

‘How many miles doth your hand travell!’:
Women’s Textual Journeys in Seventeenth-Century
England



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Abstract

The seventeenth century is often called the first truly global era, but worldly adventures did not require physical movement abroad. Despite the limitations placed on women's physical movement that were prevalent in early modern English culture, their textual habits reveal global curiosity. My thesis uncovers the ways in which some English women, many of whom had neither the means nor opportunity to travel, experienced this era of exploration through their own reading and writing. By recognising cases of virtual travel, as well as the numerous ways of interpreting and influencing the foreign, this study introduces an often-overlooked yet vital discourse concerning imagined travels. When it comes to women's recorded experiences of the world beyond their own, scholarship has tended to focus on individual female writers who physically travelled abroad, and their creation of some kind of travelogue. Unless we consider the varied and frequent series of exchanges between English travellers and women at home in England, I argue, we ignore the complexly gendered transnational dialogues negotiating global information. Women left textual traces of their worldly journeys across print and manuscript – including, but not limited to, sermons, poems, conduct literature, almanacs, petitions, wage receipts, powers of attorney, commonplace books, letters, and diaries. I consider examples of each mode to see how genres were specifically chosen to cater to the author's purpose and intended audience, as well as being inextricably connected to their social position and levels of education. My thesis therefore advances the study of non-elite women's literary and historical resources, most of which have not received sufficient scholarly attention. I explore the processes of piecing together stories through sometimes fragmented or anecdotal sources, considering how we might interpret the signs that are left, which are often slight when dealing with this demographic. To speak of these engaged women helps to further our understanding of how travel is a multi-faceted concept, and stimulates new ways of thinking about women's textual contributions during a period of profound global discoveries.

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List of Abbreviations

ADM	Admiralty
AUL	Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen
AUL, SB	Aberdeen University Library, Special Books
Beinecke	Beinecke Library, New Haven, CT
Beinecke, Eliz.	Beinecke Library, The Elizabethan Club Collection
Beinecke, Osborn	Beinecke Library, Osborn MS
BL	British Library, London
BL, Add.	British Library, Additional MS
BL, Harl.	British Library, Harleian MS
BL, Sloane	British Library, Sloane MS
BM	British Museum, London
BM, Add.	British Museum, Additional MS
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Bodl. Ashmole	Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS
Bodl. Bodley	Bodleian Library, Bodley MS
Bodl. Don.	Bodleian Library, Donation MS
Bodl. North	Bodleian Library, North MS
Bodl. Rawl.	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS
Cecil	Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Cecil Papers
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
CR	County Record
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
CUL, Add.	Cambridge University Library, Additional MS
CUL, Hengrave	Cambridge University Library, Hengrave MS

CUL, syn.	Cambridge University Library, Syndicate publications
Dep.	Deposit
EEBO	Early English Books Online
Eng.	English
ERO	Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford
Fol.	Folio
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC
HCA	High Court of Admiralty
Huntington	Huntington Library, Pasadena, CA
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London
MJ	Middlesex Sessions Records
MS	Manuscript
NA	National Archives, London
NA, SP	National Archives, State Papers, Domestic
OBC	Balliol College Library, University of Oxford
OSCC	Christ Church College Library, University of Oxford
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OEC	Exeter College Library, University of Oxford
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OQC	The Queen's College Library, University of Oxford
OSJC	St John's College Library, University of Oxford
OWC	Worcester College Library, University of Oxford
PRO	Public Record Office
PROB	Probate
PUL	Princeton University Libraries, Princeton, NJ

PUL, RTC	Princeton University Libraries, Robert H. Taylor Collection
RO	Record Office
SP	State Papers
STC	Short Title Catalogue
WCRO	Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick

Conventions

Original spelling and punctuation have been retained, except for the long ‘s’, which is not preserved. I/j, u/v, th/y have been distinguished. Abbreviations and contractions have been extended by the use of square brackets. Insertions are indicated by superscript; deletion by a strikethrough line. All dates are given in Old Style, but the new year is taken to begin on 1 January rather than 25 March. In footnotes, dates are presented in the British format of date, then month, then year.

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Introduction

Elizabeth Lyttelton was an avid explorer of the early modern world. So voracious was her appetite for travelling that in 1669 Elizabeth's older brother proudly declared her to be an even greater adventurer than he.¹ This was high praise, considering Edward Browne had twice embarked upon extensive excursions to the continent during that decade. After graduating from the University of Cambridge aged nineteen, Edward rounded off his gentleman's education in the proprietous fashion with an expedition popularly known as the Grand Tour, a rite of passage for those of sufficient means and rank that flourished from the mid-seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth, in which travellers sought out Europe's classical and renaissance artistic cultures.² Between 1664 and 1665 he visited Rome, Naples, Venice, Bologna, and Padua in Italy, as well as Arles, Montpellier, Toulouse and La Rochelle in France.³ Once he had returned home the explorer settled on a career as a physician, following in the footsteps of his father, Sir Thomas Browne, the esteemed natural philosopher, author, and medical doctor. But before beginning his practice, Edward decided to depart for another foreign trip. Between August 1668 and the Christmas of 1669 he visited the Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece.⁴ It was in the middle of this expedition, on 5 July 1669, when Edward was twenty-six years old and Elizabeth was around twenty-one, that he affectionately wrote to his sister declaring her explorative prowess to be superior to his own.⁵ And yet, until that date, Elizabeth's life had

¹ Correspondence from Edward Browne, 1669, BL MS Sloane 3418; transcribed in Thomas Browne, *Sir Thomas Browne's Works Including his Life and Correspondence*, ed. Simon Wilkin, 4 vols. (London: William Pickering, 1836), vol. 1, 190, letter 3 (5 July 1669).

² For a general history of the Grand Tour, see Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1992), and Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Class, 1998).

³ Reid Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 286.

⁴ Kees van Strien, 'Browne, Edward (1644-1708)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 5 July 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3670>. For more on Edward's second expedition, see Cornelis Daniël van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 235-297.

⁵ Victoria E. Burke estimates that Lyttelton was 'about nineteen years of age' when this letter was written, yet states that Lyttelton was born 'c.1648'. I have given this birth date the benefit of the doubt, and therefore suppose that Lyttelton was twenty-one years old. See Victoria E. Burke, 'Contexts for Women's Manuscript

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been entirely spent in England, growing up in her family home in Norwich. In his letter, Edward professed:

Dear Sister Betty,
Though I make many journeys, yet I am confident that your pen and pencil are greater travellers. How many fine plaines do they passe over, and how many hills, woods, seas doe they designe? You have a fine way of not onley seeing but making a world; and whilst you sit still, how many miles doth your hand travell! I am only unfortunate in this, that I can never meete you in any of your voyages.⁶

Large-scale international excursions were deemed to be an essential part of both Edward's education and their only other brother Thomas's personal development, who journeyed to France in the early 1660s.⁷ Yet Elizabeth's lack of physical travel implies that it was not prioritised within her upbringing, and there is no mention of her journeying abroad prior to 1669 in the family's records.⁸ It was not until more than a decade after this letter was composed that she set sail from England for the first time. In December 1680, aged thirty-two, Elizabeth married Captain George Lyttelton in her parish church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich, and the couple moved to Guernsey after he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Castle Cornet.⁹ Her stay on the Channel Islands was brief, however. Elizabeth returned to England on the 25 May 1682, joined by her husband the following year, and together they settled in Windsor where would remain until their deaths. George died in 1717 at the age of seventy-seven and Elizabeth was still alive in 1728, aged eighty, when she was bequeathed goods in her cousin's will, although the date of her death remains unknown.¹⁰

Miscellanies: The Case of Elizabeth Lyttelton and Sir Thomas Browne', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), 316-318.

⁶ BL MS Sloane 3418.

⁷ Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne*, 366.

⁸ For more on women who did embark upon the Grand Tour, mostly in the eighteenth century, consult Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Flamingo, 2002) and Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, ed., *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

⁹ G. C. R. Morris, 'Sir Thomas Browne's Daughters, "Cosen Barker", and the Cottrells', *Notes & Queries* 231 (1986), 473, and 'From Guernsey to Norwich, 1682-style', *Articles*, Priaulx Library, creation date unknown, accessed 11 July 2017, <http://www.priaulxlibrary.co.uk/articles/article/guernsey-norwich-1682-style>.

¹⁰ Philip Stevens, 'Elizabeth Lyttelton', *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society* 37, no. 1 (1981), 10, and Geoffrey Keynes, *The Commonplace Book of Elizabeth Lyttelton, Daughter of Sir Thomas Browne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), 8. See also the will of Edward Tenison, 1728, NA, PROB 11/677, f. 135; qtd. in Morris, 'Sir Thomas Browne's Daughters', 473.

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Why, then, was Edward ‘confident’ that his sister was a ‘greater’ traveller – implying that she was both more skilled at travelling and that she covered a larger distance out of the two of them – despite having ‘s[a]t still’ in Norwich for the duration of her life until Edward made his declaration in 1669? As the correspondent makes clear, Edward was marvelling at her hand’s mileage; Elizabeth deserved this accolade thanks to her use of ‘pen and pencil’. Through her creative and intellectual interests she explored a life beyond the family home, and with her unique way of ‘seeing’ and ‘making a world’ by ‘designe’, Elizabeth journeyed ‘many miles’ with her imagined travel. Lamenting how he ‘can never meete’ her ‘in any of [these] voyages’, Edward presumes that solitude was required during this kind of mental activity, negating the use of a chaperone that was typically considered necessary if a woman must physically travel at all.¹¹ What is the nature of this kind of global engagement? To what degree was reading and writing a way of journeying, or an alternative to travel, or – as Edward implies here – a fuller, more ambitious kind of voyaging? Compelled to read, write, and draw by a distinguished talent and insatiable curiosity, yet denied the opportunity for excursion to the continent that her brothers regularly indulged in, Elizabeth offers an insight into the ways in which women who did not have the opportunity to physically voyage abroad engaged in global travels. This is the central focus of my thesis.

But before I outline the scope of my study, I will first explore the variety of ways that Elizabeth expressed her creative and intellectual curiosity for the early modern world, which can be gleaned from the family’s letters. As the wielding of a pencil implies, Elizabeth was a talented artist who excelled at ‘limning’ and ‘washing in black and colours’, as her father remarked in a letter to Edward from 1668.¹² Although none of her art survives, as Victoria E.

¹¹ BL MS Sloane 3418. Sara Warneke suggests that ‘after the demise of the pilgrimage, women found it difficult to travel abroad except as the wives, daughters, sisters or servants of male travelers’, in *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 5. The comparatively few cases of women’s travel without male relatives or officials is studied by Linda Levy Peck, and has an aristocratic focus. See *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 135-142.

¹² Thomas Browne, *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 4 vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), vol. 4, 33, letter 23 (2 December 1668).

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Burke points out, the artist drew ‘pictures relating to her father’s work, her brother’s travels, and her own interests’ according to mentions in their epistolary exchanges.¹³ In a letter sent in 1670 from father to son, Thomas advises Edward to write up an account of his ‘last travayles’ using any notes and letters he made during the trip as well as ‘the draughts of things wch Betty drewe’, which Thomas believes ‘will help much’ with the retrospective journal’s compilation.¹⁴ Elizabeth helps to preserve and communicate global knowledge through her uses of pen and pencil, and made a habit of taking animals that other people had encountered during their physical excursions as her own artistic subject matter. In an epistolary exchange from 1675, Thomas explains to Edward how ‘Betty drew out’ a sketch of a seal, neatening and adding detail to the version he had first drafted during a research expedition.¹⁵

Basing ideas of travel upon the physical experiences of others was not unusual. It is likely that Elizabeth also copied foreign matter from drawing manuals to ‘demonstrate [her] taste and knowledge of the arts’, as Kim Sloan argues was commonly practiced by amateur female artists from the period – although whether these exercises were intended as a loose guide or for careful delineation is up for debate, meaning that ‘the reliance on the imagination to complete the process of creation result[ed] in constant novelty’.¹⁶ This shows one way in which virtual travelling for women like Elizabeth could become an interactive rather than passive exercise. Similarly, Elizabeth sent a drawing of a stork to her brother in 1680 which, as she described in the surviving accompanying letter, ‘was taken by the sea side and brought a live to my Father; it was so Pretty a one I could not but take the Picture’.¹⁷ During her time on Guernsey she frequently sketched her new surroundings, including her husband’s workplace, Castle Cornet, as well as producing a ‘draught of the towne taken on the land side

¹³ Burke, ‘Contexts for Women’s’, 319.

¹⁴ Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vol. 4, 49, letter 30 (8 June 1670); qtd. in Burke, ‘Contexts for Women’s’, 319.

¹⁵ Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vol. 4, 56, letter 37 (21 June 1675); qtd. in Burke, ‘Contexts for Women’s’, 319.

¹⁶ Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters* (London: British Museum, 2000), 213, 150.

¹⁷ Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vol. 4, 151, letter 105 (5 May [1680]); qtd. in Burke, ‘Contexts for Women’s’, 319.

from a rock', and making portraits of locals.¹⁸ Elizabeth's pencil proved popular with acquaintances near and far, providing an effective way for her to engage with habitats and inhabitants in worlds beyond those she was used to.

Elizabeth's global literacy

As Edward's mention of a pen indicates, Elizabeth was highly literate. Considering the loss of her artwork over the centuries, the survival of some of Elizabeth's writing is all the more remarkable. While her eldest brother would go on to publish two separate accounts in the 1670s of his continental expeditions from the 1660s, she produced a variety of disparate literary reflections that show her eagerness for exploring the wider world through writing.¹⁹ Elizabeth transcribed ten 'Letters of my fathers w^{ch} he writ to my Brother Thomas when he went in to france', as well as correspondence that her 'dear Father & Mother writ to [her] when [she] was at Guernsy', in a bound manuscript volume measuring 23.5cm x 36.5cm that is now in the Bodleian, expressing an interest in how her family communicated when at home and abroad.²⁰ Similarly, Elizabeth was the main compiler and scribe of a quarto format manuscript commonplace book measuring 16.5cm x 20.5cm, now in Cambridge University Library, that was originally owned by her mother, Lady Dorothy Browne, which conforms to the genre's typically hybrid and accumulative nature by including the notes of 'several generations of annotators'.²¹

Elizabeth sought to further understand the wider world through the transcription of material ranging from poetry to proverbs and a great deal in between, in keeping with

¹⁸ Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vol. 4, 214-215, letter 154 (Feb. or March 1681/2); qtd. in Stevens, 'Elizabeth Lyttelton', 9.

¹⁹ Edward Brown, *A Brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria, Austria, Servia, Styria, Bulgaria, Carinthia, Macedonia, Carniola, Thessaly, and Frivli* (London: Printed by T. R., 1673) and *An Account of Several Travels Through a great part of Germany: In Four Journeys* (London: Printed for Benj. Tooke, 1677).

²⁰ Transcripts of thirteen letters from Sir Thomas Browne by Elizabeth Lyttelton, 22 Dec. 1660 to 4 Jan. 1661/2, Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 391, fols. 81r-88r. The letters themselves measure 18cm x 30cm.

²¹ Elizabeth Lyttelton, commonplace book, c.1676-c.1713/4, CUL MS Additional 8460, and Adam Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits', in *Women and Writing, c.1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), 91.

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contemporary uses of commonplace books to mix traditional didactic expressions of method with other genres in a way that was ‘loose, tentative and negotiable’, as Adam Smyth poses.²² The volume still possesses its original sheepskin binding, protecting eighty-seven pages of neatly handwritten notes, although it probably had one more leaf at the time of production.²³ The name of Elizabeth’s youngest sister, Mary Browne, is scrawled twice on the volume’s flyleaves, but considering that she died in 1676, Mary could have only contributed to the book’s earliest stages of composition (Figures 1 and 2).²⁴ Its last leaf bears the inscription ‘Mar. 12 1713/4 The gift of Mrs Lyttelton to Edward Tenison’, indicating that the book was given by the primary compiler to her cousin (Figure 2).²⁵

Besides Burke’s summary of the commonplace book’s content, it has received little scholarly attention and is deserving of a more detailed analysis than I have room for here. The volume is of great significance to the study of Elizabeth’s imagined travels, revealing how her inquisitiveness about people and places stretched far and wide.²⁶ She conveys her interest in international wars by entering an extract from Charles Aley’s 1633 publication *The battailes of Crescey and Poitiers*; and by copying the last four lines of John Taylor’s poem ‘On Prince Rupert when a Child’, she supports foreign rulers who attempt to keep antichristian invaders at bay.²⁷ She is curious about the Ottomans, recording ‘A Turkish Prayer or Athemdobilla’ in her book and a card game on the back flyleaf called ‘Turks and Christians’ (see again Figure 2).²⁸ Two poems and one letter by the esteemed renaissance traveller Sir Walter Raleigh are

²² Smyth, ‘Commonplace Book Culture’, 94.

²³ Pages 1-45 have continuous pagination, but after this point the scribe turned the volume upside down. I have preserved original pagination (although a more recent hand has marked in continuous pagination for all 174 pages). I write ‘rev.’ to indicate when the book was reversed, following the precedent set by Burke.

²⁴ Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, 6.

²⁵ CUL MS Additional 8460, back flyleaf.

²⁶ Burke effectively outlines the content of the sources and Lyttelton’s biography, but more can be drawn out of her miscellany in particular, and Lyttelton’s literary contribution more broadly. See Burke, ‘Contexts for Women’s’, 316-328, and ‘Perdita Woman: Elizabeth Lyttelton’, *The Perdita Project*, 2005, 10 July 2017, https://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html/pw_LYTT01.htm.

²⁷ CUL MS Additional 8460, 69, 66.

²⁸ CUL MS Additional 8460, 78, back flyleaf. For more on Thomas Browne’s reading and writing on the Turks, and translations from Turkish to French, see Berna Moran, ‘Sir Thomas Browne’s Reading on the Turks’, *Notes & Queries* 197 (1952): 380-382.

