, concludes that "truly, the purported expert can become a colearner in such a setting" (185). Once a positive relationship develops between students and the teacher, and students and other students, teachers can "enter the classroom and go straight to the heart of the matter," creating an environment where students get the "opportunity to be full and compassionately engaged with learning" (134). The assumption is that respecting students' ability to take a prominent position in their education—as individuals working under a coach, not as passive recipients of information from a teacher—increases their engagement and motivation because they feel more ownership of their ideas.

Other scholars in composition and rhetoric also value the opportunities presented by addressing empathy in teaching. Eric Leake writes about the appeal of teaching empathy as a rhetorical structure in Penn State's *Composition Forum* journal:

Teaching empathy as rhetoric has broad application as a suitable means of more closely examining the personal, social, and rhetorical functions of reason, emotions, and judgments. Empathy can be a means of invention, a heuristic, a way of considering audience and situation, an instrument of revision, and a tool for critical analysis.

Teaching empathy as rhetoric attunes us to all of its possible uses and liabilities as a means of persuasion.

Leake, just like other composition and rhetoric scholars, acknowledges the value of empathy in composition, focusing on rhetorical listening as a means by which students can access other points of view. Leake argues, "a pedagogy of empathy as disposition aims to cultivate empathic habits in students through the ways they read and write and interact with texts and one another." He elaborates on this idea by developing what he calls rhetorics of proximity, which is the ability to invite or frustrate learners' identification with a specific text, making students able to identify with an author's point of view, not just understanding their position on things. Students then master critical skills of interpretation, analysis, invention, and reflection through the presence or absence of identification. Leake reports how Dennis Lynch examines texts written by Temple Grandin and Cornel West to show "how the experiences of a woman with autism and a black man in America invite but also resist identification given their experiences, histories, and situation."

As an example of how empathic approaches might be applied in teaching composition, I would like to discuss Richard Wright's well-known 1945 autobiography, *Black Boy*, a work of

literature that presents many themes for the teaching of composition through an empathic lens. Wright not only demonstrates racist culture from some white people, but also critiques the black community itself and its failure to provide him with the tools he needed to grow academically and professionally as a young man. In teaching the work, instructors of composition might ask students to write character extensions of those that appear in the book. This exercise would of course come after the class analyzes the various individuals presented in the book and the various qualities Wright emphasizes. Assignments of character extension ask students to create scenarios of how their additions would create or ease tension in the autobiography. Although the focus of a composition class is to teach expository prose, one might sometimes even incorporate techniques from literary studies to help students empathize with an essayist they are reading such as Wright. Students might construct a short story to work on character extensions which develop “that character by providing background or continuing the character past the limits of the work, just as fan fiction often does” (Leake). Following such an exercise, students can then write an essay that shows “how their extension was grounded in the details of the text.” Leake finds that students tend to write about characters that resemble them in some way or another. In this case, he would develop another assignment that asks students to choose another character they would not associate with and then say why that is the case. This exercise reinforces reflection on the limits of perspective-taking identification. As Leake says, he seeks “to inform the reader’s experience, perhaps by inviting, limiting, or frustrating reader identification.” Again, students may be asked to reflect on what empathic techniques they used and why, and how they incorporated rhetorics of proximity. “These assignments,” Leake contends, “are just two illustrations of how empathy may be employed in writing while also asking that the writers reflect upon the use, limits, and purpose of such employment.” My students in English 1101,

while not specifically learning about Wright, Grandin, or West, can also benefit from complicating their ideas about ways in which they do and do not identify with authors we learn about.

An additional rhetorical listening method I have developed in my sections of English 1101 is a multimodal project assignment that I regularly teach as a final assignment in that class. The following is material was partially adapted from Wenqi Cui's article entitled "Rhetorical Listening Pedagogy: Promoting Communication Across Cultural and Societal Groups with Video Narrative," where Cui demonstrates how to apply rhetorical listening through a multimodal project assignment, the kind of assignment I happen to have been involved in teaching at ISU since 2015.

