

absorption in England under Cranmer and the ministers of Edward VI and its consolidation under Elizabeth and her ministers, *and* a theologian of depth, making use, explicitly and implicitly, of the retrieval of classical thought in the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas and the high Middle Ages.

The author has mastered the academic literature of the Anglican moral theology of the twentieth century and the study of Hooker, but the work always goes to the words of Hooker himself, to show that Hooker held views that he has not been supposed to hold and that he should not hold, in the view of those who wish to align him with some current concerns within Anglicanism. The author concludes that “the unfortunate tendency of scholars, both historically and in the modern era, to seek to identify him with one specific tradition rather than another, or to quarry Hooker for their own purposes, without taking account of such factors [as sources and influences], has at times had unhelpfully distorting effects upon the way in which his text has been read and interpreted” (244–45).

One major influence that has too frequently been neglected is the power of the rhetorical assumptions of Hooker’s age. Joyce makes use of a skilled interpretation of Hooker’s words to show how rhetoric must be used to interpret Hooker’s attitude to Calvin. In the view of this reviewer, the book succeeds in showing that Hooker’s rhetoric surrounding the person of Calvin manifestly succeeds in reducing his authority. This reader is not convinced, however, that Hooker did not admire Calvin and follow him, though not unconditionally, when it seemed his Church had.

Further, Joyce offers a highly original and carefully constructed account of Hooker’s moral theology “in its own terms” (15), a topic frequently addressed, with varying conclusions, but not heretofore dealt with in so careful an exposition of Hooker’s own words. Hooker has been enlisted as a voice on several sides of contemporary Anglican discussions about moral questions. Joyce shows Hooker’s position clearly by asking what it was, rather than by assuming it was on one side of a particular issue or another.

Joyce’s choice of a topic to illustrate Hooker’s moral theology will be puzzling and unpromising to many who study Hooker, for Hooker’s conclusions about the morality of marriage beneath his apologia for the disputed rites of the Church of England may appear naïve and even embarrassing. Yet Joyce has wrestled this topic to the ground, by a careful and honest address to Hooker’s words, and has therefore contributed a new appreciation of how moral theology in fact works for Hooker. Few may use it to understand marriage in the Church of England or in broader society, but many may find it a helpful illustration of how moral theology works for Hooker, and that may, or may not, find application.

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ERIC KLINGELHOFER. *Castles and Colonists: An Archaeology of Elizabethan Ireland*. The Manchester Spenser. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010. Pp. 192. £65.00 (cloth).

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Studies of the Tudor conquest of Ireland have expanded rapidly in the decades since the pioneering work of D. B. Quinn, Nicholas Canny, and Brendan Bradshaw. Archaeological studies of this period, however, have begun to appear only recently. The Manchester Spenser Series, designed to expand upon the contexts within which Edmund Spenser worked, is to be commended for underscoring archaeology’s contribution to studies of Tudor conquest in Ireland by the inclusion of this work among its publications. The purpose of Eric Klingelhofer’s study is to provide material context for Spenser in Ireland, specifically his role as a New English landowner on the Munster plantation, formed in the aftermath of the Desmond

Rebellion (1579–83) when over 500,000 acres of land were confiscated. Accordingly, at the heart of Klingelhofer's study is a consideration of Spenser's castle of Kilcolman on the Munster plantation (chapter 5), destroyed by an uprising in 1598 in the midst of the Nine Years' War. Spenser and his castle are placed squarely within Elizabethan colonialism in Ireland, and by way of introduction, this is placed within the yet larger context of English colonialism in the Americas. Klingelhofer builds to the topic of Kilcolman Castle through preparatory chapters on architecture, fortifications, and colonial settlement in the Elizabethan period, chapters studded with an impressive number of photographs and maps. Although he draws a number of general conclusions regarding early modern English colonialism, in spite of the work's subtitle, the emphasis here is on Munster.

Chapter 1 begins with an overview of Elizabethan colonization and exploration in the Americas, followed by a general introduction to Ireland's society and economy in the early stages of Tudor conquest, the latter providing helpful background for those coming to this work with little prior knowledge of Irish history. Here Klingelhofer makes the case for archaeology's ability to contribute substantially to our understanding of Tudor conquest. While this is certainly true, scholars of the last few decades will feel slighted by his assertion that this is so because archival studies have little new to offer on the subject, those sources having already been long thoroughly sifted, Klingelhofer asserts, by D. B. Quinn and Nicholas Canny (8), an assertion that would be dispelled by greater attention to more recent work. Chapter 2's consideration of Elizabethan fortifications, however, argues successfully in favor of the assertion that archaeology does have much to offer historical studies of the militarization of English policy in Ireland in this period.