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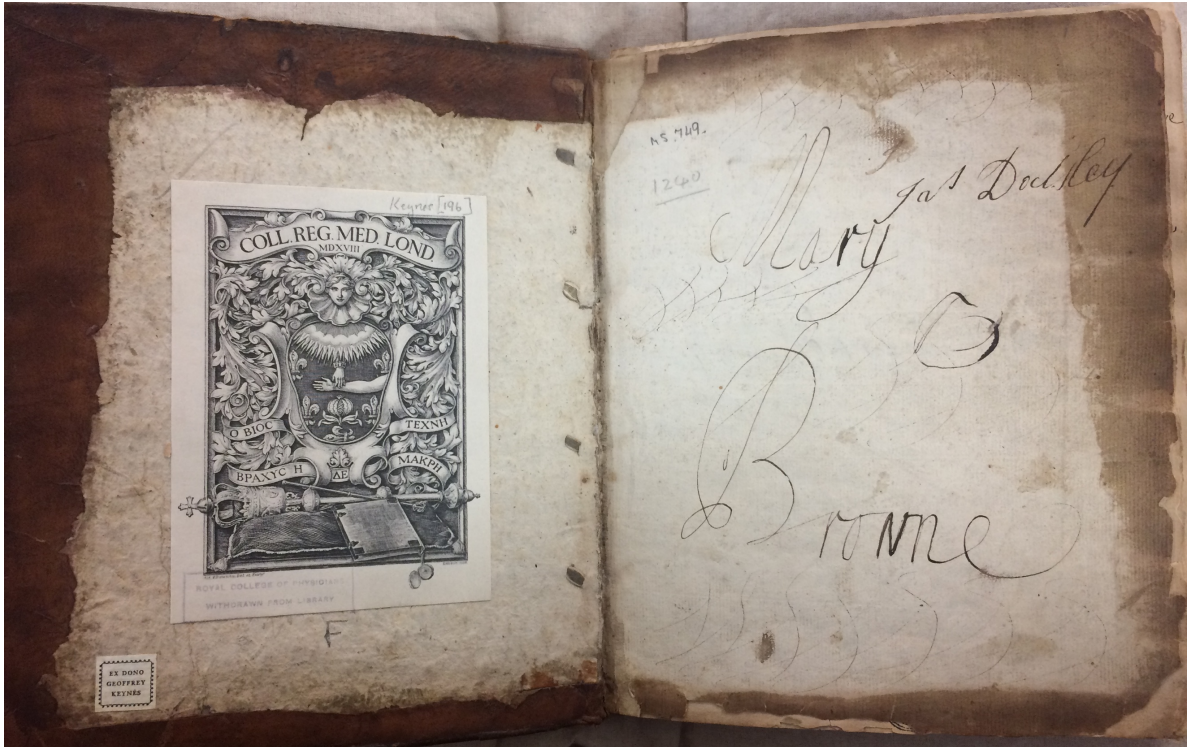


Figure 1. Front pasteboard and flyleaf, 'Mary Browne', CUL MS Add. 8460.

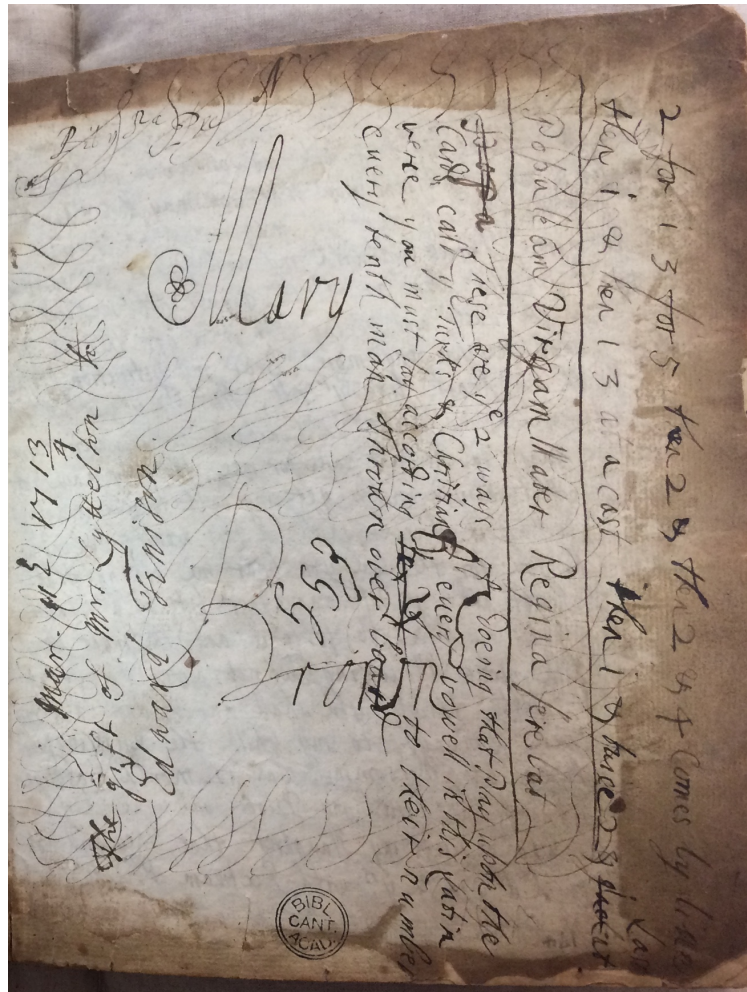


Figure 2. Back flyleaf, 'Mary Browne', 'The gift of Mrs Lyttelton' and 'Turks and Christians', CUL MS Add. 8460.

also copied out.²⁹ Not only did Elizabeth have an interest in particular travellers and particular foreign nations, but she sought to further understand the ways of the entire universe, transcribing a passage from Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie in four books*.³⁰ She includes an eighteen-line poem by Thomas Cary and William Fowler 'On his Mistress going to Sea', where the lover hopes for conditions that are 'Calme and gentle like the lookes [the mistress does] beare' (Figure 3), which was sometimes set to music.³¹ Moreover, Elizabeth copied 'rhythmized' proverbs in French and Italian as well as a sixteen-line composition of 'Some Arabian proverbs', the translations being attributed to Sir Philip Woodhouse.³² Despite the difficulty of reading intention in commonplace books, when texts have been copied from elsewhere, their appearance can still be interpreted as a sign of the compiler's interest in foreign literature and global travel.

Many of the excerpts Elizabeth includes in her commonplace book were circulating widely during the period, problematising a simple reading of her interests. In his index of early modern English literary manuscripts, Peter Beal lists ninety-two extant transcriptions of Raleigh's poem 'Even such is time', and the letter to his wife, for example, appears in Andrew Card's quarto miscellany of Raleigh-themed works from the 1670s.³³ 'On his Mistress going to Sea' features in Jane Wheeler's verse miscellany from c.1630-c.1640, and Lady Margaret Wemyss's lute book composed between 1643 and c.1649 – along with twenty other manuscripts listed in the Folger's index of first lines.³⁴ It is therefore possible that these extracts were used as much for their wit and fashionable style as being expressive of

²⁹ CUL MS Additional 8460, 49, 61-60 rev., 173-171 rev. Poems cited are 'Even such is time' and 'A Christian paraphrase...'; letter is that to his wife on his condemnation.

³⁰ CUL MS Additional 8460, 68.

³¹ Burke, 'Perdita Woman'; CUL MS Additional 8460, 65 rev. Lyttelton was musical and played the fiddle. See Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vol. 4, 76, letter 48 (8 April 1677); qtd. in Burke, 'Contexts for Women's', 321.

³² CUL MS Additional 8460, 25-32, 35-40, 92-85 rev.

³³ Andrew Card, [Trial record], c.1670, University of Chicago, MS 824, fol. 26r-26v, 27v.

³⁴ Jane Wheeler, verse miscellany, c.1630-c.1640, Folger MS V.a.322, 51-52, and Lady Margaret Wemyss, lute book, 1643-c.1649, National Library of Scotland, Dep. 314/23. See, 'Fair saint, may not the sea and wind', *Union First Line Index of English Verse*, Folger Shakespeare Library, creation date unknown, accessed 8 March 2018, <https://firstlines.folger.edu/search.php?val1=fair+saint%2C+may+not+the+sea+and+wind+#results>.

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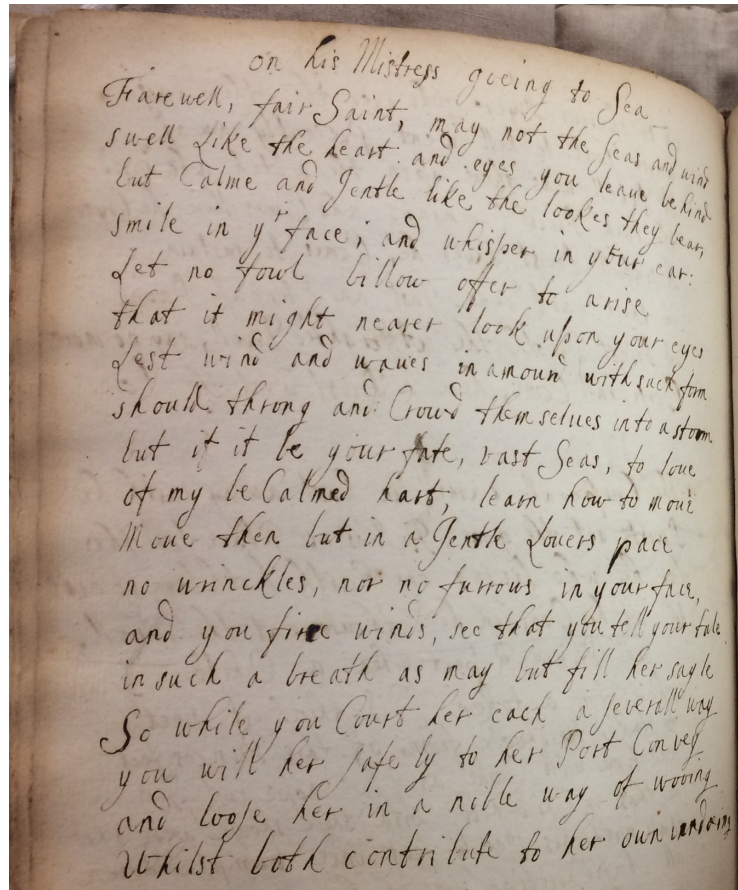


Figure 3. '[O]n his Mistress going to Sea', CUL MS Add. 8460, 65 rev.

Elizabeth's personal involvement in travel.³⁵ However, Elizabeth's dedication to compiling information about the international world is strengthened as she looked closer to home for inspiration. Copied into her manuscript is Thomas Flatman's ten-line poem celebrating her brother Edward's 'undefatigable Travels' abroad, which comments on 'rich Merchants' who travel to 'Foreign Clime[s]' seeking 'treasures to inrich their Natiue Soyle' (Figure 4).³⁶

Additionally, her miscellany contains a poem that Geoffrey Keynes attributes to her father, called 'upon a Tempes at Sea', which supposedly describes Thomas's tumultuous journey 'Coming from Ireland' aged twenty-five where 'all things by the wind were throwne' (Figures 5 and 6).³⁷ Furthermore, two excerpts from her father's commonplace book are included in

³⁵ For more on copying and commonplace book trends, see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), esp. Chapter 2, and Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. Chapter 4.

³⁶ CUL MS Additional 8460, 33.

³⁷ CUL MS Additional 8460, 94-93 rev.; Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, 20.

her own. One explores nature's bountiful shades of green in 'Signor Verdero in his proper habitat', and in the other Thomas describes his favourite species of meadow flowers, although Elizabeth excludes some lines that he originally wrote in the first person.³⁸

While Elizabeth quotes from many varied sources exploring other subject matter that I have not listed, around thirty percent of the items she transcribes have a strong theme of global curiosity: three of the ten epitaphs are by or about Raleigh; one of the seven elegies discusses monarchical journeys; of the three prayers, one is Turkish; Elizabeth includes two songs, one of which is a sea shanty; and half of the sententiae are based on Italian, French, and Arabian proverbs. Global matters therefore run throughout her miscellany. Verse transmission in commonplace books was a process, Beal argues, in which those

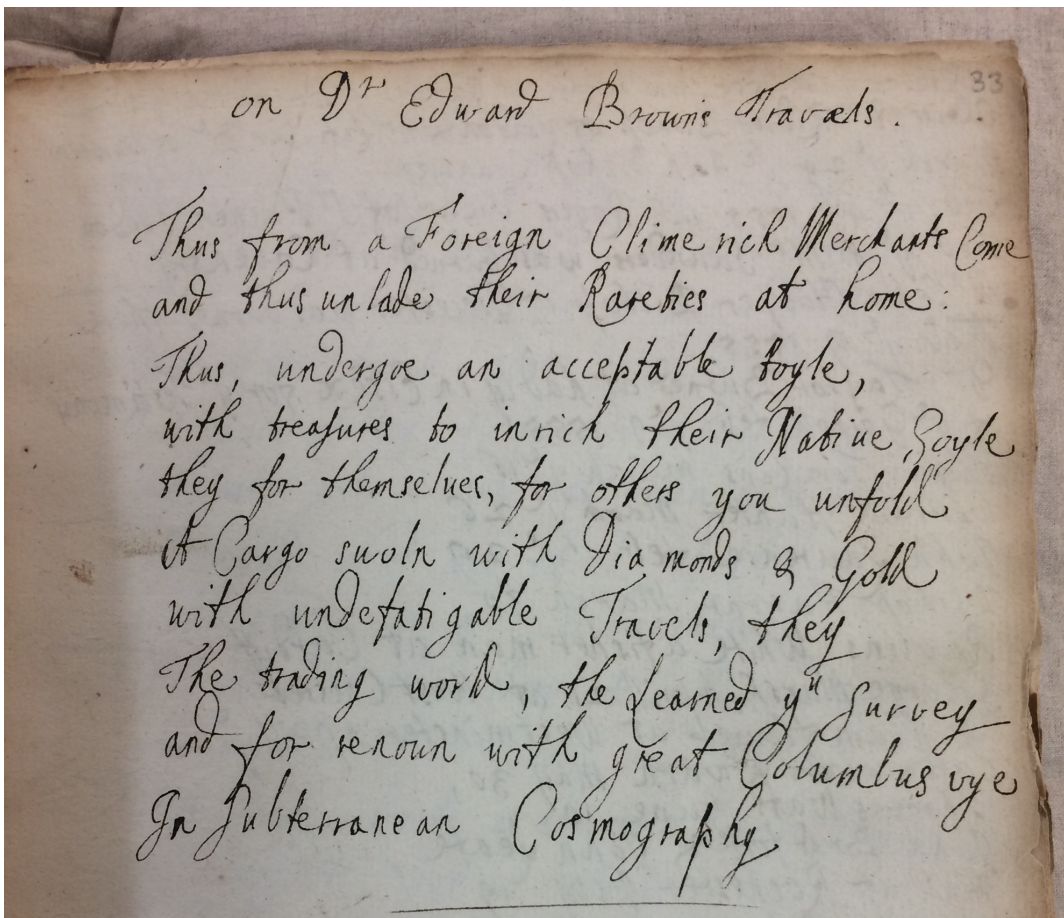


Figure 4. '[O]n Dr Edward Brown's Travels', CUL MS Add. 8460, 64 rev.

³⁸ CUL MS Additional 8460, 77-76 rev.; for more on the editing of this extract, see Burke, 'Contexts for Women's?', 327. Browne's spells it 'Signor Verdero' in his commonplace book.

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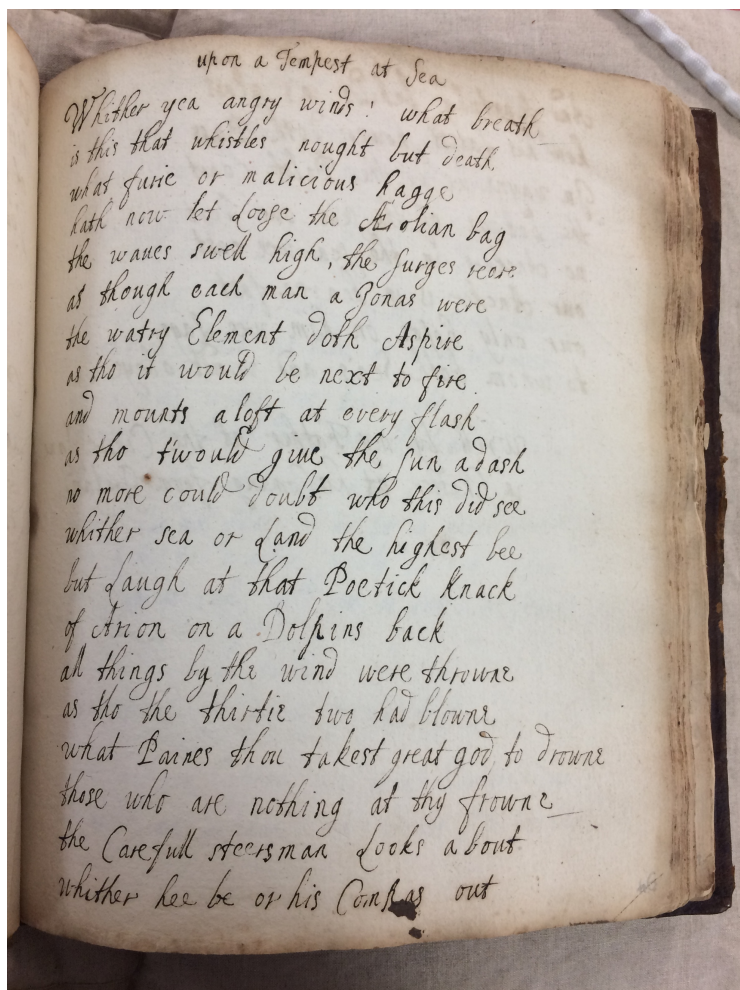


Figure 5. '[U]pon a Tempest at Sea', CUL MS Add. 8460, 94 rev.