Like Cui, I see the purpose behind teaching students to compose texts that use multiple modes such as visual, audible, textual, and spatial elements has always been to increase students' multimodal literacy and rhetoric, which are needed for college assignments in other genres of writing such as reports, research papers, etc. Cynthia Selfe classifies five modes that writers can use, including "linguistic (that is words, written or spoken); visual (colors, fonts, images, and so on); audio (tone of voice, music, and other sounds); gestural (body language and facial expressions); spatial (the way elements are arranged on a page or screen)" (qtd. in Lunsford et al. 762-763). Writing in multiple modes can be used with an empathic lens where students question "the power dynamics of mainstream popular culture" (Cui 52), including perspective-taking of others who seem to be racially, religiously, or culturally different. For example, Cui states that "in addition to having students experience various rhetorical possibilities provided by multiple semiotic modes, instructors can invite students to employ research methods to study people from different cultural groups, rhetorically listening to their voices, establishing perceptions, and

engaging in cross-cultural communication” (6). In this regard, Ratcliffe states that the social equality and effective communication between different cultural and societal groups cannot be achieved unless we “continually negotiate our always evolving standpoints, our identities, with the always evolving standpoints of others” (qtd. in Cui 34). Including modalities other than writing helps students develop their critical literacy in ways that can be valuable in their wider academic career.

Some of the multimodal projects I ask students to complete with an empathic lens include illustrated essays, video essays, blogs, posters, wikis, as well as other genres that depend on using more than one mode. The one I would like to focus on here is the video essay assignment, which is made of two parts. In the first part, students follow a series of steps to create a video. For this part, I adapt what Cui, a PhD candidate at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, did in her class. She writes,

The multimodal assignment is the final project in this first-year writing course. For this final project, students will be divided into groups of 3–4 students each; each group will be required to conduct research on a group of people who are from different communities or unrepresented cultural and societal groups. Students will apply the rhetorical listening strategy and utilize an ethnographic research method to collect data. Afterward, based on their collected data and findings, each group will produce a video narrative, combining multiple semiotic modes, such as voiceover narration, videos, photos, written texts and music to tell stories of the people in their rhetorical listening research. The video narrative is similar to Adams’ (2017) digital storytelling assignment which is defined by her as “a short form (2–5 minutes) of digital media production [in which] students tell a culturally rich story about the lives of everyday people through multiple modes of media

(images, video, and sound) using film techniques” (“Introduction”, para. 3). Video narratives are particularly suited to help students explore communities and cultures (Wake 2012), as well as listen to the stories of people from those communities. The successful application of video narratives to explore community groups can be found in the articles written by Adam J. Banks (2011), Aaron Knochel and Dickie Selfe (2012), and Adams (2017). Through a video narrative assignment, students will have an opportunity to initiate communication with a group that belongs to a different culture. Along with this, students will develop thoughtful consideration concerning how to use multiple semiotic modes to deliver meanings in a rhetorically effective manner. (7)

What is noticeable here is that students are urged to conduct interviews where they have to listen to people from minority groups in the community, including refugees, the elderly, LGBTQ+ members, religious minorities, and any other ostracized social group. In the process of using Ratcliffe’s Rhetorical Listening techniques, Cui contends that

When producing their video narratives, students should view and listen to their collected data as many times as they need to decide how to edit and combine them together, and then create rhetorically effective video narratives. Students will be encouraged to take advantage of the affordances of digital media to tell stories of people they study.

Meanwhile, the constraints regarding multiple modes, digital media, digital technologies, and digital platforms will be discussed as well. In addition, students will share their projects in peer-review workshops within which students not only review each other’s multimodal work but also share what they have learned from listening to people from other groups, thus “socializing and internalizing various cultural voices into their own discourses” (Ratcliffe qtd. in Cui 10). Continuously socializing culturally-different

discourses “provide grounds for identifications and disidentifications that construct the evolving lenses” through which people see themselves and people from other classes and races (Ratcliffe qtd. in Cui10). Consequently, more common grounds and commonalities may be created, based on which students can share identifications and negotiate disidentifications even when they “stand in different cultural locations (qtd. in Cui 10).