The discussions of colonial settlement and vernacular architecture in chapters 3 and 4 are grounded in Klingelhofer's identification of the Munster plantation as a failure and his concern to locate the source of that failure. His consideration of colonial settlement patterns leads him to identify the lack of settlement planning (69), or more accurately the unfeasibility and failure of settlement proposals (72), as one source of the Munster plantation's failure. It was a "paper state" only, one of "great expectations" that failed to materialize as planned (82). Chapter 4 provides a detailed discussion of house types and their evolution, including tower houses, manor houses, and fortified houses, as a framework within which to consider architecture's reflection of the political and social changes catalyzed by the extension of English control in this period.

Klingelhofer makes extensive use of his excavations at Kilcolman as the basis for chapter 5. Its detailed portrait of the castle and of life at Kilcolman will certainly be of great interest to Spenserians. There is greater importance to this, however, for Klingelhofer's placement of Spenser within local economic structures reminds historians that taking into account the manner in which New English landowners functioned within their local economies offers a beneficial complement to assessment of their role as colonial administrators and officers.

Klingelhofer's consideration of Spenserian architecture in Ireland in chapter 6 builds on the subject of building types set out in chapter 4, drawing comparisons with the evolution of building types in England as the basis for the work's larger conclusions. Concern for local defense in Ireland determined house types of the elite in particular, a significant factor in assessing the degree to which construction reveals colonial attitudes as well as practicalities. Klingelhofer sees a critical transformation, arguing that "an imperial mentality, not a colonial outlook[,] determined their choice of building" and that "their houses represent something other than the fruits of colonization, or colonialism in its basic sense, and that is the idea of empire" (157).

As this last point suggests, some of Klingelhofer's assertions tantalizingly speak to debates concerning the Tudor conquest of Ireland though he does not engage directly with those debates. For instance, his identification of "proto-colonial" settlement under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary as a function of frontier defense rather than colonization (63) is a point that would be enhanced by consideration of competing assessments of England's

perception of its relationship to Ireland and how that determined attitudes no less than policy. Other comments challenge recent work on Tudor Ireland—for instance, his description of sixteenth-century Ireland as “one of retarded change, of resistance to both Renaissance and Reformation” (86). While certainly there was extensive resistance to the Protestant Reformation among the Gaelic and Old English, much work exists demonstrating a profound engagement with Renaissance thought and practice in the Gaelic and Old English communities. With work such as Klingelhofer’s on sixteenth-century Ireland, we can now move on to the greater incorporation of theorization within archaeology—for instance, accommodating the emerging field of conflict archaeology already utilized in considerations of the Ulster plantation and elsewhere—to arrive at a yet more comprehensive appreciation of the strategies and attitudes that underpinned Elizabethan control in Ireland.

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NATASHA KORDA. *Labors Lost: Women’s Work and the Early Modern English Stage*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Pp. 360. \$69.95 (cloth). doi:10.1017/jbr.2013.16

*Labors Lost: Women’s Work and the Early Modern English Stage* uses the work of social historians and a small number of early modern English plays in which women’s work is represented on stage to claim that “disciplinary parameters” have prevented our recognition of the many ways in which women’s work was significant to the professional stage in London. She examines their work as tirewomen and seamstresses (chapter 1), moneylenders and creditors (chapter 2), starchers and vendors of many sorts (chapters 3 and 5), and their activities in the streets as cries—as oysterwives and the like—where women offered an acoustic idiom the professional players both appropriated and denigrated in their attempts to professionalize the stage (chapter 4). Certainly this is the case—women participated in both the formal and the informal economies of London in myriad ways, and scholars in both history and literary studies have written and argued about women’s work in early modern London for decades. Korda’s copious evidence from the historical literature will come as no surprise to the many historians whose work she cites, but readers in literary studies may be perplexed at the short shrift given to work in our field, particularly in her readings of *Hamlet*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, and *Bartholomew Fair*.

In an effort to make her claims more compelling, Korda overstates the claims of others, particularly those of feminist scholarship. Dympna Callaghan’s *Shakespeare without Women* is called upon to represent the view that “the professional stage simply excluded women” (16), despite the fact that Callaghan’s book is explicitly concerned with the professional companies’ exclusion of women and with the practice of “all male mimesis” (Callaghan, 7). She notes the exceptions but insists there was a “systematic prohibition against female mimesis” on the London stage. Callaghan’s book, in fact, exposes the limits of the very work Korda’s litany of examples performs. Korda “represents” working women for us in sometimes dulling detail, whereas Callaghan begins from a “certain philosophical skepticism about the mechanisms of dramatic representation as well as a specifically political skepticism about the benefits of representation” itself (Callaghan, 7).

In his exhaustive four-volume compendium, *The Elizabethan Stage*, first published in 1923, and recently reprinted in 2010, E. K. Chambers observes that “although it would be going rather too far to say that a woman never appeared upon an Elizabethan stage, women were not included in the ordinary companies” (Chambers, I:371). Korda’s most compelling claim in the book under review is that the exclusion of women from the playing companies was part of the process of the professionalization of acting. Players and entrepreneurs like