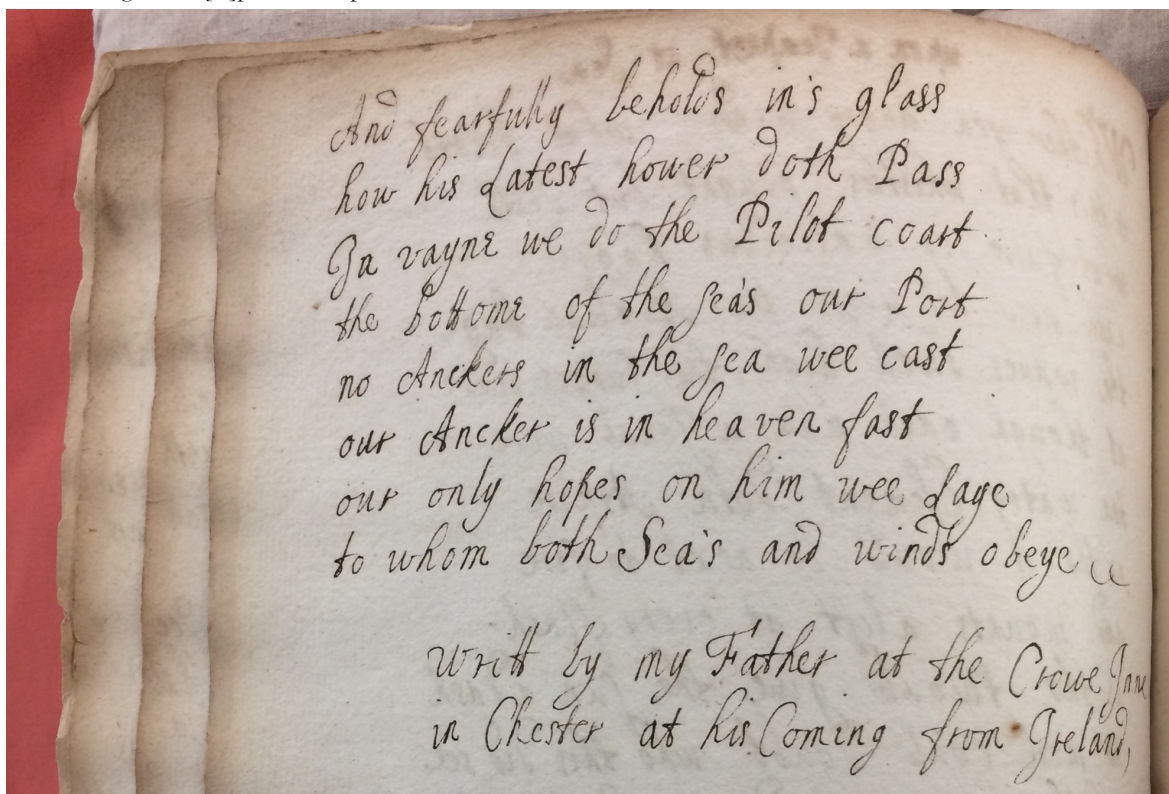


Figure 6. '[U]pon a Tempest at Sea' continued, CUL MS Add. 8460, 93 rev.

practicing believed that ‘human knowledge could be adequately reduced to brief essentials, that it could be all epitomized by a mechanical, even ritualistic, process of distillation’.³⁹

Elizabeth’s physical journeys appear to have been restricted by her father to those he deemed appropriate, or those her husband thought best for his marriage and career. Instead, she formulates a distilled version of global travels in her miscellany, expressing her interest in foreign affairs, esteemed travellers, terrestrial matters, international literature, and transnational histories. Textual inquisitiveness enables Elizabeth to travel more freely in her imagination.

As well as feeding her curiosity for the globe through her penmanship, Elizabeth’s stimulation may have been spurred by the printed books she encountered. In a letter sent to Edward by his father in 1679, the correspondent wrote of how ‘Your sister Betty hath read unto mee Mr Ricauts historie of the 3 last Turkish emperours, Morat or Amurah the fourth, Ibrahim and Mahomet the fourth’.⁴⁰ It appears as though reading together was an activity in which this father and daughter duo often partook; an entry in Elizabeth’s commonplace book contains an extensive list of the texts she read aloud to her father ‘at nights till she read y^m all out’ (Figure 7).⁴¹ Along with a few popular classical works and religious texts that were favourites for readers during the period, the overwhelming majority of those included in Elizabeth’s double page index of twenty-eight titles are on global travel or worldly histories.⁴² Consulting the complete list illustrates their shared interest in these subjects:

³⁹ Peter Beal, “‘Notions in Garrison’: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book”, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), 135. See also Richard Beadle and Colin Burrow, ed., *Manuscript Miscellanies, c.1450-1700* (London: British Library, 2011), and Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, ed., *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014).

⁴⁰ Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vol. 4, 145, letter 100 (22 December 1679); qtd. in Burke, ‘Contexts for Women’s’, 320.

⁴¹ CUL MS Additional 8460, 44-45. The list is in Lyttelton’s handwriting, but the heading’s phrasing suggests she directly copied it from one Thomas had compiled earlier.

⁴² All footnotes within my list, which explain the full titles and authorship of the books, are based on Keynes’s own but are more complete – and in some cases include minor corrections. See Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, 14-15.

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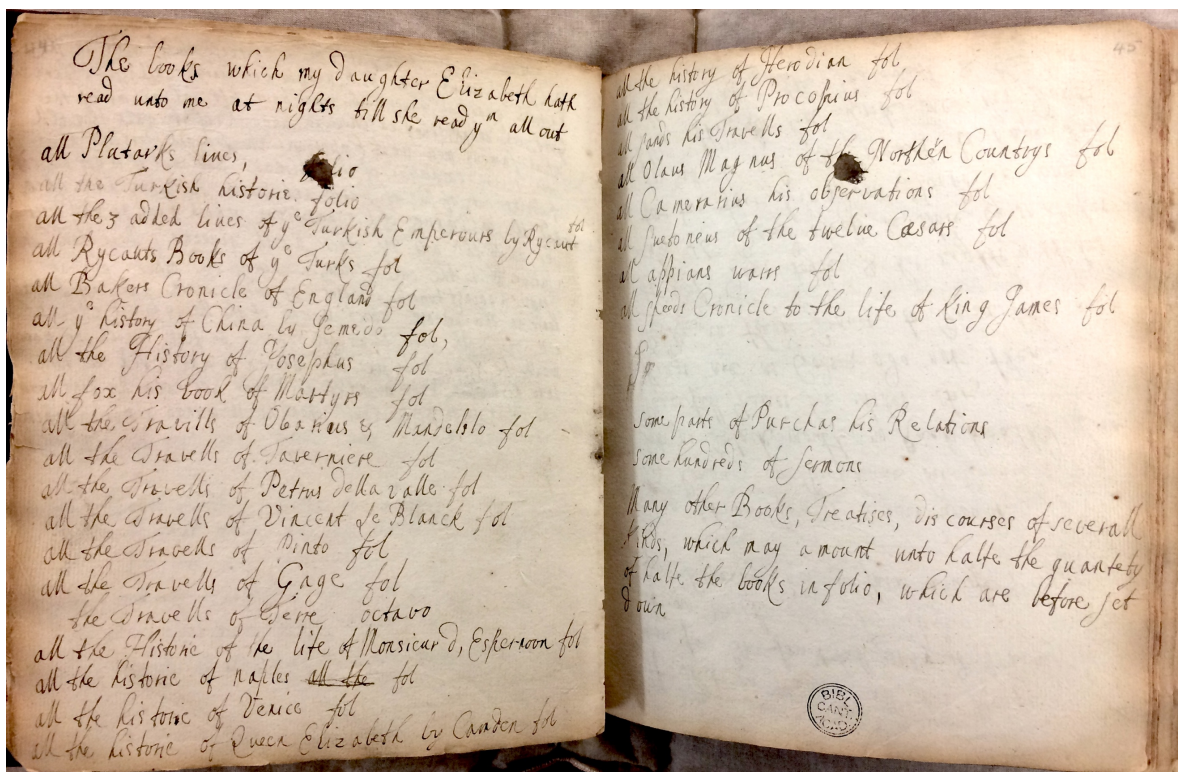


Figure 7. Book list, CUL MS Add. 8460, 44-45.

Book list as it appears in CUL MS Additional 8460, pages 44-45	Probable book titles and bibliographic information ⁴³
all Plutarcks liues, folio	*Plutarch, <i>The Lives of the Noble Grecians & Romans</i> (London: Printed by Abraham Miller, 1657).
all the Turkish historie, folio	Ralph Carr, <i>The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie</i> (London: Printed by Thomas Este, 1600).
all the 3 added liues of y ^e Turkish Emperours by Rycault fol.	*Paul Rycaut, <i>The History of the Turkish Empire from the year 1623 to the year 1677. Containing the Reigns of the three last Emperours</i> (London: Printed by J. M., 1680).
all Rycauts Books of y ^e Turks fol	Paul Rycaut, <i>The Present State of the Ottoman Empire</i> (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668).
all Bakers Chronicle of England fol	Richard Baker, <i>A Chronicle of the Kings of England</i> (London: Printed for Daniel Frere, 1643).
all y ^e history of China by Semedo fol	Alvaro Semedo, <i>The history of that great and renowned monarchy of China</i> (London: Printed by E. Tyler, 1655).
all the History of Josephus fol	*Flavius Josephus, <i>The Famous and Memorable VVorks of Josephus</i> , trans. Tho. Lodge (London: Printed by I[ohn] L[egat], 1640).
all fox his book of Martyrs fol	John Foxe, <i>Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church</i> (London: Printed by Iohn Day, 1573).

⁴³ First editions are listed as default. Publications beginning with an asterisk appear in the auction catalogue for Thomas and Edward Browne's library, and so are referencing exact editions they are known to have owned. This list develops Keynes's research in *Commonplace Book*, 14-15, 29. See also Thomas Ballard, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Learned Sir Thomas Brown, and Dr Edward Browne [...] sold by auction* (London: Thomas Ballard, 1711).

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all the Travills of Olearius & Mandelslo fol	Adam Olearius, <i>The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia</i> , trans. John Davies (London: Printed for Thomas Dring and John Starkey, 1662).
all the Travells of Taverniere fol ⁴⁴	Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, <i>The six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne through Turkey, into Persia and the East Indies</i> , trans. J. Phillips (London: Printed by J. T., 1668).
all the Travells of Petrus della valle fol	Pietro Della Valle, <i>The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta</i> (London: Printed by J. Macock, 1665).
all the Travells of Vincent Le Blanck fol	Vincent Leblanc, <i>The world surveyed: Or, The famous voyages and travailes of Vincent le Blanc, or white of Marseilles</i> , trans. F. B. (London: Printed for John Starkey, 1660).
all the Travells of Pinto fol ⁴⁵	Fernand Mendez Pinto, <i>The voyages and adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto</i> , trans. H. C. (London: Printed by J. Macock, 1653).
all the Travells of Gage fol	Thomas Gage, <i>The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land</i> (London: Printed by R. Cotes, 1648).
the Travells of Terre octavo	Not identified.
all the Historie of the life of Monsieur d, Espernoon fol	Guillaume Girard, <i>The History of the life of the Duke of Espernon</i> (London: Printed by E. Cotes and A. Clark, 1670).
all the historie of naples all the fol	*Scipione Mazzella and James Howell, <i>Parthenopoeia, or the history of the Most Noble and Renowned Kingdom of Naples</i> , trans. Samson Lennard (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1654).
all the historie of Venice fol	*James Howell, <i>A survey of the signorie of Venice, of her admired policy, and method of government</i> (London: Printed for Richard Lowndes, 1651).
all the historie of Queen Elizabeth by Camden fol	William Camden, <i>Annales the true and royal history of the famous empresse Elizabeth Queene of England France and Ireland</i> (London: Printed [by George Purslowe, Humphrey Lownes, and Miles Flesher], 1625).
all the historie of Herodian fol	Herodian, <i>The History of Herodian</i> , trans. Nicholas Smyth (London: Printed by Wylliam Coplande, 1556).
all the history of Procopius fol	Procopius, <i>The History of the Warres of the Emperour Justinian in Eight Books</i> (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1653).
all Sands his Travells fol	George Sandys, <i>A relation of a journey begun an. Dom. 1610</i> (London: [Printed by Richard Field], 1652).
all Olaus Magnus of the Northen Countrys fol	*Magnus Olaus, <i>A Compendious History of the Goths, Svvedes, & Vandals</i> (London: Printed by J. Streater, 1658).
all Camerarius his observations fol	Joachim Camerarius, <i>The History of Strange Wonders</i> ([London: Printed by Roulande Hall, 1651]).
all Suetoneus of the twelue Cæsars fol	*Suetonius, <i>The Historie of Twelve Caesars, Emperours of Rome</i> , trans. Philêmon Holland (London: Printed [by Humphrey Lownes and George Snowdon], 1606).
all appians wars fol	*Appianus, <i>The History of Appian of Alexandria</i> , trans. J. D. (London: Printed for John Amery, 1679).

⁴⁴ Keynes writes that it was published in 1665, but the first edition was printed in 1668. *Commonplace Book*, 14.

⁴⁵ Keynes cites 1663 but the first edition occurred ten years earlier. *Commonplace Book*, 14.

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all Speeds Cronicle to the life of King James fol	*John Speed, <i>The Theatre of the Empire of Greate Britaine</i> (London: sold by George Humble, 1627).
some parts of Purchas his Relations	Samuel Purchas, <i>Purchas his Pilgrimage, Or Relations of the World</i> (London: Printed by William Stansby, 1613).
some hundreds of Sermons	Not identified.

A wide range of geographical and historical subjects are represented, covering distances from Asia to Europe and spanning a chronology from classical antiquity to the Elizabethans. In his scholarship on early modern readers of history books, D. R. Woolf argues that ‘the over-whelming majority of books in early Tudor wills are religious’, but by the mid-1600s, ‘most middling to large collections of books’ of between 500 and 2,000 titles would contain around eight to ten percent historical works.⁴⁶ Their frequent appearance in Elizabeth and Thomas’s listed collection is much higher than Woolf’s estimated average; but it is difficult to determine the extent to which Elizabeth was in control of the library’s purchases or her role in the selection of volumes to be read aloud.⁴⁷ While some women did have access to collections of a ‘middling to large’ size and were sometimes responsible for creating such libraries, they were most often owned by educated, wealthy men during the period.⁴⁸ One example is the Elizabethan polymath John Dee, who was an avid collector of voyage literature, engaging with his 1571 copy Christopher Columbus’s adventures to such an extent that it is deemed ‘one of the most heavily annotated of all Dee’s books’ – a high accolade considering that he was a prolific reader, user, and annotator of a 3,000-strong collection.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 134-135.

⁴⁷ For more on textual oral cultures and practices of reading aloud during the period, see Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Fox, *Oral and Literate*, and Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁴⁸ See Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*; Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare’s Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Isabel Rivers, *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), and Smith, *Shakespeare’s First Folio*, 63-65.

⁴⁹ Julian Roberts, ‘Additions and Corrections to *John Dee’s Library Card*’, in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought*, ed. Stephen Clucas (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 333.

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Dee's reading of the Italian geographer and travel writer Giovanni Battista Ramusio resonates here. The extant traces of Dee's engagement – his 'tag[s]' of particular passages by underlining, bracketing, and through manicule emphases – are explored by William H. Sherman, in which Dee 'picks out all geographical detail that either reinforces or challenges the established record', summarises the estimated times taken to cover particular distances under different weather conditions, and charts the trading activities and territorial possessions of these voyages.⁵⁰ Owning worldly histories, geographies, and travel books was therefore not unusual for a particular male socio-demographic, and nor was leaving behind signs of reading. But women's access to this material is more difficult to assess, and extant traces of engagement are often less overt. The case of Elizabeth Lyttelton is unusual, however, because unlike many early modern personal library catalogues, or books that have been marked with a woman's name but show no other signs that the text itself has been read (a theme I explore further in Chapter 2), it is more certain that she actually read these books since the commonplace books states that 'she read y^m all out'.⁵¹

Burke argues that Thomas and Edward's involvement in her literary education is integral to Elizabeth's literary output, claiming that 'the family offered a congenial space for manuscript compilation'.⁵² Burke suggests that Elizabeth's 'own taste must have been shaped by their reading', and that by tracing her 'habit of extraction' from books we know to have been in her father's collection, we can recreate the collaborative, intellectual web between father, son, and daughter.⁵³ Detecting interconnected familial ties is also imperative when considering the centrality of travel in Elizabeth's life. It is clear that male family members' physical travels fuelled Elizabeth's own imagined ones, providing inspiration in their

⁵⁰ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 118. See also William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

⁵¹ CUL MS Additional 8460, 44-45.

⁵² Burke, 'Contexts for Women's', 316.

⁵³ Burke, 'Contexts for Women's', 316-328.

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gathering of foreign gifts, artefacts, stories, and information. Elizabeth's need to understand the wider world is impossible to ignore in her own writing, drawing, and reading practices, as well as, crucially, other people's perceptions of her. Her curiosity is made more noticeable in her commonplacing and reading habits thanks to the social limitations placed on women's movement, since there is an acute gap between Elizabeth's first-hand experiences and what she knew from reading global information.

While the large quantity of extant documents from this familial network reveal the multiple ways that Elizabeth textually journeyed, it is highly unusual to have an abundance of sources that offer such a comprehensive overview of one woman's imagined experiences. Elizabeth was, after all, of upper-middling sorts; her father was honoured with a knighthood and husband was the English representative of the monarch on Guernsey acting as the *de facto* head of state. This would mean that she and her family probably wrote more frequently than those below their station, and that their writing was more likely to have been preserved in the centuries that followed.⁵⁴ Evidence further down the social scale is sparser, meaning that fragmentary and anecdotal sources must be the focus of studies that seek to understand how textual journeys were more commonly experienced by women. My chapters look in more remote places, considering fragmentary or incomplete sources for signs of non-elite women's global textual engagement. The rich tapestry of sources illustrating Elizabeth's global engagement usefully displays many of the ways that other women commonly approached, absorbed, and interpreted the foreign through their texts. It therefore provides a paradigm that introduces us to an often-overlooked yet vital discourse concerning seventeenth-century women's imagined travels in a period that was, as Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks poses, a 'strong contender for the first truly "global" era'.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ For more on archival biases, see David Greetham, "'Who's In, Who's Out': The Cultural Poetics of Archival Exclusion', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 32, no. 1 (1999): 1-25.

⁵⁵ Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, 'Early Modern Gender and the Global Turn', in *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, ed. Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 56.