In addition to the clear rhetorical value for empathy from talking with various communities, another value of this assignment lies in its position at the crossroads between multimodality and service learning. During the Service Learning Forum at ISU in 2017, the guest speaker and winner of the ISU Teaching Literature Book Award, Dr. Roberta Rosenberg, discussed valuable concepts from her book entitled *Service Learning and Literary Studies in English*. In the press release to the Book Award dated September 12th 2017, Dr. Jessica Winston stated that one strength of the book is that it “covers service learning in courses at a variety of institutions aimed at a wide range of students. From first-year undergraduates to students working at higher levels of the curriculum, the book addresses the needs of students and community populations from a wide range of socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds.” In the Service Learning Forum, Dr. Rosenberg’s presentation, entitled “Service Learning: Why the Humanities and Everyone Else Needs It Now,” addressed how her students visited houses of the elderly in the Newport, New Jersey region, documenting their life stories. The brochure for the event reads, “A talk about theories, histories, and best practices for service learning. Keynote speaker professor Roberta Rosenberg is a long-time service learning advocate and coeditor of the award-winning *Service Learning and Literary Studies in English*.” Dr. Rosenberg shared some of the videos that her students made in their service learning projects, followed by students’ video reflections on what they learned about the chosen community and how the project made them realize the importance

of empathizing with underserved groups. Dr. Rosenberg's use of video productions, as with Cui above, added to the students' experiences when searching for ways to document their connection with other communities.

Similarly, the second part of the multimodal composition assignment I worked on involves students reflecting on the product. This part is a written reflection with a word limit of 900 words. The purpose of the second part of the assignment is to reinforce the theme of rhetorical listening. Cui explains,

After completing their research and video narratives, each student will write a reflective essay accounting for their rhetorical, technological, and methodological choices for their video narratives, as well as reflecting on their experiences with listening to people from other groups. Finally, students will upload their video narratives to a digital platform, such as YouTube or a Web Blog, so that students "speak for and/or with" (Adams, 2017, Flower, 2008) other groups through sharing their video narratives with online audiences. The students' final multimodal projects will be evaluated from two aspects: video narratives and performance of rhetorical listening. The students' video narratives will be assessed according to their considerations of rhetorical situation and genre conventions, use of multiple modes design, and purposes. The students' performance of rhetorical listening will be evaluated based on their reflective essays and their video narratives concerning how they describe their listening experiences, findings, challenges, transformations, and their communication with the people they study. Since the rhetorical listening strategy is not a skill that can be obtained in a one-time practice, instructors should be patient and provide students with more time and opportunities to exercise and develop this skill. (7)

The activity tends to be overwhelming at first for the students because they tend to say that they do not know how to edit or make a video. But with the right step-by-step procedures and the Information Technology demonstrations on the subject, students can learn basic knowledge of uploading and editing videos early on in the semester. Working in pairs or in groups of three, students complete the assignment in stages, with clear missions for every member of the group. In connection with these stages, Lunsford et al. suggest that one of the ways to ease the process for students is to design “a story board, a series of sketches that show the sequence of scenes and actions in a film” (775). These actions are accompanied by written descriptions that provide transitions and visual directions for those who are responsible for shooting the video, or images, “noting places where there should be wide-range shots, close-ups, and so on” (775).

The written, visual, and spatial element of the storyboard foregrounds the rhetorical listening strategy, or perspective-taking lens. Cui states,

Rhetorical listening pedagogy will be applied to each teaching stage. A crucial part of rhetorical listening pedagogy is to (re)educate students’ listening habits and develop new listening practices which include looking for commonalities or identifications, realizing disidentifications caused by stereotypical or inaccurate prior impressions, withholding opinions, and delaying judgment when encountering people or discourses from other groups. (7)

The final product is multifaceted. The multimodal essay assignment can be designed to orient students so they gain hands-on experience in cultivating perspective-taking activities. Students develop what scholars call the rhetoric of “copia,” which has a Latin origin and stands for “abundance.” With regard to empathy and rhetorical listening, “copia” means that students will acquire language that engages in an amplified way with their chosen topics. *Copia* is the title of

an important rhetorical treatise published in 1512 by Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus, which received mixed reviews when it was first published as some found it was making writing appear pretentious and pedantic; however, in contemporary rhetoric it suggests students bring a fullness of engagement to a subject.

The significance of the multimodal project assignment depends in large part on the process students follow in creating it. Cui states,

By virtue of conducting the research and producing video narratives, students will learn to use multiple modes to create meanings, better understand rhetorical situations and dynamic features of multimodal texts, and learn how to listen to voices, with an open stance, from other cultural groups. The three-to-five-minute-long video narrative entails narratives told by the community members, voiceover narration by the producer, and injected images, artifacts, music, and footage from the examined community. Digital technology allows student writers to apply semiotic resources such as visuals, voiceover narration, sound effects, music, visual transitions, and the various combinations of the above resources to make meanings, engage audiences, and get across messages (see Adams, 2017; Arola et al., 2018; DePalma, 2015; Selfe, Fleischer, & Wright, 2007; Selfe, 2007). (10)

As with video essay assignment Dr. Rosenberg requires as the capstone to service learning, my final multimodal project in English 1101 leads students to attain greater understanding of themselves and the communities they researched in the span of a semester. They take the perspective of others as they convey a specific message regarding the information they have researched.

There are of course potential complications when students sometimes resist the views of those who differ from them. Cui anticipates this issue:

One caveat should be kept in mind is that “the consequences of what happen in this space could be successful, or partial, or unsuccessful” (Ratcliffe, qtd. in Cui 11), which may be due to “an unwillingness or an incapacity ground[ed] in a lack of reflective lived experience or in a lack of the work necessary to understand commonalities and differences” (11). It is necessary and essential to discuss again the issue of cultural logic and strategies of rhetorical listening. Through continuous inquiring and negotiating in the process of listening to others, students may eventually begin to “embrace, adapt, and/or revise [their] troubled identifications. Rhetorical listening is an ongoing process rather than a one-time solution. (11)

What I find helpful in responding to students’ lack of knowledge or interest is to schedule a series of conferences with them to make sure they are keeping up with the project and maintaining a focus. Cui identifies some preliminary steps to prime students for the creation of video narratives, especially in the cultivation of the skill of rhetorical listening. I intend to follow Cui’s approach, as explained here:

[M]ore texts in digital multimodal contexts, such as Twitter, Facebook, or Web Blog, where misconceptions and disidentifications often happen, can be analyzed and discussed to help students see how and why cross-cultural communication are [*sic*] hard to achieve. Nowadays, there is an amplitude of victims of online bullying and hate speech. Aisha Gani (2016) reported that a survey of 13-18-year-old teenagers revealed that 24% had suffered cyberbullying due to their gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, disability or transgender identity. Teachers can pick some online trolls that students may have heard,

such as the case about Leslie Jones [...] or about Kelly Marie Tran [...], or others. Then, teachers should have students see how these people and their voices were attacked, condemned, and misunderstood because of the audiences' ignorance and disidentifications. From the posts and the responses to them, students can see how the unrepresented voices were overlooked and unheard, as well as how troubled identifications and disidentifications hinder communication across cultural and societal groups. (9)

The negative repercussions of the widespread use of the internet haven't been studied carefully enough, but one way instructors can push back against whatever negative consequences exist is to utilize the same medium the students use, putting these elements of misinformation and fallacies to the test of analysis. Discussing erroneous and sometimes superficial posts can allow students to see through the tactics used, and why they are being used. The fragmentation of people into groups rather than the embracing of the universality of what it means to be human is aggravated by the status quo of social media. Educators can look at these elements that discourage the social fabric of society and diminish empathy rather than cultivate it. Posts and retweets of language and images that portray hate and ignorance are the opposite of perspective-taking. Of course examples abound in every Western country of these sad elements, but Cui's approach of evoking empathy through rhetorical listening is definitely a step in the right direction, and the rudimentary skill of unpacking multimodal elements in social media platforms can be a fundamental tool in this process.