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The early modern period bore a ‘new sense of the limits of the inhabited world’, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam asserts, in which people sought to expand and reinvent the known parameters of occupied territories, which resulted in a ‘fundamental way [in] an age of travel and discovery’ that created ‘geographical redefinition’.⁵⁶ Between approximately 1450 and 1700 new lands were explored, new peoples met, and new goods were traded; encounters with alterity in Africa, America, and Asia enabled new ways of thinking and acting both at home and abroad.⁵⁷ England’s expansion occurred in terms of geographic territorial gain, but also in innumerable ideological, political, economic, and social ways. These changes are not just noticeable for current scholars looking backwards, but they were truly felt by early modern people, as Ayesha Ramachandran argues, “‘the world’ occupie[d] a crucial position in early modern culture’.⁵⁸ But global adventures did not necessarily require physical movement abroad. As Stephen Greenblatt notes in his study of European possession of the Americas and their representations of non-Europeans, there is no ‘overarching Renaissance ideology, a single way of making and remaking the world’ during this time.⁵⁹ But while Greenblatt focuses on communication between European travellers and the native peoples of lands to which they travelled, the mutually-dependent and flowing communication channels between English people abroad and those back home are a pressing concern that must be addressed. It is time we diverted our attention to the ways in which stories of global encounters were received by individuals that were left behind in England during the seventeenth century.⁶⁰ It is

⁵⁶ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ‘Connected Histories: Notes toward a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia’, *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997), 739.

⁵⁷ Leading work on how ‘discovery’ altered or cemented European values has come from Stephen Greenblatt in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1979), and *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Also Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ Ayesha Ramachandran, ‘A War of Worlds: Becoming “Early Modern” and the Challenge of Comparison’, in *Comparative Early Modernities, 1100-1800*, ed. David Porter (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 21.

⁵⁹ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 23.

⁶⁰ For more on the consumption of travel literature in the eighteenth century, see James Duncan and Derek Gregory, ed., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999); Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), esp. Chapter 2, and Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain, 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. Chapter 2. For a case study see Deborah Kennedy, ‘Benevolent Historian: Helen Maria Williams and her British Readers’, in

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time we considered domestic women, many of whom had neither the means nor opportunity to travel, and ask: how did they interpret and shape this era of exploration through their own writing?

Returning to Edward's brief yet insightful assertion on the 5 July 1669 with which I began, his letter to Elizabeth contains in miniature many of the central concerns that my thesis addresses. Reading, writing, owning, and engaging with texts about global themes are, as Edward's correspondence explains, important ways of 'seeing' and 'making a world'. They could even help to develop 'greater travellers' than those who physically embark upon journeys, the relationship between imagined and physical travel appearing as though the former acts as a surrogate for the latter.⁶¹ This epistolary extract not only displays some of the literary ways that English women travelled, but it also reveals the impression they could leave upon their contemporaries. It encourages scholars to learn about real women's experiences through texts that were sometimes written by men, and shows the productive process of piecing together stories through anecdotal sources – all with a focus on non-aristocratic women. It brings to the forefront a thematic concern regarding how we might interpret the signs that are left, which are often slight. Although sources such as Edward's letter shed light on women's lives and literary endeavours, it is necessary to take into account the interrelationships between the sexes and their respective travel experiences, as Burke suggests was also true of the family's 'congenial space for manuscript compilation'.⁶² I consider how women like Elizabeth negotiated their global literacy within masculine businesses, legal practices, and localised institutions, how they communicated with the crown and parliament, and how they mediated the complex politics of domestic labour and the family. My excavation of women's textual encounters with the world, and how they interacted with

Rebellious Hearts: British Women Writers and the French Revolution, ed. Andriana Craciun and Kari E. Lokke (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 317-336.

⁶¹ BL MS Sloane 3418.

⁶² Burke, 'Contexts for Women's', 316.

accounts by first-hand travellers (who were very often men), contributes to an understanding of travel writing as a complex and often collaborative genre.

Writing women and the world

There are a number of excellent studies examining early modern women's relationships with global expansion. Some explore representations of African women in performance, how these fictional characters were configured by white English women and received by spectators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶³ David McInnis and Joyce Green MacDonald solicit particularly successful links between the playwright's depiction of the foreign and the spectator's imagined experience during contemporary productions. As McInnis argues for Aphra Behn's play *The Widow Ranter*, while white women and native women are shown to have a complex interrelationship in which the various oppressions felt by both parties become known, women playwrights were critiquing and 'constructing an account of colonial and indigenous authority through female eyes' with their knowledge and adaptation of particular dramatic forms. This, McInnis poses, means that 'drama can present otherness through artifice more easily' than first-hand accounts of New World travellers, who were not adequately trained in the necessary rhetoric of descriptive vocabulary, whereas drama was already a 'highly contrived, stylised medium, [that] was arguably better poised to tackle the representational challenges presented'.⁶⁴ Green MacDonald similarly argues that what 'most often' becomes apparent in proto-colonial literature is that 'raced bod[ies...] appear as political bodies', since the 'structures of an overseas empire supported by slavery were not yet fully in place'. This means that writers, readers, and playgoers 'were freer to imagine these encounters

⁶³ See Diane Roberts, *The Myth of Aunt Jemima: Representations of Race and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1994); Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, ed., *Women, 'Race' and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London: Routledge, 1994); Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Isobel Grundy, "'The barbarous character we give them': White Women Travellers Report on Other Races", *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 22 (1993): 73-86, and Heidi Hunter, *Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁶⁴ David McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 183, 201.

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in much larger terms', suggesting that the early modern English mind was less inhibited by first-hand knowledge of the realities and structures of colonialism that would become fixed and prevalent as it gained momentum in the following centuries.⁶⁵ This assertion is key to my study. The experiences of women who were involved in colonial expansion, the silent African slaves who populate Behn's fiction or the Native Americans who appear in Mary Rowlandson's captivity writing, were often voices that could not create their own historical record.⁶⁶ Scholarship is only gradually beginning to recognise these women, their 'incorporation – and subsequent erasure' from British culture, as Bernadette Andrea laments, but there is much more to be done.⁶⁷ A study of native women's voices – or white women's imaginings of them in works of fiction – is not the focus of my thesis, but my project complements this body of work as I trace the global reading and writing practices conducted and recorded by English women in the English language.

When it comes to seventeenth-century English women and their recorded experiences of the world beyond their own, scholarship, unsurprisingly, tends to focus on those who physically travelled abroad. These are roughly categorised into three types of personal experiences. First, many studies assess the written experiences of aristocratic women and ambassadors' wives, such as Ann, Lady Fanshawe (1625-1680) or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (bap.1689-1762), who chronicled their adventures to the continent before returning to England.⁶⁸ Second, much attention is paid to missionaries conducting conversions abroad

⁶⁵ Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 166-167.

⁶⁶ Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, ed. Janet Todd (London: Penguin, 2003), and Mary Rowlandson, '*The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682)', in *American Captivity Narratives*, ed. Gordon M. Sayre (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 137-176.

⁶⁷ Bernadette Andrea, 'The "Presences of Women" from the Islamic World in Sixteenth-Century British Literature and Culture', in *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, ed. Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 292.

⁶⁸ Laura Oliván Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe, Ambassador of England at the Court of Madrid (1664-1666)', in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics Since 1500*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (London: Routledge, 2016), 68-85. Because more (aristocratic) women travelled in the eighteenth century, more scholarship has been done on this topic, looking at the likes of Lady Maria Nugent, Lady Anna Miller, Lady Elizabeth Craven, Eliza Fay, and Mariana Starke. See for example Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Elizabeth A. Fay, 'Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in the Romantic Period*, ed. Devoney Looser (Cambridge:

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and their publications on the subject. These include Mary Fisher (c.1623-1698) and Ann Austin (d.1665), the first Quaker missionaries in the Caribbean and the English North American colonies; Katharine Evans (1618-1692) and Sarah Cheevers (1608-1664), who embarked for Alexandria but reached Malta; Elizabeth Harris (fl.1655/6-1663), who journeyed to America, Venice and Jamaica; along with other female Quakers who voyaged to Ireland, the New World, and Holland.⁶⁹ Third, scholars focus on women writers who were permanently transported from England to the colonies, particularly the first ‘American’ women writers such as Anne Bradstreet (1612/3-1672), the poet who emigrated from Northampton to Massachusetts; Elizabeth Glover (c.1600-1643), who established the first printing press in the United States at Harvard; and the spiritual writings of Sarah Symmes Fiske (1652-1692) and Bathsheba Bowers (1671-1718).⁷⁰ General anthologies of texts by women travellers, such as those edited by Mary Morris and Jane Robinson, typically consider the kinds of travelogues that have been produced since the eighteenth century.⁷¹ Together, these wide-ranging scholarly works are united in their conclusions: that a greater number of English women travelled abroad during the period than was previously estimated, that these journeys were conducted for a variety of reasons, and that these women negotiated their reception in English culture in more ways than had been recognised.⁷² Therefore, the

Cambridge University Press, 2015), 73-87, and Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1992), esp. Chapter 3.

⁶⁹ Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 208-211; Elizabeth Bouldin, *Women Prophets and Radical Protestantism in the British Atlantic World, 1640-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1999), and David Booy, ed., *Autobiographical Writings by Early Quaker Women* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004). An older, but still important, study includes William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912), 402-426.

⁷⁰ Wendy Martin and Sharone Williams, ed., *The Routledge Introduction to American Women Writers* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016), and Leona M. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers, 1639-1820* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1978), 9-19. Antonia Fraser discusses many of the women in all three of these categories in *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984).

⁷¹ Morris includes a five-page extract of Montague's writing, while the rest of her volume is dedicated to later subjects. See Mary Morris, *The Virago Book of Women Travellers* (London: Virago, 1994), 3-7; Jane Robinson, *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), and *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁷² See Dúnlaith Bird's survey of the recent scholarship on travel writing and gender in 'Travel Writing and Gender', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2015), 35-

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scholarly focus needs to expand to include women like Elizabeth Lyttelton, who did not fit into these categories of physical traveller or travelogue writer when Edward composed his letter in 1669.

In her study of eighteenth-century tourism, Susan Lamb highlights that '[w]hile the tourist population itself was mixed, the Traveler [*sic*] was [represented as being] male; while foreign languages and cities were not biological entities, they were approached (and identified) as female'. Viewing travel through this frame allows Lamb to consider how the traveller and the foreign were 'mapped onto common narratives of courtship, resistance, and seduction' and, therefore, 'how travel was brought home' – a metaphorical trend that offers an alternative means of looking at the gendering of travel. Her study is useful to mine because it attends to the reception of travel by those who did not embark upon physical excursions themselves, considering how travel literature 'shaped the lives and imaginations of those who might not travel'.⁷³ I hope to build upon Lamb's study by reaching further back into the seventeenth century to see not just how stories were received, but how they were re-used and altered by women for their own purposes.

Kate Chedgzoy's scholarship on memory is particularly formative for my approach to imagined travel. Her broad study selects examples of writing by early modern women who lived in the different countries of the British Isles as well as their Atlantic colonies, seeing how they used memories to understand the changing world around them. '[T]he act of writing – in prose and verse, in prayers and commonplace books, for print publication or familial manuscript circulation – enabled women to voice experiences of belonging and displacement in a changing world', Chedgzoy writes.⁷⁴ She attends to the changing world's effects on the

45. Bird cites Melman's study as the turning point in scholarship, which adopts a quantitative approach, in *Women's Orients*.

⁷³ Susan Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender, and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 12-13.

⁷⁴ Kate Chedgzoy, *Women's Writing in the British Atlantic World: Memory, Place and History, 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 3.

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‘meanings that place, belonging and mobility could have for those who remained at home’, considering Irish, Scottish, and Welsh women.⁷⁵ Chedgzoy’s work centres around women’s personal reflections about the past, the techniques that they used when reaching back to remember and, often, the ways in which they mourned. Similarly, my study attempts to answer how women ‘perceive and represent the conflicts and changes that were transforming their world’; but it also attends to the variety of urgent ways with which they successfully achieved change.⁷⁶ By focusing instead on the mutual dependency felt by physical travellers and those at home, I consider how global information was rewritten by English women, making them a formative part of this globalisation process.

My thesis’s attention to the individual supports Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of ‘dialogized consciousness’, in which engagement with the other is recognised as being a central aspect of early modern selfhood. ‘The word in living conversation is [...] orientated toward a future answer-word’, he argues; the individual speaker is reliant on a frame of reference, and is shaped by this frame of reference, and then responds to it.⁷⁷ By emphasising particular formations of identity, and the ways in which these became textually manifest, I emphasise the flexibility of selfhood and the historical processes that shaped it. This notion aligns itself with recent scholarship by Nancy Selleck, whose study of early modern selfhood constructs writers ‘not as individual, self-generated centres of ideas, but as interlocutors in an ongoing debate’.⁷⁸ A self might sometimes be ‘achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile’, Greenblatt attests; but a self might not always be limited to modelling itself in opposition to context.⁷⁹ The construction of selfhood as part of an ongoing network of exchange with others is vital when considering the vicarious traveller’s

⁷⁵ Chedgzoy, *Women’s Writing*, 6.

⁷⁶ Chedgzoy, *Women’s Writing*, 3.

⁷⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 280.

⁷⁸ Nancy Selleck, *The Interpersonal Idiom in Shakespeare, Donne, and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 7.

⁷⁹ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 9.

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reliance on sources provided by those with physical travel experience, and how these encounters helped fashion personal identity. While this notion of selfhood is most often applied to early modern authors' own subjectivities, I show that subjectivity was materially formed within and by multiple contexts, and can be applied to the users of texts in a range of documentary practices.⁸⁰

My thesis draws on and contributes to the discipline of book history, in which the material text's multiple, collaborative agents are increasingly receiving recognition from scholars. Rather than necessarily hunting for a book's 'authentic' authorship, the editor and translator's vital roles are being increasingly addressed.⁸¹ So too are the material makers – the printers, compositors, and publishers, to name but a few – whose histories are being traced to realise their shaping of knowledge, which is particularly resonant in my study of the printer Margaret Sheares in Chapter 2.⁸² Paratexts, a term Gérard Genette first uses in his influential 1987 study interrogating the self-conscious material features of a text, is most extensively applied in an early modern context by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson.⁸³ James Daybell advances manuscript studies in his study of the materiality of letters and their circulation, mapping broad linguistic and structural trends so that case studies of individual letter-writers,

⁸⁰ Four of Sherwood's five chapters principally focus on the selfhood of early modern authors. See Terry G. Sherwood, *The Self in Early Modern Literature: For the Common Good* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2007). For more on the materiality of autobiography, see Kathleen Lynch, 'Inscribing the Early Modern Self: The Materiality of Autobiography', in *A History of English Autobiography*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 56-69, and Molly Murray, 'The Radicalism of Early Modern Spiritual Autobiography', in *A History of English Autobiography*, 41-55.

⁸¹ Ideas of authentic authorship see Laurie E. Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The 'Bad' Quartos and Their Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Paul Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); for the role of the editor see Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996); Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), and for the role of the translator see A. E. B. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁸² D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Angelo Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Leiden: Brill, 2013), and Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸³ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), and Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, ed., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

such my analysis of Elizabeth Wagstaff in Chapter 5, can be carried out more effectively.⁸⁴ William H. Sherman's exploration of the hugely varied traces that users left behind in early modern books informs my more particular investigation into women's marks contained within printed travel books in Chapter 2, complementing the work of Heidi Brayman Hackel and Sasha Roberts, who attend to the recovery of reading habits by tracing what and how women read.⁸⁵ The more surprising locations in which life-writing can be found are explored by Smyth, particularly influencing my analysis of almanacs in Chapter 3 and spiritual diaries in Chapter 5.⁸⁶ Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers call for the 'history of the book' to be twinned with a 'geography of the book': scholars should 'explore the local places in which written materials were produced, and their impact on the nature of books as material and signifying objects; the patterns of dispersal and modalities of movement through which books travelled, and the implications of those for forms of knowledge; and the geographical positioning of readers whose located reading practices shape how books were consumed'.⁸⁷ Their persuasive notion is one that I expand by looking at how individual women engaged with global information as producers, distributors, and consumers. Much informative scholarship exists on paperwork, the arrangement of information in texts, slips and scraps, and 'ephemera', all of which influence my study of wage receipts, wills, powers of attorney, and petitions in Chapter 4.⁸⁸ Arthur Marotti encourages scholars to look at the malleability

⁸⁴ Especially James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); and with Andrew Gordon, ed., *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁸⁵ Sherman, *Used Books*; Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, and Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems*.

⁸⁶ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁸⁷ Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers, 'Introduction: Book Geography, Book History', in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 10. For more on space and book history, consult James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: The British Art Library, 2014).

⁸⁸ For more on paperwork, see Ben Kafka, 'Paperwork: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 12 (2009): 340-353; for the arrangement of information, see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); for loose paper, consult Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modernists Invented the Archive', *Book History* 1, no. 12 (2009): 1-36, and Elaine Leong, "'Herbals she peruseth': Reading Medicine in Early Modern England", *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 4 (2014): 556-578, and for ephemera, see Michael Twyman, 'Printed Ephemera', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 5: 1695-1830*, ed. Michael Felix Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

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and instability of texts, where words and ideas are moved between different genres, rather than supposing that print is fixed and manuscript is unstable.⁸⁹ This notion, and scholarship that continues to develop these ideas, are central to my overall thesis's claims that information from physical travellers was acquired, written, and reworked by women writers and readers in England to suit their own purposes.⁹⁰

Methodology

Electronic resources have been both a help and a hindrance during my selection of each chapter's primary sources. The array of printed books examined in Chapter 2 were principally chosen because the libraries that hold them have online catalogues that detail each volume's non-printed matter, attending to the idiosyncratic paratextual features or handwritten elements. Geographical proximity played a part in determining whether I could view the copy-specific volumes in person. Similarly Wagstaff's correspondence, discussed in Chapter 5, became known to me through my involvement with Early Modern Letters Online and the Bodleian's Student Editions project, in which we transcribed the six letters for online publication.⁹¹ My familiarity with the manuscripts after this exercise, combined with their attention to domestic travel, meant that they were well disposed to my thesis. The MarineLives online cataloguing project was an indispensable online resource during my research on maritime women for Chapter 4, and Colin Greenstreet's preliminary analysis of

2009), 66-82, and Peter Stallybrass, 'Printing and the Manuscript Revolution', in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), 111-118.

⁸⁹ Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

⁹⁰ Michel de Certeau explores the 'turns' enacted by readers to avoid the author's prescription of meaning in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). For a study into the literal cutting up and movement of print see, most recently, Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), esp. Chapter 1.

⁹¹ Full transcriptions available: Christiano Amendola *et al.* ed., 'The Correspondence of Wagstaffe, Elizabeth, d.1637', in *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge, <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/profile/person/de1118a9-75cc-4c1d-ba2e-1bf25e46a009>. For more information on the scheme, see Mike Webb, 'Bodleian Student Editions: a successful first workshop', *Bodleian Digital Library: A Bodleian Libraries blog*, 28 Oct. 2016, accessed 18 Nov. 2016, <https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digital/2016/10/28/bodleian-student-editions-first-workshop/>.

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Priscilla Lockier and Sara Spurgeon's petition for this database inspired me to develop ideas relating to imagined travel and non-elite women's written interventions.⁹²

Contrastingly, some of the sources were extremely hard to find using the online archival databases available. In Chapter 4 I discuss sailors' wage tickets, and the examples were chosen because they were the first of their kind that I found after a great deal of physical searching through dusty, often uncatalogued, boxes. This is not because tickets were scarcely produced during the early modern period – far from it – but because they were probably destroyed at the point of use, and those that do exist are part of large piles of maritime paperwork that still require item-by-item recording. While some of my sources were selected because they are now exceptional, others were chosen exactly because they are unremarkable; the power of attorney I discuss in Chapter 4 offers more of a standard example than those scholars have used in their studies so far. And yet, its availability through Essex County Records Office's website is how I first happened upon the source, despite miscellaneous ephemera of this kind being often housed in regional archives that do not typically have the necessary resources to be able to digitise individual items of this kind. It is therefore impossible to ignore how e-resources have shaped my methodology.

Rather than attempting to reconstruct women's global cultures in seventeenth-century England by systematically compiling quantitative data about its appearance in one particular textual genre, for instance, or charting women's encounters with a particular global import, each example of my thesis pinpoints discrete literary contributions of women's responses to international influences. By this, I mean that as a literary critic, my interest is in the close-reading of more oblique representations, considering genre and the formal qualities of particular texts, rather than compiling numerical data. I do not attempt to fully represent the texts and trends I outline: instead, my study aims to think how the texts, genres, and

⁹² 'Tools: Cannibal tales: HCA 15/5 f. 99', transcribed by Colin Greenstreet, *MarineLives*, 18 May 2013, accessed 2 Dec. 2015, http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/Tools:_Cannibal_tales.

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individuals I discuss could combine to create opportunities for new written relationships between women and travel. The sources for Chapter 1 were not picked because they were the only examples I could find that mention the classical trope of Venus standing on tortoise.⁹³ Rather, two of the sources I examine, by Thomas Gataker and John Hacket, were selected because they are sermons, meaning that these ideas might have been conveyed to an illiterate or non-elite audience. Lady Hester Pulter's emblem poem was chosen because it was the only example of women's writing I found that engaged with this trope; similarly, William Page's conduct book was the only text I found that is directed to mature women – namely, his mother. My thesis's approach of finding small examples to challenge paradigms, as Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly suggest, means that we can discover 'the dramatic emergence of [...] women as important participants in the production and consumption of texts and as statistically meaningful possessors of literacy'.⁹⁴ The texts in Chapter 1 therefore invite us to consider the reception of a common trope by social demographics that are more difficult to reach.

As the case of Elizabeth Lyttelton shows, it is imperative to attend to the fragmentary nature of women's literary experiences, which might only appear through secondary reference, to understand their varied literary contributions. A great deal of patchworking must be done to glean the possible results of Elizabeth's labours with 'pen and pencil', an investigative approach that scholars typically neglect in favour of exploring her father or brother's intellectual achievements rather than considering the links between them.⁹⁵ My chapters continue to investigate how men's texts can be intricately tied up with the textual achievements of women by attending to the rhetorical and paratextual devices deployed. In Chapter 2 I compare publications by the printer Margaret Sheares to the same titles

⁹³ See Chapter 2, where I provide a more complete list.

⁹⁴ Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly, 'Introduction', in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 150-1800*, ed. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 1.

⁹⁵ Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne*, 386.

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previously produced by her printer husband William Sheares, revealing how she altered the typeset to make her mark upon global history and geography books. Similarly, in Chapter 3, I explore Dorothy Patridge's textual relationship with John Evelyn, comparing the content of their two almanacs to expose how this female author informed her intended female readers about useful global imports. In Chapter 4 I consider two renditions of events on board the same ship's voyage, one in a petition by Priscilla Lockier and Sara Spurgeon, and the other in a published pamphlet by Colonel Henry Norwood, analysing how rhetorical conventions were manipulated for their contrasting audiences. Each of these accounts invite us to consider how global information was selected, discarded, and altered to suit different readers and authorial agendas.

The remaining sources of my thesis were chosen after reading existing scholarship about female authors and their texts, noticing that a prevalent theme of textual journeying had been overlooked. This is particularly true of Elizabeth Jekyll's spiritual diary (*c.*1643-*c.*1652), which I analyse in Chapter 5, which has been the focus of scholarship by Elizabeth Clarke and Susan Wiseman, who consider its relevance to Jekyll's husband in the 1680s.⁹⁶ Likewise, Frances Wolfreton's book collection has captured the academy's attention since Paul Morgan's ground-breaking study surveying extant volumes that contain her handwritten name, but scholars are yet to scrutinise her almanac collection or how these publications reveal textual journeys.⁹⁷ I was able to investigate these almanacs after their recent acquisition by the Bodleian, and was confronted by clear examples of imagined travels in life-writing that compelled me to include them in my thesis.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Clarke, 'Beyond Microhistory: The use of Women's Manuscripts in a Widening Political Arena', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 211-227, and 'Elizabeth Jekyll's Spiritual Diary: Private Manuscript or Political Document?', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700* 9 (2000): 218-237. Also Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 277-312.

⁹⁷ Paul Morgan, 'Frances Wolfreton and "hor bouks": A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book Collector', *The Library* 6, no. 3 (1989): 197-219.

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Focusing primarily on examples of writing, readership, and uses of texts from individuals whose bibliographic information is hard to come by, as is often the case with non-gentry women, helps to highlight the difficulty of assuming a correlation between first-hand physical experiences of travel and intellectual curiosity about the expanding globe. Further bibliographic details do not exist for most of the women who write their name in printed international travel books (Chapter 2) or women petitioners (Chapter 4). Similarly, so little is known about Patridge's almanac (Chapter 3) that scholars have often assumed that the author did not exist at all, and the non-elite status of Wagstaff and Jekyll (Chapter 5) means that their manuscript sources reveal most of the extant personal information we have. Difficult archival questions emerge from conducting research of this kind and the biographical route can lead to dead ends. But I hope to open up other ways of thinking about textual responses to more fully understand how women were curious, aware, and sought change in the wider world during a period of profound global discovery.

As a whole, the sources that form the basis of my project were principally selected because non-gentry women created or accessed them, and they reveal a range of worldly interests in their content and textual responses. My texts span a variety of genres, all of which were generally cheap to buy and produce, making them popular literary sources that required some or no basic literacy.⁹⁸ I analyse how each mode was specifically chosen to cater for the author's purpose and intended audience, being inextricably connected to their levels of education and social status. Therefore, my thesis considers how we look at popular writing and how it fits into literary study. It aspires to advance scholarship on non-elite women by considering contemporary accessibility of these texts, most of which have since received little

⁹⁸ For more on what constituted 'popular' literature in early modern England, see Emma Smith and Andy Kesson, ed., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013).

– or no – academic attention, and by assessing their wider impact.⁹⁹ My thesis aims to provide a history of early modern writing and writers that is more capacious and is, to some extent, more inclusive.

Terminology

What *was* ‘travel’ in the seventeenth century and how does this differ from ‘tourism’ or ‘sightseeing’? Were ‘vicarious’ or ‘imagined’ travels considered to be a valid aspect of exploring and journeying? The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ‘tourism’ as ‘the theory and practice of touring’ where someone is ‘travelling for pleasure’, but it is a more recent term that has its first recorded use in 1811.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Early English Books Online produces no records if ‘tourism’ is searched as a keyword, including variant spellings and forms.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the concept of ‘touring’ and going on ‘tour’ was emerging in the early modern period. The *OED* cites J. Denham’s published poem from 1642 – who discusses ‘flying to[u]ers’ around ‘the whole Globe’ – as its first entry that refers to ‘going or travelling round from place to place, a round; an excursion or journey including the visiting of a number of places in a circuit or sequence’.¹⁰² Some scholars explore the build-up to nineteenth-century tourism by arguing, for instance, that the eighteenth century made ‘provisions’ for mass tourism;¹⁰³ suggesting that ‘exploration belongs to the Renaissance, travel to the bourgeois, and tourism to our proletarian moment’;¹⁰⁴ or that medieval pilgrimages are ‘a convincing

⁹⁹ See Joad Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), and Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014).

¹⁰⁰ ‘Tourism, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Jan. 2018, accessed 13 Feb. 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/203936>.

¹⁰¹ ‘Tourism’, *Search Results*, EEBO, creation date unknown, accessed 13 Feb. 2018, http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search?FILE=../session/1518540388_4781&SCREEN=CITATIONS.

¹⁰² An evaluation of the differentiation of spellings and meanings between ‘tour’ and ‘tower’ is wanting. John Denham, *Coopers Hill* (London: Printed for Tho. Walkley, 1642), 12, and ‘Tour, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Jan. 2018, accessed 19 Feb. 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/203923>.

¹⁰³ For more on the eighteenth-century’s provisions for internal tourism, such as varied accommodation types, amenities and attractions, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 3, and Malcom Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1989).

¹⁰⁴ Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 37.

origin for present day tourism'.¹⁰⁵ For these historical reasons, I refrain from calling these vicarious women travellers 'tourists' and, for the same reason, avoid 'sightseeing' thanks to the *OED*'s first dated entry from 1824, and its delivering no search results on EEBO.¹⁰⁶

In his study of spectatorship and early modern voyage drama, McInnis prefers the term 'mind-travelling', supported by William Wood's 1634 account of New England in which the author promises that he will be 'Laying downe that which may both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager' on his title page.¹⁰⁷ 'Mind-travelling', as McInnis argues, supports the notion that 'such texts not only disseminated practical information, but also catered to the desires of readers with little or no prospect of actually voyaging – but who nevertheless enjoyed apprehending exotic shores in their minds' eyes'.¹⁰⁸ However, the term's implication of a primarily psychological experience, which McInnis explores, suggests a passive receiver of travel information rather than an active interpreter or creator. Rather, as Elizabeth Lyttelton's 'hand travell' suggests, some women were involved in the making of travel by actively using, reworking, and shaping these journeys in their own texts, more so than 'mind-travelling' might imply.¹⁰⁹ I therefore commit to using the word 'travel', exploring those of the 'imagined' or 'vicarious' kind. These terms have been selected because they are indicative of a person who can 'conceive in the mind [of] a thing to be performed', to use the *OED*'s definition of 'imagine' – a practice that was founded in reality, rather than 'imaginative' travel of the creative or fanciful kind.¹¹⁰ Similarly, 'vicarious'

¹⁰⁵ John M. Theilmann, 'Medieval Pilgrims and the Origins of Tourism', *Journal of Popular Culture* 20, no. 4 (2004), 100.

¹⁰⁶ 'Sight-see, v.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Jan. 2018, accessed 13 Feb. 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/179479>, and 'sightsee', *Search Results*, EEBO, creation date unknown, accessed 13 Feb. 2018, http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search?FILE=../session/1518540388_4781&SCREEN=CITATIONS. Judith Adler uses the word 'sightseeing' ahistorically to describe the move from the sixteenth-century scholarly approach to travel that prioritised discourse between men, to that which prioritised 'eyewitness' observation. See, Judith Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing', *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (1989): 8-29.

¹⁰⁷ William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (London: Printed for Iohn Bellamie, 1634).

¹⁰⁸ McInnis, *Mind-Travelling*, 27.

¹⁰⁹ BL MS Sloane 3418.

¹¹⁰ 'Imagine, v.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Jan. 2018, accessed 16 Feb. 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/91651>.

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describes something that is '[e]xperienced imaginatively through another person or agency', suggesting that the vicarious travelling experience (and indeed, the vicarious traveller) can offer a more than adequate 'substitution' for physical travels (and the physical traveller).¹¹¹ Although 'imagined travel' or 'vicarious travel' might not be exact early modern phrases, each of these individual words were commonly used to mean the definitions I outline, and are selected for my thesis for the sake of clarity.

The concept of 'travel' was not reserved for physical movement in the seventeenth century. As Edward's letter reveals, Elizabeth's writing tools '*are* greater travellers'; 'they passe over' planes; she has a 'way of not onley *seeing* but *making* a world' (my italics).¹¹² Her imaginative and intellectual approach meant that travel was *achieved*. Edward was not alone in his recognition of this facet of travel. Bishop Joseph Hall, in his 1617 publication *Quo Vadis? A just censure of travel*, remarks:

I haue knowen some that haue trauelled no further then their owne closet, which could both teach and correct the greatest Traueller, after all his tedious and costly pererrations [*sic*], what doe wee but lose the benefit of so many iournals, maps, hystorically descriptions, relations, if we cannot with these helps, trauell by our owne fire-side?¹¹³

Similarly, in his seventeenth-century poem 'A Country Life', Robert Herrick writes that by studying maps 'at home, without or tyde or gale', it is possible to 'Buy'st travell at the lowest price'; so too does John Dee promote the study of globes and maps 'either for [the user's] owne iourneyes, directing into farre lands: or to vnderstand of other mens travels'.¹¹⁴ Travel could be embarked upon from an armchair, by a fireside, with the help of books (or perhaps cartographic equipment), pens, and curiosity.¹¹⁵ To speak of women such as Elizabeth

¹¹¹ 'Vicarious, adj.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Jan. 2018, accessed 16 Feb. 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/223102>.

¹¹² BL MS Sloane 3418.

¹¹³ Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis? A just censure of travel* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin, 1617), 33.

¹¹⁴ Robert Herrick, 'A Country Life; To His Brother, M. Tho. Herrick', *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick*, 2 vols. (London: William Pickering, 1825), vol. 2, 46-51, esp. page 49, and John Dee, *The elements of geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara*, trans. Henry Billingsley (London: Printed by Iohn Daye, 1570), aiiij.

¹¹⁵ Liz Horodowich uses the term 'armchair traveller' to discuss Ramusio's making available the texts in his collection to a wider readership for discovery, in her study of Venetian exploration. Similarly Sherman uses the term in his study of used books. See Liz Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the

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Lyttelton as being a key part of the ‘Age of Discovery’, and recognise them as a type of seventeenth-century traveller in their own right, helps to further our understanding of how women used writing in response to greater geopolitical complexities. Edward Browne’s words, as well as Hall, Herrick, and Dee’s, stand as a reminder that travel was a multi-faceted concept in which physical journeys did not necessarily supersede intellectual adventures.

Equally important to clarify is the geographic parameter of my research. I am interested in English women’s understanding of travel and ‘foreign’ information – from ‘international’, ‘global’, and ‘worldly’ places of different countries and continents¹¹⁶ – as well as ‘national’ travel around counties and parts of England that were different locations to each particular woman’s permanent residence. As I discuss further in Chapter 5, early modern considerations of ‘foreign’ destinations did not necessarily refer to movement abroad or overseas. Although scholars rightly contend that we must do more to recognise the pre-emption of British literature, looking at non-English, Anglophone writing or dialectical writing between the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in 1603 and the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of Union in 1707, or consider more specifically the different regional histories within the British Isles, this is beyond the scope of my project.¹¹⁷ An ‘[i]ntense national self-consciousness’ began to occur in Elizabethan England, as Richard Helgerson persuasively argues, in which the governing of a growing kingdom and the spreading of culture around the world stimulated a reassessment of language, selfhood, and nationhood.¹¹⁸

New World’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 4 (2005): 1039-106, and Sherman, *Used Books*, 125. I discuss this concept further in Chapter 2.

¹¹⁶ Although ‘Orientalist’, ‘Orientalism’ and the ‘Orient’ were terms occasionally used to describe aspects of Middle Eastern and Asian cultures during the seventeenth century, these became a more pervasive Western tradition shaped by European imperialism of the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries. The scope of Orientalism is a much debated topic but consult, first, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

¹¹⁷ See for example John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Willy Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare to Milton* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹¹⁸ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 9. See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). For more on denizen status in England and the creation of a national language, see Emma Smith, “‘Signes of a Stranger’: The English Language and the English Nation in the Late Sixteenth Century”, in *Archipelagic Identities: Literature and Identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550-1800*, ed. Philip Schwyzer and Simon Meador (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 169-179.

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But while the union of self to state, and specifically of men and women to England, is a prevalent theme drawn upon by seventeenth-century authors, I contribute to the growing body of work that looks at how ‘English and Englishness have never existed in a vacuum, or as a homogenous field’ largely thanks to English writers being ‘relentless travellers, both literally and imaginatively’, as Philip Schwyzer remarks.¹¹⁹

My thesis covers the seventeenth century in particular, rather than the entire early modern period. I sustain my focus on this century principally because women’s writing about the expanding globe from the sixteenth century is scarce, especially by non-aristocratic women. Catherine Armstrong argues that ‘[i]t is striking that during Elizabeth’s reign no women wrote about North America’, for instance.¹²⁰ But with the turn of the century came an increasing number of non-aristocratic women producing and engaging with global literature, contributing to a more globalised society as a whole. The final hundred years of the early modern period saw crucial developments in the ways people travelled, where they went, and in what numbers, as well as how many people were affected by travel.¹²¹ England in the seventeenth century, as many scholars note, underwent a seismic shift; once a proto-colonial power, it was transformed into a formidable imperial superpower that had conquered parts of the Mediterranean, Caribbean, South Asia, and North America.¹²² Numerous national and international conflicts occurred during these years due to cataclysmic vicissitudes in social and

¹¹⁹ Philip Schwyzer, ‘Introduction’, in *Archipelagic Identities: Literature and Identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550-1800*, ed. Philip Schwyzer and Simon Meador (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 3.