Common rhetoric books for first-year-composition (FYC) writing similarly can be used to advance social justice and community service beyond classroom activities highlighting empathy. Readings can be selected that highlight perspective-taking in the FYC classroom that

trigger action in students' life practices. Teaching an essay that aims to highlight the plight of somebody with a specific ailment or discourage negative stereotypes and prejudices can easily be included in the FYC classroom. Students afterwards can visit struggling local businesses in the area, or elderly nursing facilities, or religious institutions, depending on what the essay themes are. For example, Barry Estabrook in "Selling the Farm"—an essay I teach in my 1101 class—reports on how one family in Virginia had to sell their dairy farm in a one-day auction because they could not compete any more with the low prices that a large company, Dean Foods, provides for the same type of milk. The Borland farm is part of this family's heritage, and Estabrook brings in the human side of the sale by quoting both the auctioneers and the owners of the farm. In reading the essay my students and I went through a process of recognizing other human beings' plights, with some of us deciding to buy milk from local farmers rather than the highly processed milk from Walmart or Winco. In the genre of reportage, one is supposed to inform rather than editorialize, yet most of the students in the class became conscious of the losses suffered by the Borland family. By the end of the auction, Mr. Borland, Estabrook relates, "told a sad joke" about a farmer "trying to stay afloat with anvils" (290-91). The way Estabrook tailors the facts for his readers instills a form of perspective-taking through vivid images from the auction, quotes from the owners and auctioneers, statistics, and pictures. Susan Keen calls such an arrangement of elements "strategic empathizing," which is a "variety of author's empathy, by which authors attempt to direct an emotional transaction" (142). The students' task after reading an author such as Estabrook is to write an essay that reports on a local or national issue that requires attention or is still not resolved. Following the composition of their report, students write about the empathic strategies they used, and why they did so. This final exercise enables students to reflect on their usage and mastery of empathic techniques.

Even though some critics question empathy's positive role in society in general, its role in higher education has not been thoroughly investigated. The psychologist Paul Bloom argues, "Empathy is biased, pushing us in the direction of parochialism and racism. While empathy can motivate prosocial behaviour, [...] it can also spark atrocities. Even when it is put to good use, empathic distress can be an ineffective motivator, as it can lead to burnout and exhaustion. (25)"

Empathy, therefore, should not be seen as the sole panacea to today's challenging societal issues. Bloom's perspective is one that empathy scholars seem to agree with; Keen, Batson, and Pinker all stress that the reading of literary works, for instance, isn't necessarily "morally uplifting" (Pinker 589). Some see "the idea as too middlebrow, too therapeutic, too kitsch, too sentimental, too Oprah. Reading fiction can just as easily cultivate *schadenfreude*" (589). However, Pinker admits that "exercises in perspective-taking do help to expand people's circle of sympathy" (590), which is what I have emphasized in this chapter. Unless empathy is taught alongside fairness and reason, avoiding the parochialism of making it an end in itself, empathy is not as helpful in the educational process. Pinker's criticism of empathy is thus well taken; the "assumption of another's feeling" (Lauritzen 130) by itself is simply not enough. But thoughtful empathic instruction, which combines perspective-taking with other cognitive skills such as reason, can teach students lessons that help them lead more successful and helpful lives.

English 1122 and 1123: English for Nonnative Speakers of English

At Idaho State University, international students must take English 1122 and 1123 if they do not have sufficient TESOL or TOEFL scores. These courses complement each other in terms of content, as instructors teach different sections of the same book for both courses. Students are required to finish the first half of the book in English 1122, and the second half in English 1123.

The courses are not prerequisites to each other necessarily; rather, instructors see these courses as interchangeable and a student's work requirement is similar in both courses. The textbooks used focus on increasing a student's vocabulary and cultivating syntactic structures needed for the advanced language required in college-level writing. In addition to vocabulary and syntactic knowledge, students are also exposed to the steps of writing effective, focused paragraphs. Their short essay assignments are geared toward genre-specific learning objectives and function as a tool to measure student understanding of the concepts of the course.