¹²⁰ ‘In the Stuart period’, she writes, ‘the only woman author whose work has survived is Anne Bradstreet, a Massachusetts poet writing in the 1650s onwards. Women were often recipients of letters, [from North America...] but no letters or tracts written by them concerning America have survived’. Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 5-6.

¹²¹ For notable studies charting emigration and exiles from England during the seventeenth century, see David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); J. Lucassen, ‘The North Sea: A Crossroad for Migrants?’, in *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800)*, ed. Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1996) 168-184; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England’s Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and David Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

¹²² As discussed by Bernadette Andrea in *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 8.

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political structures, and the understanding of the world's topography transformed. The founding of the East India Company in 1600, for example, marked an important stage in men's employment, and had a dramatic effect on their families, as well as society's access to imported goods.¹²³ The turn of the eighteenth century also offers an opportune terminus for my study. A series of major domestic and global affairs occurred during its first few decades that significantly altered contemporary attitudes towards travel and trade: the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession in 1702 which engulfed most of Europe; the accession of a Hanoverian king, George I, to the throne in 1714; and the Transportation Act of 1716, which introduced penal transportation for Britons to the Americas, to name but a few.¹²⁴ The widespread changes felt during the eighteenth century would offer a fascinating shift in English women's perceptions of the expanding globe, but one that also provides a good stopping point for my discussion.¹²⁵

Thesis outline

My thesis comprises five chapters. I begin by discussing the early modern debate surrounding women's travel in Chapter 1, tracing the resurgence of the classical trope of Venus standing upon a tortoise in seventeenth-century English literature. I use four contrasting texts to reveal

¹²³ For male employment in the East India Company, see Philip Stern, 'Soldier and Citizen in the Seventeenth-Century English East India Company', *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 1 (2011): 83-104; for discussions of maritime labour, see Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), esp. Chapter 6; for the conditions of labour for Elizabethan seamen, consult Cheryl Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (London: Greenwood Press, 2002); and for women and the East India company see Pamela Sharpe, 'Gender at Sea: Women and the East India Company in Seventeenth-Century London', in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850*, ed. Penelope Lane, Neil Raven, and K. D. M. Snell (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2002), 47-67.

¹²⁴ For more on penal transportation, see A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) and Cynthia Herrup, 'Punishing Pardon: Some Thoughts on the Origins of Penal Transportation', in *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500-1900: Punishing the English*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Simon Devereaux (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 121-137. For more on Anglo-Spanish relations in the seventeenth century, see Adrian Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain and the Struggle for Empire* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

¹²⁵ Much has been written on this topic. For individual women's travels in the eighteenth century see, for example, Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth March: A Woman in World History* (London: HarperCollins, 2007), and Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). For more general studies, consult Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), and Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home*.

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the metaphor's flexibility and show, in turn, the precarious nature of women's social presence: first, a printed conduct book by the Puritan minister Thomas Gataker aimed at newlyweds; second, a manuscript conduct book by the Church of England clergyman William Page written to his mother; next, a manuscript emblem poem written by the ardent Royalist Lady Hester Pulter to her family; and, finally, a printed sermon by John Hacket discussing biblical women's roles in Christ's resurrection. I investigate how the trope was not simply copied but remodelled by male and female writers attempting to redefine women's rightful placement between the home and the wider world.

In Chapter 2, I survey the marks that early modern women made in a range of texts printed in English that discuss travelling outside of England, considering fictive and factual, ancient and contemporary accounts. First I consider how common it was for women to write their names in these books, then I explore some of the material decisions taken by women stationers when producing printed international travel books, arguing that it is important to recognise the subtle and seemingly minor paratextual features in their editions. I propose that the symbols women left behind modify the condition of books, becoming part of a wider and more complex operation that produces meaning about imagined textual travels for both the maker and future readers.

I analyse almanacs in Chapter 3, as a popular genre that resembled a worldly encyclopaedia, exploring those written by and aimed at English women. First, I argue that importation is a central theme in Dorothy Patridge's 1694 publication *The Women's Almanac*; not only does the author encourage her women readers to acquire newly available global goods, but she provocatively imports material from John Evelyn's 1666 almanac *Kalendarium Hortensey*. Then, using the Bodleian's newly acquired collection that has not yet received sustained scholarly attention, I consider how Frances Wolfreston, a woman of middling sorts, records local social events alongside the almanac's broader global themes. I ask how the

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knowledge and use of imported commodities complicate standard ways of understanding women's writing, women's domestic lives, and women's imagined travels.

Chapter 4 investigates how seafaring expeditions embarked upon by men were shaped by women in their own maritime texts. First, I examine sailors' wage tickets and powers of attorney, exploring common types of paperwork women used to gain financial control of their husbands' wages and assets. Then I discuss petitions, assessing the manipulation and retelling of sea voyage accounts by women in this persuasive and accessible literary form. I compare two written reports of the same expedition – Colonel Henry Norwood's printed pamphlet *A Voyage to Virginia* and a 1650 manuscript petition by Priscilla Lockier and Sara Spurgeon – to analyse contrasting textual perceptions of this journey. I maintain that the texts men created during their first-hand travel narratives were sometimes reinterpreted by women back in England to suit their own agendas, and in doing so I cast doubt on the critical tendency to prioritise first-hand travel experience when accounts were mediated between parties.

I explore women's negotiations of men's domestic travel in Chapter 5, seeing how women took control of their husbands' journeys across England through self-reflexive writing. First, I look at the six letters sent by Elizabeth Wagstaff to her husband between 1616 and 1622; then the Civil War diary of Elizabeth Jekyll. Together, this diary and letter collection deliver measured instalments of personal mediations as well as responses to, and retellings of, explorations around England. I analyse the ways in which women of middling sorts reacted to and influenced their husbands during frequent and often lengthy periods of separation. In these examples of life-writing, I argue that women deployed a range of spatial and rhetorical tactics to create their own travel narratives, successfully establishing their cultural, religious, and political capital as well as physically re-routing men.

Overall, I suggest that studies of travel writing would benefit from including material that does not resemble the richly detailed first-hand travel accounts compiled by Giovanni

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Battista Ramusio, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, whose comprehensive anthologies are often considered to be the benchmark of the genre published during the ‘Age of Discovery’.¹²⁶ Although his study is decidedly male-centric, Greenblatt’s comment that tales of the expanding early modern world were principally told through ‘a succession of brief encounters, random experiences, isolated anecdotes of the unanticipated’ resonates with my approach to contemporary female experiences of globalisation.¹²⁷ My thesis considers how, as Natalie Zemon Davis influentially suggests, historical subjects were aware of the ‘shaping choices of language, detail, and order [...] needed to present an account that seems to both writer and reader true, real, meaningful, and/or explanatory’. This allows us to consider motives behind producing and using texts, and how publishers, writers, and readers ‘built coherence into immediate experience’.¹²⁸ My thesis reflects the many ways in which genres and their expected language both constrained and freed those engaging with them. While scholars have noted the importance of travel to particular physical travellers, both male and female, there has not been a sustained piece of work dedicated to questioning the broader definition of ‘travel’ to include the imagined, or the subject of physical travel’s reception, effects, and literary responses by domesticised women. My thesis increases our understanding of non-gentry women, whose gender and socio-economic status often result in them being overlooked, and it sheds light on the connections and diasporas created by conquest, globalisation, and migration. The project examines the nature of travel and power, the necessities of geographic knowledge and literary expertise during the ‘Age of Discovery’, and the politics of gender. I take my cue from Elizabeth Lyttelton’s ‘pen and pencil’ with which I

¹²⁶ Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi* [Navigations and Voyages] (Venice: Printed by Tommaso Giunti, 1550); Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English Nation* (London: Printed by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1598); and Samuel Purchas, *Purchase his pilgrimage, or relations of the world* (London: Printed by William Stansby, 1613).

¹²⁷ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 2.

¹²⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 3, 4.

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began, and explore the exceptional textual journeys women embarked upon, which resulted in them 'not only seeing but making a world'.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ BL MS Sloane 3418.

Chapter 1. Women are from Venus: Theorising Women's Travel

Nowadays, travellers looking to experience the splendour of the European renaissance might undertake a cultural pilgrimage to Florence, following the well-worn route around the Uffizi Gallery to view one of the period's most iconic treasures: *The Birth of Venus* by Sandro Botticelli (Figure 8). Dating from the mid-1480s, the painting shows the Roman goddess modestly covering her naked body with carefully placed hands and flowing golden locks. The resplendent figure serenely emerges from the water and drifts towards the shore with her feet resting on an oversized scallop shell. Botticelli inherited the artistic tradition of placing Venus on a scallop from antiquity, a common allusion to the vulva, to symbolise her birth from the sea and thus proclaim the birth of love.¹ Although the trope was adopted before and has often been since, Venus and her shell attracted an unprecedented number of artistic renditions around the turn of the sixteenth century.² Titian's 1520s painting *Venus Anadyomene* ('anadyomene' from the Greek meaning 'to rise from the sea'), depicts the goddess wringing her hair as the shell floats nearby, while Francesco del Cossa's fresco at the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, *The Triumph of Venus* (1476-1484), shows the majestic figure disembarking from a throne-like shell that has been dutifully pulled to shore by two swans (Figures 9 and 10).³ The image of the goddess standing on a scallop shell has become one of the most iconic images associated with the European renaissance, Venus's birth incarnating the period's classical re-birth.

¹ The etymology of the name Aphrodite – Venus's Grecian antecedent – is thought to derive from the Greek word 'aphros', meaning 'foam', symbolising her birth from the foam. The foam was created, as one version of the myth goes, when the severed genitals of the god Uranus were thrown into the ocean. Similarly, 'Kteis', the Greek word for scallop shell, also meant the female genitals. See Sebastian Goth, 'Venus Anadyomene: The Birth of Art', in *Venus as Muse: From Lucretius to Michel Serres*, ed. Hanjo Berressem, Günter Blamberger, and Sebastian Goth (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2015), 19, and Patty O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006), 49.

² For the reproduction and dissemination of Venus in visual art from the seventeenth century to the present day, see Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott, ed., *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

³ For more on Titian's Venus, see Ann Fisher, 'Titian's *Venus Anadyomene* and the Close-Up Female Nude: Its Sources and Context' (Masters dissertation, Michigan State University, 1994). Few publications on del Cossa are written in English, but a comprehensive study of him can be found in the Italian language book by Sergio Ortolani, *Cosmè Tura, Francesco del Cossa, Ercole de' Roberti* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1941), 83-138.

WOMEN ARE FROM VENUS

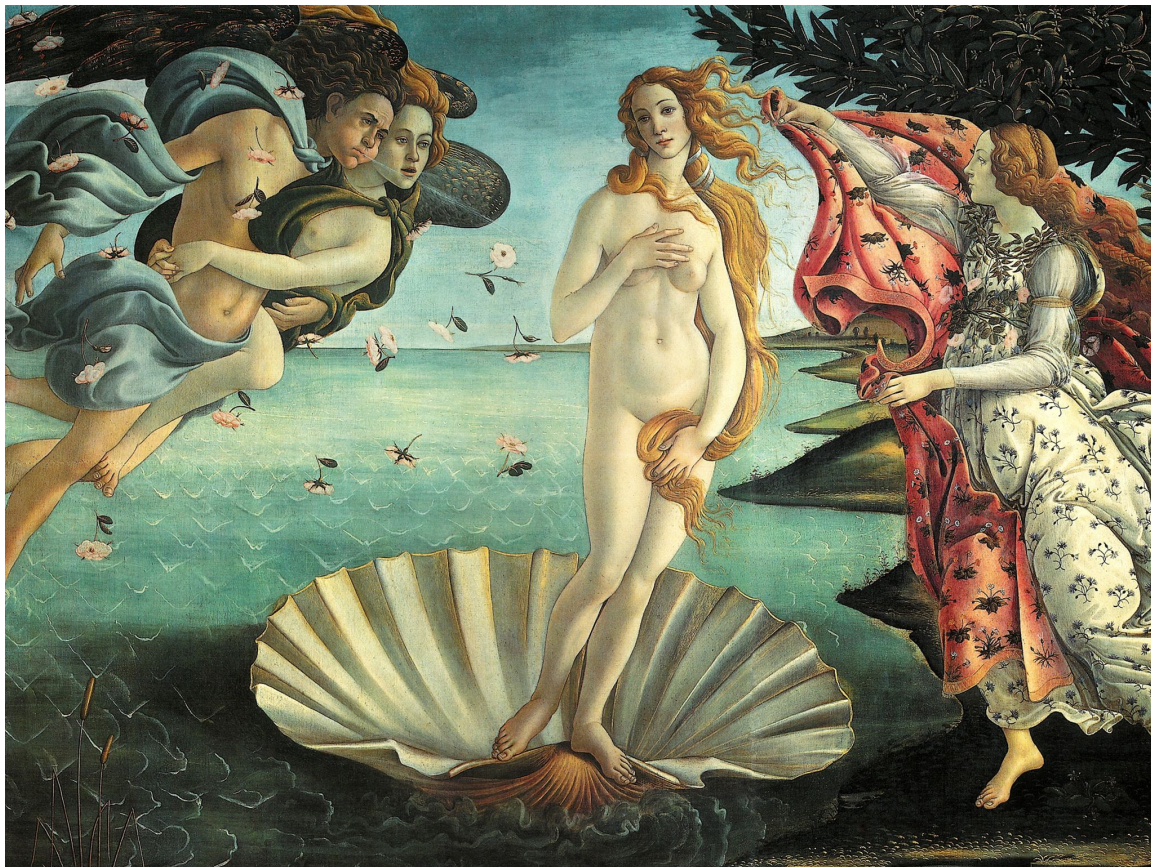


Figure 8. Sandro Botticelli, *The Birth of Venus*. Uffizi Gallery, Florence, 1484-1486.



Figure 9. Titian, *Venus Anadyomene*. Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, c.1520.



Figure 10. Francesco del Cossa, *The Triumph of Venus*. Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, 1476-1484.

Ancient Greek interpretations of the goddess's creation were much more diverse, however, and were copied and revised across Europe in the centuries that followed.⁴ Although it has been somewhat overshadowed by the scallop as history has progressed, another prominent feature in Venus's 'anadyomene' scenes is that of a tortoise or turtle.⁵ One illustration that incorporates this alternative shell can be found in *Van de wtneementheyt des vrouwelicken geslachts* ('On the Excellence of the Female Sex') by the prominent Dutch physician, politician, and author Johan van Beverwijck (Figure 11).⁶ The work blends historical and medical evidence to create a compendium of reasons for recognising women's achievements. First published in 1639, its success led to the printing of a second edition four

⁴ Types include Venus 'anadyomene', as I discuss, but also Venus 'capitoline', 'crouching', 'genitrix', 'sadalbinder', 'victrix' and more. See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

⁵ Tortoises and turtles were often used interchangeably in early modern texts. In 1682, for example, Thomas Amy writes that 'The *Tortoise*, [was] more commonly call'd by our *West Indians* the *Turtle*', but adopts both terms in his work, since '[t]hey are a sort of creatures which live both on Land and Water.' See *Carolina, or, A description of the present state of that country and the natural excellencies thereof* (London: W. C., 1682). Wendy Pullan claims that the scallop shell was the 'prototype', in 'Tracking the Habitual: Observations on the Pilgrim's Shell', in *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500: Southern Europe and Beyond*, ed. Paul Davies, Deborah Howard, and Wendy Pullan (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 75.

⁶ Ioh[an] van Beverwijck, *Van de wtneementheyt des vrouwelicken geslachts* ['On the Excellence of the Female Sex'] (Dordrecht: Printed by Hedrick van Esch, 1643), 206. It was not published in English during the seventeenth century.



een Vrouw meest beftaet in de forgh van haer huys-hou-
dinge. Want de schilt-padt is altyts t'huys, ende draeght
het selve allesins mede. Ende dit is oock de oorfaeck,
dat wy de gehoude Vrouwen in onse tael den naem ge-
ven van Huys-vrouwen, al of dat haer eygen werck was,
het huys gade te flaen.

*Man, alle buyten-werck
Is uwer daden perck.
En al wat binnen paf
Dat is u wijffes laft.*

Figure 11. Ioh[an] van Beverwiick, *Van de wtneementheyt des vrouwelicken geslachts* (Dordrecht: Printed by Hendrick van Esch, 1643), 206. Image from Early European Books, <http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk/>.

years later.⁷ The two seemingly disparate tropes depicted by Botticelli and van Beverwijck are united in their placement of the goddess upon animal shells within pastoral settings, with van Beverwijck's house in the background echoing the sense of belonging associated with the scallop's shell in Botticelli's painting. But by employing different shells, the author and the artist suggest contrasting explanations as to why Venus is making her journey. For Botticelli, the goddess is moving away from her domestic shell onto the island of Cyprus to live and rule; her foot is poised, her raft is moments away from grounding, and she is ready to disembark. It is therefore particularly significant that van Beverwijck's depiction of the female exemplar Venus is corporally touching an animal that is, by its very nature, inseparable from its home. Fused by both the vertebrae and ribcage, and enclosed by the top and underbelly, a tortoise is firmly welded to its domestic enclosure, and so too is the woman stood upon it in van Beverwijck's illustration.⁸ The image prompts us to question the extent to which women were encouraged to venture forth from their homes, and ask how the trope was used by early modern writers to control women's movement and dictate their attitudes towards travel.

The theme of women and home as inseparable is further developed in van Beverwijck's illustration thanks to details deployed in the background. Rather than the goddess of spring, Horae, welcoming Venus ashore from her journey as it is portrayed by Botticelli, the printed book depicts a man toiling the land in her place. Instead of Zephyr, god of wind, and Aura, goddess of the breeze, blowing Venus towards her new land and life, a woman is visible through an archway, sat indoors spinning. While Venus's knee is bent, ready to complete the expedition that will transport her to foreign lands, the tortoise's foot in the Dutch illustration is poised to crawl in the direction of the house and return its female rider

⁷ Johan van Beverwijck, *Van de wtneementheyt des vrouwelicken geslachts* ['On the Excellence of the Female Sex'] (Dordrecht: For Jasper Gorissz, 1639). The Venus on a turtle image appears on page 298 in the first edition. For more on his life and publishing career see Cornelia Niekus Moore, "Not by Nature but by Custom": Johan van Beverwijck's *Van de wtneementheyt des vrouwelicken Geslachts*, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 3 (1994): 633-651.

⁸ For more on the anatomy of tortoises, see Craig B. Stanford, *The Last Tortoise: A Tale of Extinction in Our Lifetime* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2010), 14-15.

to a life of domesticity. The image's caption is in verse: 'You, husband, work outside the house / But inside tasks befall your spouse'.⁹ Although a similar subject is depicted in these two artworks, the overall message in van Beverwijck's is starkly different to Botticelli's travelling Venus: women are to stay at home and men are to venture out into the world. 'The praise of a woman mainly exists in the care she gives to her household', the Dutch author declares, '[f]or the turtle is always at home, and carries the house along under all circumstances'.¹⁰

Nevertheless, there is a certain degree of tension in van Beverwijck's book as a whole. The mention of a tortoise appears to be at odds with a text that attempts, as the title suggests, to debunk traditional gendered roles, locations, and activities. Split into three parts, the author first discusses the nature of women, followed by a section on their learning and wisdom and finally, their virtues. Over the course of 670 pages van Beverwijck shows that women, as Lia van Gemert argues, are 'not inferior, not equal, but superior' to men.¹¹ Initially, the work is preoccupied with refuting gendered stereotypes by reasoning that since women give birth to humans they are humans themselves, and the author uses his medical expertise to argue that women contribute essentially to human reproduction. He contests the Galenic principles that women are necessarily cooler in temperature than men, which he dismisses as being irrelevant, and that women are men whose genitals have failed to become exterior.¹² After this, van Beverwijck offers practical activities to keep women's minds occupied, designed to recognise and enhance their abilities. In the final section, the author illustrates his claims by

⁹ Translation by Wayne E. Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 69.

¹⁰ Translation by Franits, *Paragons of Virtue*, 69.

¹¹ Lia van Gemert, 'The Power of the Weaker Vessels: Simon Schama and Johan van Beverwijck on Women', in *Women of the Golden Age: An international debate on women in seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), 40.

¹² Although Galen's text, *De usu partium corporis humani* [On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Human Body], was widely available in Latin during the period, and his ideas were developed and popularised by Andreas Vesalius in his 1543 publication *De humani corporis fabrica* [The Fabric of the Human Body], it was not translated into English fully until the twentieth century. See Galen, *Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body: Peri chreias morion de usu partium*, trans. Margaret Tallmadge May (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968).

drawing on the virtues of 700 women from biblical, historical, and classical sources, as well as citing poetry by Dutch women writers. At one point, van Beverwijck writes: ‘to those who argue that women are fit only to manage the house and no more, I reply that many women go from the home and practice trade and the arts and learning. Only let women come to the exercise of other matters and they will show that they are capable of all things’.¹³

Is his inclusion of the image of a woman touching a tortoise highly inconsistent in a progressive book emphasising the excellence of women? The extent to which the image was the choice of the author is up for debate. As Cornelia Niekus Moore notes, ‘[t]he engravings could have come from the extensive collection of the printer, Hendrik van Esch, and might not have been expressly made for this work’ – and indeed two other of van Beverwijck’s illustrations appear in Jacob Cats’s earlier writings that were also published by van Esch, although the tortoise image is not one.¹⁴ There is, after all, a certain degree of ambiguity in exactly how one should read the trope, which illuminates two highly significant and incompatible early modern attitudes to gender and travel. Should women ‘go from the home’ as van Beverwijck’s text states, or should they be restricted to the household’s ‘inside tasks’ as the image and caption demand? Should women travel while still being mindful of their domestic duties? These interpretive dichotomies will form the heart of Chapter 1, as I explore the contexts in which these starkly different conducts were advocated.

Van Beverwijck alerts us to a complex textual debate about women’s relationship with travel that was, I argue, inextricably connected to domestic ideals. The classical trope’s resurgence in seventeenth-century English literature will be traced as I investigate how writers imagined women’s travels through their configurations of Venus and the tortoise, and sought to prescribe a wide range of womanly behaviours in relation to their geographic

¹³ Translation by Simon Schama in ‘Wives and Wantons: Versions of Womanhood in 17th Century Dutch Art’, *Oxford Art Journal* 3, no.1 (1980), 9.

¹⁴ Jacob Cats, *’S Werelts begin, midden, eynde besloten in den trouw-ringh* [‘The World’s Beginning, Middle, and End Encapsulated in the Wedding Band, and its Touchstone’] (Dordrecht: Printed by Hendrick van Esch, 1637), and Niekus Moore, ‘Not by Nature’, 640.

environments. The texts I choose confirm the trope's flexibility. First is a printed conduct book by Thomas Gataker aimed at newlyweds; next, an extract from a manuscript conduct book written by William Page to his widowed mother; following this, an emblem poem by Lady Hester Pulter that was to be circulated within her family;¹⁵ and finally, a printed Easter sermon by John Hacket. The first two of these writers draw upon the tortoise's negative connotations to place restrictions on women's geographies. Contrastingly, both Pulter and Hacket advise women to imagine travel and movement beyond the realm of the home. By recognising how this era of exploration was stifled, interrogated, or promoted by different writers using the same classical trope, it is possible to comprehend how early modern women readers and writers might have used these texts to imagine their own ever-changing global identities.

It is important to emphasise that early modern manifestations are by no means restricted to these four texts, and a more expansive study of the emblem is still wanting.¹⁶ My selection was made thanks to the authors' wide range of intended readers and audiences – extending from Pulter's literate nobility, to Page's non-gentry mother, to the perhaps illiterate listeners of Gataker and Hacket's parishes – and the contextual signification that shifts measurably in these invocations. As such, these sources demonstrate that women's exploration of the world was ardently debated across early modern culture. But first, I explain why it came to be Venus's foot that rests upon the tortoise, and how early modern English writers drew upon classical artists and writers' discussions of the trope while debating women's movements.

¹⁵ Such is the conclusion of Kate Chedgzoy in *Women's Writing in the British Atlantic World: Memory, Place and History, 1640-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 135.

¹⁶ Other references in English include Richard Braithwaite, *The English gentleman: containing sundry excellent rules how to accommodate himselfe in the manage of publike or private affaires* (London: J. Haviland, 1630), 263; Francis Dillingham, *A golden key opening the locke to eternall happines* (London: John Tapp, 1609), 11; William Painter, *The second tome of the Palace of pleasure conteyning store of goodly histories, tragicall matters, and other morall argument, very requisite for delighte and profit* (London: Henry Byneman, 1567), 269-270, and Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling and Rhonda L. Blair, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), vol. 3, 197.

Classical readings of the Venus trope

The illustration in van Beverwijck's text of Venus standing on a tortoise is a variation upon an ancient theme. This pairing is the result of a tradition most famously developed by Phidias, the Greek painter and sculptor renowned for his statue of Zeus at Olympia, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.¹⁷ Little is known about Phidias; he is believed to have lived in Athens from around 490 until 430 BC but no originals of his artwork exist.¹⁸ The artist's sculpture of Aphrodite – Venus's Grecian antecedent – is thought to have been created in the 430s BC after his commission of Zeus,¹⁹ and stood in the ancient district of Elis with her foot resting upon a tortoise.²⁰ While some successful excavations have been carried out at the agora, Aphrodite's temple and Phidias's statue have not been uncovered.²¹ Instead, Phidias's work is immortalised by artists' copies produced at a later date – although the accuracy of these replicas is up for debate – and known thanks to the praise of ancient writers.²² Phidias's reasons for sculpting the figure of Aphrodite are clear, considering the temple at Elis in which his finished artwork stood was dedicated to the goddess; but his decision to associate the goddess of love with a tortoise is only elucidated by surviving commentary provided hundreds of years later by Pausanias and Plutarch.²³

¹⁷ See Paul Jordan, *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (London: Longman, 2002), esp. Chapter 5. The trope, Claire Cullen Davison argues, 'had its roots in Oriental Epiphany representations' from the Archaic period, between 800 BC and 490 BC. See 'Aphrodite Ourania', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 56, no. S105P1 (2013), 29.

¹⁸ An extant sculpture of Aphrodite has been attributed to Phidias, found in an Athenian Agora, although it has been contested. See Evelyn B. Harrison, 'A Phidian Head of Aphrodite Ourania', *Hesperia* 53, no. 4 (1984): 379-388, and Robin Osborne, *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 208-209.

¹⁹ Cullen Davison, 'Aphrodite Ourania', 30.

²⁰ Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's book, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003), is something of a red herring in its title. He studies veiling, and only fleetingly mentions the goddess with tortoise trope to emphasise that, '[j]ust as the silent tortoise had the liberty to wander underneath her all-covering shell, as long as she stayed silently unobtrusive, so too could the woman of ancient Greece'. See *Aphrodite's Tortoise*, 1.

²¹ Cullen Davison, 'Aphrodite Ourania', 29.

²² One statue often associated with Phidias's Aphrodite at Elis is the Aphrodite Brazza in Berlin, although its production in c.430 BC means it is hard to know if it is a faithful copy of Phidias's earlier work. See Evelyn B. Harrison, 'Phidias', in *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, ed. Olga Palagia and Jerome Jordan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16-65.

²³ Osborne, *The History Written*, 208.

Pausanias, born c.125 AD, was a Greek traveller and geographer famed for producing a guide to ancient landmarks, *Periegesis Hellados* ('Description of Greece'). In this publication, he remarks that Phidias's reason for matching the goddess with the tortoise might have been an attempt to personify one side of Aphrodite's dual contrasting personalities, related to the two versions of her birth. Two different statues stood at Elis to embody her conflicting personalities. One, Pandemus, meaning 'common', was embodied as a goat to symbolise the low sensory pleasures of touch and its lustful desires. The other, Urania, meaning 'heavenly', was born out of the foaming sea – and it was this statue, Pausanias asserts, that was 'the work of Pheidias, and she stands with one foot upon a tortoise'.²⁴ While the goddess and goat were made of bronze, the 'goddess in the temple they call Heavenly' – that of Aphrodite and the tortoise – was made 'of ivory and gold', otherwise known as chryselephantine, materials as valuable as they were perishable. Pausanias suggests that the figure was connected to the shelled creature since it represented her birthplace, not as a sign of her continued domestic confinement; and that the tortoise reminded the goddess of her personal history as she moved to new lands, rather than providing an enclosure that she should return to. Yet Pausanias concedes that his is just a theory: as to '[t]he meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat', he remarks, 'I leave to those who care to guess'.²⁵

The biographer and author Plutarch lived between c.46 AD and c.120 AD, providing commentary on the same statue in 'Coniugalia Praecepta' ('Advice to the Bride and Groom'), extracted from his book, *Moralia* ('Morals'). The first English translation was published in

²⁴ Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander to Cleopatra* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 32.

²⁵ All quotes from Pausanias, 'Book VI – Elis II', in *Description of Greece*, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, 5 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1933), vol. 3, 152-153. This version of the myth has since led classical scholars to argue that the animal in the sculpture was more likely to be a sea turtle than a tortoise as Pausanias supposed. See Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, 33; Pomeroy, 'Reflections on Plutarch, *Advice to the Bride and Groom: Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed*', in *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom and A Consolation to His Wife: English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 53.

1603 and according to his interpretation, it was the theme of matrimony that connected the goddess to the tortoise in Phidias's sculpture.

Phidias, when he made the image of *Venus* for the Elaeans, devised that she should tread with her feete upon a tortoise shell, signifying thereby that a woman ought to keepe home and not goe foorth of doores, but stay within house with silence; for surely a wife is to speake either unto her husband onely, or else by the meanes of her husband; neither must she thinke much and be offended, if like the minstrell that soundeth the hautboies, she utter a lowder and bigger voice than her owne, by the tongue of another.²⁶

Since homes are created by keeping women physically and emotionally attached to their domestic spaces, argues Plutarch, women must 'not goe foorth of doores'. Like tortoises, women should be permanently confined within their homes, a physical restriction that must limit where their feet can tread, and the sounds they make are to be muted and instead dictated by their husbands. Plutarch's theory makes women's travel inseparable from discussions of domestic space. '[N]either must she thinke much', he warns, and so attempts to ban the physical and imagined travels of women.²⁷

Readers of English would have learned about the Venus trope through the first vernacular translation of Plutarch's *Morals* by Philemon Holland in 1603,²⁸ and although Pausanias's text was available from 1500 in Latin, it was not translated into English until 1780.²⁹ Those with a knowledge of Latin might have also come across Desiderius Erasmus's brief comment on Phidias's sculpture in his 1526 publication *Institutio christiani matrimonii* ('Institution of Christian Matrimony'), which was translated into English in the eighteenth

²⁶ Plutarch, *The philosophie, commonlie called, the morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1603), 321.

²⁷ Plutarch, *The philosophie*, 321.

²⁸ For more on the early modern reception of Plutarch, see Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, 'Discursive and Speculative Writing', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), vol. 2, 465-466; Fred Schurink, 'Print, Patronage, and Occasion: Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Tudor England', *Yearbook of English Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 86-191, and Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), esp. Chapter 6.

²⁹ Maria Pretzler discusses Pausanias's European print history and readership in *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2007), 118.

century.³⁰ Contrary to the Plutarchan multi-sensory interpretation that sought to restrict a woman's touch and the sounds of her voice, the Dutch humanist believes that 'Phidias made [...] a statue of Venus standing on a tortoise' to limit a woman's physical movement. '[A] wife should [...] be carrying the house with her', he writes, and '[i]f she looks out, it should be no farther than the yard, the play ground, or the garden next to the house; these are the boundaries of the housewife's realm'.³¹ By specifically outlining the geographical limits that women should reach, through corporeal travel and the imagined districts of their eyes and minds, Erasmus, like Plutarch, makes clear that women should not journey beyond their houses and immediate grounds.

These assorted narratives enforce existing ideas about the instability of inherited classical tropes and their signifying potential.³² Early modern writers did not necessarily have a 'rigorously conceptualized understanding of what was involved in borrowing from or alluding to a classical author', as Colin Burrow argues of William Shakespeare, who 'could make use of his classical reading so richly because he did not have a dogmatic or a programmatic attitude to it'.³³ Erasmus's interpretation of the trope to mean that women should stay within the 'realm' of the house, and Plutarch's suggestion that women ought to 'keepe home' by having their touch and sounds restricted, proved influential to seventeenth-century English writers. While some agreed that women's movements and voices should be suppressed, such as Gataker and Page, it was also highly contested by others, such as Pulter and Hackett, displaying how any consideration of early modern travel is intrinsically connected to these complex ideas of gender and home.

³⁰ Valerie Schutte discusses the printing history and royal dedication of Erasmus's text, in "'To the Illustrious Queen": Katherine of Aragon and Early Modern Book Dedications', in *Women During the English Reformations: Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identity*, ed. Julie Chappell and Kaley A. Kramer (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 16-17.

³¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Institution of Christian Matrimony* [Institutio christiani matrimonii], trans. and annotated by Michael J. Heath, in *Spiritualia and Pastoralia*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Louis A. Perraud, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 89 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), vol. 69, 382.

³² The topic of early modern classical reception is vast, but for an overview see M. C. Howatson, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³³ Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical*, 242.

Gataker, *Marriage duties briefly covered together*

In 1620 the Puritan minister Thomas Gataker (1574-1654) published a short conduct book, *Marriage duties briefly covered together*. The author was something of a nuptials expert, outliving four wives before his death in 1654 at the age of seventy-nine, although his publication does not dwell on his own domestic experiences.³⁴ Instead, it pragmatically advises married couples on their relationships and suggests how to distribute domestic duties.³⁵ Conduct books were typically written by men and aimed at women, contributing to what Suzanne Hull has called a ‘mini-explosion of female literature’ comprising ‘largely practical guides’, which occurred from the end of the sixteenth century and proliferated throughout the seventeenth.³⁶ These books and their authors sought to provide information on model behaviour for women, but appear instead to have been a way of ‘policing’ conduct ‘to keep women submissive and focused on domestic affairs’, as Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer observe.³⁷ While some publications focus on elite women’s experiences, Protestant conduct manuals ‘frequently imagine a household in which women have a different set of responsibilities than those of the leisured classes’, as Martine van Elk asserts, often catering to non-elite readers.³⁸

³⁴ Conall Boyle, ‘Preface to the 2008 edition of *The Nature and Uses of Lotteries*’, in Thomas Gataker, *The Nature and Uses of Lotteries: A Historical and Theological Treatise*, ed. Conall Boyle (Charlottesville, VA: Imprint Academic, 2008), viii.

³⁵ It was more common for popular conduct books to attempt to outline all of the household’s tasks. See Robert Cleaver and John Dod, *A godlie forme of householde government for the ordering of priuate families, according to the direction of Gods word* (London: Felix Kingston, 1598); William Whateley’s *A bride-bush: or, A direction for married persons Plainely describing the duties common to both, and peculiar to each of them* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1616), and William Gouge’s *Of domestical duties eight treatises* (London: Iohn Haviland, 1622). For a comprehensive overview of the central texts of practical domestic conduct, consult Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Protestant Idea of Marriage in Early Modern England’, in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 164-168.

³⁶ Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1982), 35.

³⁷ Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer, ‘Introduction: Rereading Women’s Literary History’, in *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700*, ed. Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (London: Routledge, 2004), 6. On ‘policing’, see Francis Dolan, ‘Reading, Writing, and Other Crimes’, in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, ed. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dympna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 142-167, and Jacqueline Pearson, ‘Women Reading, Reading Women’, in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 80-99.

³⁸ Martine van Elk, *Early Modern Women’s Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (Cham, CH: Springer International Publishing/Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 34.

The intended readership of the Puritan minister's publication appears to be no exception. Gataker's text comprises 'raw notes of a Sermon long since made' as a wedding day preacher, based on his experiences uniting couples from his own congregation of Rotherhithe in Surrey, where he preached for over forty years.³⁹ Although the intervening editorial and commercial processes that meant some oral sermons became printed documents is something that demands further study, the original airing of the minister's ideas might have provided aural guidance to a non-elite listening public.⁴⁰ His printed text appears to be aimed at a similarly non-aristocratic reader: rather than discussing the management of large-scale households owned by the leisured classes, Gataker advises wives to obtain 'profitable worke' to enlarge their household's income, and during these labours they must 'thinketh not scorne to soile [their] hands'.⁴¹ It is to Rotherhithe's community of non-elite dwellers living amid the district's shipyards, as well as the wider readership of his printed text, that Gataker referenced the classical trope to condemn women who travelled and promote women who were dedicated to making their homely shells.