Through teaching courses at Idaho State University, I am familiar with the activities and skills required by ESL learners to pass composition courses they will take in the future. More recently, I co-taught Introduction to Language Studies, where I was responsible for half of the class instruction and grading. In this course, students were introduced to specific skills that enable them to analyze and perform linguistic tasks. With all of these assignments, meeting one on one with students was a required component; I saw the results of this practice in the positive relationships I had with my students that lasted beyond the class.

Foreign learners are greatly helped by training in empathy. Coming from other cultures, they are usually not familiar with the diverse groups that make up American society, and they lack background to cope effectively with social situations that may come up. In my classroom, ESL learners deepen their relationship with their classmates, instructor, and community in general. This process is accomplished through what I call the empathy toolbox, which include summarizing main ideas of other writers or speakers, reading other texts closely, making accurate inferences, and doing background research before entering an academic conversation. Such preparation allows students to cultivate advanced mindfulness, that is awareness of one's own thoughts and the thoughts of others. I consider this knowledge of self and others a pathway

to academic success. Thanks to the emphasis on teaching and research in the PhD program in the English Department at Idaho State University, I was further trained in the essential skills of conducting class in a Western academic setting, i.e., in a tactful, productive way to maximize student participation and retention.

The empathic emphasis in my sections of 1122 and 1123 enables international students to succeed in college life by ensuring that they absorb ways of learning that predominate in the U.S. in addition to learning to write in the academic language required of them at the university. In order to help students get accustomed to college culture and writing, I focus on improving students' autonomy by asking them to share their responses through various assignments and class activities. The purpose of these activities is to prepare students for class discussions beyond the English 1122 or 1123 course. Through a focus on cultural sensitivity, international students acquire training in empathy. Of course, activities that are assigned in English 1101 might also be adapted to teaching international students, although research is scarce in this area.

Generally speaking, for international students, there are certain broad guidelines that can be adapted in the English classroom. According to Ly Thi Tran of Deakin University in Australia, there are a number of experiences essential to the wellbeing of international students:

- Connection with the content and process of teaching and learning
- Bonding between host teachers and international students
- Engagement with the university communities
- Interaction between domestic and international students and among international peers
- Integration into relevant social and professional networks, the host community, and the host society
- Connection with family and home communities

- Online and digital connection. (xii)

These different elements are integral to the success of international students. Many of them can be implemented when designing assignments. Examples include designing assignments based on a visit to a farmers' market, religious institution, local museum, bookstore, cultural event, etc. During my past training as a student, I completed many activities that involved working with various departments at ISU and with the local community. In particular, I have participated in activities with the Pocatello Mosque, Portneuf Interfaith Fellowship, Pocatello too Great for Hate, among other groups and initiatives. These experiences were extremely helpful in grounding my experience in real-life scenarios where I was able to apply, in some circumstances, the education I received in the English Department to the world around me, especially with me being a Muslim person studying women writers of the late-seventeenth century.

When Tran discusses empathy as one of the dimensions of teaching and learning for international students, he writes,

International students' sense of belonging to the classroom and university community significantly depends on the empathy local teachers and students display toward them. Teachers can develop activities that enable students to develop an understanding and empathy toward what it feels like to be an international student in an unfamiliar academic and social environment, studying in a language that is not their mother tongue. One of the teacher-participants in our research shared an activity she used to help all students develop empathy: I asked for volunteers, I'd speak to them in English and they had to answer in their language. The group had to try and figure out from their body language and tone of voice what they were actually saying to me... But what I try and make them understand [is] that part of the reason we're doing that, not in English, is because it's like

excluding the local students and it's making them look like foreigners and to understand the challenge. (xvi)

What Tran mentions above resembles many of the practices I follow when teaching English 1122 and English 1123. I sometimes relate to student frustrations using written examples, and anecdotes from my own experience as an international student in the United States from 2008. I also design assignments where I am learning with the students, furthering their autonomy and love of learning without egoism. When we try out different reading and writing tasks together, we experience what Lisa Blankenship classifies as a teaching technique that is empathic (116).

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