Marriage duties is dedicated to Robert and Dorothie Cooke, the newly married son and daughter-in-law of the Member of Parliament Sir William Cooke, and was given as a new year's gift. Although Gataker did not conduct their nuptials (or the 'knitting [...] together') himself, the preacher's dedication was appropriate as an old friend of the family, having tutored the Cooke children while he studied at Lincoln's Inn.⁴² In the publication's preface, the author hints at his forthcoming assessment of domestic cohabitation:

³⁹ Thomas Gataker, *Marriage duties briefly covered together* (London: William Iones, 1620), A3v, and Francis J. Bremer, 'Gataker, Thomas (1574-1654)', in *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopaedia*, ed. Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 103.

⁴⁰ James Rigney comes close in his study of the debate surrounding the relative benefits of reading sermons. But the move from preacher to printer is still uncharted. See 'Sermons into Print', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 198-209. For more on the congregation's repeating and copying of sermons, see Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1999), 161.

⁴¹ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 20-21.

⁴² See A. D. Thrush, *The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), vol. 3, 653-654, and Brett Usher, 'Gataker, Thomas (1574-1654)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept.

TO THE HOPEFVLL
 YOYNG COVPLE, THE
 RIGHT WORSHIPFVLL M^r.
 ROBERT COOKE *Esquire*, and
 the vertuous Gentlewoman, Mistres
 DOROTHIE COOKE his wife;
 many comfortable daies in
 Gods feare and fauour to
 their mutuall and
 eternall good.⁴³

It should not be assumed that the presence of both husband and wife within Gataker's preface is indicative of a text 'concerned with distinctly "female needs"', as Helen Smith warns; nor should women's patronage be seen to operate 'as an indirect alternative to authorship' where 'dedications are a reliable guide to its operation'.⁴⁴ While the wife's appearance in the preface establishes her as a public figure to readers of the text, as *Marriage duties* continues, it becomes apparent that Dorothea Cooke's outwards-facing demeanour is not advised of other wives. Despite this textual union alongside her husband as joint patrons, with their 'mutuall and eternall' marital union, this does not mean that the domestic responsibilities Gataker discusses throughout his text should be the same for both men and women.⁴⁵

Women's relationships with their homes are represented by the tortoise's fusion with its shell, in which the classical emblem is celebrated and Christian approval is cast over its 'heathen' ancient Greek origins:

Apostle *Paul* willeth that women be *house-keepers*, or keepers at home, as we call them *hous-wiues*: and the heathen for that one respect among others made [...] the *Toteis* * an embleme of womanhood.⁴⁶

2004, accessed 12 Jan. 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10445>. Quote from Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 1.

⁴³ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 1.

⁴⁴ Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 55.

⁴⁵ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 1.

⁴⁶ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 20.

‘Housekeeper’ was a term often used to specifically mean the maintenance of the physical domestic space, and was commonly deployed by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers to describe women and men.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Gataker glosses over the term’s nuances as he corrects it to ‘housewife’, which specifically signifies a woman’s care of her family and home.⁴⁸ He therefore asserts that only women must be welded to their home physically and emotionally by referring to the tortoise as an ‘emblem of womanhood’.⁴⁹ Anthony Fletcher’s suggestion that conduct books were ‘a product of the Reformation’ certainly resonates here; Martin Luther, he argues, considered marriage and motherhood to be woman’s ‘inescapable vocation’ and therefore Protestant rhetoric stressed the patriarchal family ‘more forcefully than ever before as the nucleus of the church and of society’.⁵⁰ The content of these publications was ‘stereotyped and repetitious’, Fletcher argues, ‘yet, in their force and coherence rather than their total originality, they portray a distinctive English version of the Protestant idea of marriage’.⁵¹ By alluding to the trope of Venus standing on a tortoise, Gataker reassures his readers of a familiar Puritan social order that, if his guidance is followed, will remain intact.⁵²

Rather than championing women’s domestic achievements to further his argument, however, he focuses on the negative consequences of when women are neglectful of their domestic duties. The preacher compares tortoises to wives who are negligent or absent while ‘worke about the house goeth but vntowardly forward’, causing there to be ‘none to ouersee, or looke after’ the family and home.⁵³ Wives that abscond from their domestic duties will be

⁴⁷ ‘Housekeeper, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2015, accessed 21 March 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88915>.

⁴⁸ ‘Housewife, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2015, accessed 21 March 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88947>.

⁴⁹ See for example John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church* (London: printed by Iohn Day, 1573), 880, 1503.

⁵⁰ Fletcher, ‘Protestant Idea’, 162.

⁵¹ Fletcher, ‘Protestant Idea’, 181.

⁵² For more on the dissemination and interpretation of Puritan family values in the works of Shakespeare, see Catherine Belsey, *Shakespeare and the Loss of Eden: The Construction of Family Values in Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001).

⁵³ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 22, incorrectly printed as ‘20’. Correct numbering resumes from page 24.

denounced as ‘gadders abroad’, who attempt to wander from their homes despite women being

like the Torteis, carr[ying] their whole house on their backe, which though they feele not the weight of, yet maketh the husbands backe ake, yea and cracke too, breaketh the backe of their estate: [...] so farre are they from helping to further or aduance their estate. Such should remember the saying of *Salomon*, that as *the wise woman helpeth to build up the house*: so shee is a *foole* that thus *pulleth the house downe with her owne hands*.⁵⁴

All wives are automatically attached to their homes, yet the bad wife ‘fee[s] not the weight of her domestic responsibilities, meaning her husband bears the burden – so much so that it makes him ‘ake’. The tortoise trope has been morphed here, as Gataker suggests that a man might have to resort to carrying the domestic load on his back if a woman is inattentive of her expected role. The foolish wife’s lacklustre approach results in an unsuccessful marital union and the destruction of their estate. Therefore, what makes a bad wife and an unstable home is, according to Gataker, her unnecessary physical travels when ‘wandering abroad’: it must ‘bee condemned the practise of such wiues [who] are gadders abroad’, or those who are ‘least acquainted with, or delighting in ought at their own home’.⁵⁵ Travel, Gataker claims, makes for ‘a lewd housewife’.⁵⁶

To avoid a wayward wife and a division of labour that burdens the husband with unnecessary domestic responsibility, Gataker writes that couples should collaboratively ‘build up’ their marital home. Later in the text the author compares a harmonious household to the intricate mechanisms of a clock or watch:

if the spring be faultie, the wheels can not goe, or if they mooue not either other, the hammer can not strike: so here, where dutie faileth between man and wife it causeth a neglect of all other good duties.⁵⁷

The moral of Gataker’s publication is that newlyweds must work together to have a marital home that runs like clockwork, despite the difference in their rightful domestic duties. As

⁵⁴ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 22-23, incorrectly printed as ‘20-21’.

⁵⁵ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 22, incorrectly printed as ‘20’.

⁵⁶ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 22, incorrectly printed as ‘20’.

⁵⁷ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 5.

Heidi Brayman Hackel argues, conduct books – along with legal statutes and educational guides – are one overt way in which ‘the pressures of the patriarchal state on female readers can be felt’; and they ‘reveal the assumptions of patriarchy in its “domestic form”’.⁵⁸ This is true in terms of Gataker’s authorial, masculine prescriptivism that directs women to behave in a particular way, inextricably tying a wife’s physical body to her home despite advocating a collaborative domestic environment. ‘Marriage in this period was expected to be an unequal partnership in which the husband’s superior position was justified by his greater strength and wisdom’, Ralph Houlbrooke argues: ‘[h]armony was supposed to prevail as a result of wifely obedience, the judicious exercise of husbandly authority, and mutual affection and forbearance’.⁵⁹ Certainly, the preacher does propose that a mutually-maintained domestic network can and should be achieved, and this in turn offers a contrast to Plutarch’s more extreme commentary that stipulates how a wife’s actions, thoughts, and opinions should be dictated by her husband. And yet with Gataker’s emphasis on the hands-on approach needed to maintain an estate, combined with his condemnation of wives travelling ‘vntowardly forward’, Gataker aligns himself to the Plutarchan premise that ‘a woman ought to keepe home and not goe foorth of doores’.⁶⁰

Page, ‘The Widdowe Indeed’

While Gataker supplies his conduct theories about husbands and wives through print and aural forms, the classical trope was not singularly used by writers of the time to suggest the appropriate habitat for married women. Other contemporary literature sought to prescribe women’s conduct by refiguring the same ancient emblem, as in the work of the Church of England clergyman, William Page (1590-1664). Although Page published a series of treatises

⁵⁸ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 197.

⁵⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *English Family Life, 1576-1716: An Anthology from Diaries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 52.

⁶⁰ Gataker, *Marriage duties*, 22 incorrectly printed as ‘20’, and Plutarch, *The philosophie*, 321.

and translations in the 1630s and '40s, he also left a collection of manuscripts to the University of Oxford, his alma mater. These include 'The Widdowe Indeed', dating from the 1620s, which draws its title from the biblical text of Timothy (5.3) when Saint Paul urges the church at Corinth to honour 'widows indeed'.⁶¹ It is the only surviving English language treatise from the period devoted exclusively to advising widows – a text that the unmarried Page had intended to be read by his mother.⁶² The octavo book, containing 240 pages of immaculate handwriting, measures 16cm x 20cm; it is bound in vellum and was given to the Bodleian between 1634 and 1635, where it remains.⁶³

'The Widdowe Indeed' features a wide range of material from ancient texts to those being voiced at the time of writing, exploring diverse, multicultural attitudes towards widowhood.⁶⁴ Page draws upon the 'strange' practice of Indian women 'amongst whom it is a custome that so soone as their husbands dy, they will kill themselues shortly after if not presently at his funerall'.⁶⁵ The author refers to ancient Greek mythology, in which a 'fayre and fine younge damsell [...] defloured by Neptune' was, due to her 'gay and gorgeous apparell', transformed into a crow; Page uses this as a warning against widows' wearing of 'light and wanton apparell [as] they are in danger to make shipwracke of their honesty'.⁶⁶ Foremost, however, the author examines the practices of Biblical widows. He celebrates the

⁶¹ 1 Timothy 5.3, *King James Bible "Authorized Version", Cambridge Edition*, 1611, http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611_1-Timothy-5-3/. Barbara J. Todd, 'The Virtuous Widow in Protestant England', in *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Varner (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1999), 71.

⁶² Bibliographical details from Manfred Brod, 'Page, William (1590–1664)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 22 Jan. 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21098>, and Todd, 'The Virtuous Widow', 71.

⁶³ Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library, which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 143-144.

⁶⁴ For new scholarship on multicultural (specifically European) attitudes towards early modern widows, consult Lyndan Warner, 'Widows, Widowers, and the Problem of "Second Marriages" in Sixteenth-Century France', 84-107; Isabelle Chabot, 'Lineage Strategies and the Control of Widows in Renaissance Florence', 127-144; Dagmar Freist, 'Religious Difference and the Experience of Widowhood in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Germany', 164-178; Jodi Bilinkoff, 'Elite Widows and Religious Expression in Early Modern Spain: The View from Avila', 181-192, and Giulia Calvi, 'Widows, the State and the Guardianship of Children in Early Modern Tuscany', 209-219. All from Cavallo and Warner, *Widowhood*.

⁶⁵ William Page, 'The Widdowe Indeed', Bod. Bodley MS. 115, 153.

⁶⁶ Page, 'The Widdowe Indeed', 63.

‘deuoute and religious widdowe Anna [... who] serued God with fastings and prayers night and daye’; he applauds the widow Sarepta, who ‘had but a handfull of meate and a little oyle [...] yet when the phrophet Eliah prayed her to giue him thereof she refused not, but willingly and readily prouided it’; and he praises the daring widow Judith who ‘often [...] practised this holy duty of prayer [... and] deliuered her people from death and destruction’.⁶⁷

Demonstrating the ultimate Protestant experience of salvation, these women were Page’s widows indeed; widows in early modern England must aspire to be like these Biblical role models by deploying similar levels of exemplary self-control in their actions.⁶⁸

As Barbara J. Todd and Jeremy Boulton persuasively document, English widows in the seventeenth century were less likely to remarry than ever before.⁶⁹ This was due to legal factors and popular cultural conceptions: women risked losing control of the property from their first marriage for their own use or for their children’s inheritance; remarriage was sometimes seen as disloyal to the deceased husband and family; it was, perhaps, a rejection of the typically male-headed household; or because remarriage was interpreted as sexual promiscuity – a theme which dominates Page’s text.⁷⁰ The author develops his argument supporting a widow’s chastity by referencing the classical emblem, adapting the trope to feature a snail which can, unlike most tortoises, retract its body fully into its shell and totally internalise itself from the wider world.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Page, ‘The Widdowe Indeed’, 30, 82, 31.

⁶⁸ For more on typological readings of the Bible, see Donald Dickson, ‘The Complexities of Biblical Typology in the Seventeenth Century’, *Renaissance and Reformation* 11, no. 3 (1987): 253-272. For a case study, see Marie H. Loughlin, ‘“Fast ti’d unto them in a golden Chaîne”: Typology, Apocalypse, and Women’s Genealogy in Aemilia Lanyer’s *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 133-179.

⁶⁹ Barbara J. Todd, ‘The Virtuous Widow in Protestant England’, in *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Varner (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1999), 71, and ‘The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered’, in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 54-92. See also Jeremy Boulton, ‘London Widowhood Revisited: The Decline of Female Remarriage in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’, *Continuity and Change* 5, no. 3 (1990): 323-355.

⁷⁰ There has also been important work on widows and drama by Jennifer Panek. See *Widows and Suitors in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁷¹ The comparison of women to snails has been linked first, to women’s household chores by Retha M. Warnicke; second, to the stereotype of women as gossips by Todd; and third, to depictions of Adam and Eve prior to the Fall to assure people that they were happily married, according to Diane Kelsey McColley. See Retha M. Warnicke, ‘Eulogies for Women: Public Testimony of Their Godly Example and Leadership’, in *Attending to Early Modern Women in England*, ed. Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware

[F]or if euery good woman should be like a snayle hid within her house (from whence I thinke they are very fitly called housewives) then much more my widdowe will keep within doores who hath more occasions to be priuate and remote from company and lesse cause to go abroad.⁷²

While Page's denunciation of exploration is not explicitly sexual in this instance, two pages later he specifies the types of travel abroad that widows should refrain from and company they should instead seek:

I speake not this to condeme the comerce and meetings of women upon speciall occasions, [... for the] company and conference of modest and discreete matrons is a great comfort and recreation the one to the other [...]. but this is that which I dislike and this I would have my widdowe take heede of that – shee come as little as shee can into the company of younge men. what doth a widdowe sayth S^t Jerome amongst a multitude of servants amongst a heape of servingmen. fly (sayth he) the company of younge men let not these trimmed tricked and dainty trim youths come within the rooffe of thyne house, drive away from thyne house the singer, the fiddler, the piper, and all this rowte of the diuell as the deadly Songs of Syrens[.]⁷³

Having only moments before compared the widow indeed to a snail, Page's mention of the young men's entrance into the 'rooffe of thyne house' appears to be a less than subtle sexual reference to their penetration of both home and widow. A prominent trope in ballads was 'presenting the fiddler or piper as a promoter of lewdness and debauchery', discusses Christopher Marsh in his study of early modern popular music, a tradition that Page aligns with by referencing the two instrumentalists.⁷⁴ So too does the singer, as he warns against the musicians' enchanting melodies which, much like those of sirens, would lead the widow down the 'rowte' to the devil. These unfavourable musicians recall the Plutarchian suggestion that a wife's voice should only be amplified like a hautboy instrument through her husband, not by embarking on new relationships with 'younge men'. The implicit monogamy of the ideal wife's acoustic presence is developed by Page, who suggests that the widow who keeps the

Press, 1994), 168-186; Todd, 'Virtuous Widow', 66-83, and Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 145-146.

⁷² Page, 'The Widdowe Indeed', 44.

⁷³ Page, 'The Widdowe Indeed', 46.

⁷⁴ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 82.

company of siren-like male musicians will be sexually promiscuous too. For Page, the fear of widows venturing out of doors and into the wider world stems from a concern about who they might meet; it is as much an invasion of the boundaries of the female self as it is the boundaries of the spaces in which she resides. According to the author, widows should keep their domestic spaces, and so too their corporeal ‘domestic spaces’, free from male company.

Page explains in greater detail his anxieties at the consequences of when widows entertain ‘younge men’:

But let these women and widdowes remember how Solomon describeth the harlot, whose feete (sayth he) cannot abide in her house now shee is without, now in the streets, and lyeth in wayte at euery corner. These gadding gossipps the Apostle noteth when he sayth they will go from house to house as though they had rather be any where then at their owne house. neither will they be content to be at one house onely but they must go up and downe from house to house. ffrom which words of the Apostle this duty of my widdowe may well be deduced for if it be ^{the} custome and property of yonge and wanton widdowes to goe from house to house [...] then on the contrary it must be the condition and practise of my widdow indeed to live privately and retiredly at home and not thus runn from house to house.⁷⁵

Page’s paranoid warning against moving ‘from house to house’ is repeated as many as four times. The promiscuous journey of the harlot widow, who ‘lyeth in wayte at euery corner’ and journeys ‘up and downe’, is a far cry from the loyal snail who is physically conjoined to and contained within her own home. A stark contrast between the physical and ideological domestic loyalties of the snail and the harlot is drawn upon directly. Writing in the margins next to the interpretation of Solomon’s religious verse, and on the page opposite the aforementioned snail reference, Page mentions the classical trope once again (Figure 12):

thertfore it was of a gods deuise of Phidias to make the image of venus w^h her feete treading upon a tortoise shell, signifying thereby that a woman ought to keepe at home and not often go forth of doors/ Plutarch[.]⁷⁶

The author’s decision to annotate here means that his variation of the trope featuring a snail, and the direct reference to Phidias and Plutarch’s tortoise on the opposite page, are paratextually connected and so invite comparison. In doing so, he offers a jarring contrast

⁷⁵ Page, ‘The Widdowe Indeed’, 45.

⁷⁶ Page, ‘The Widdowe Indeed’, 45.

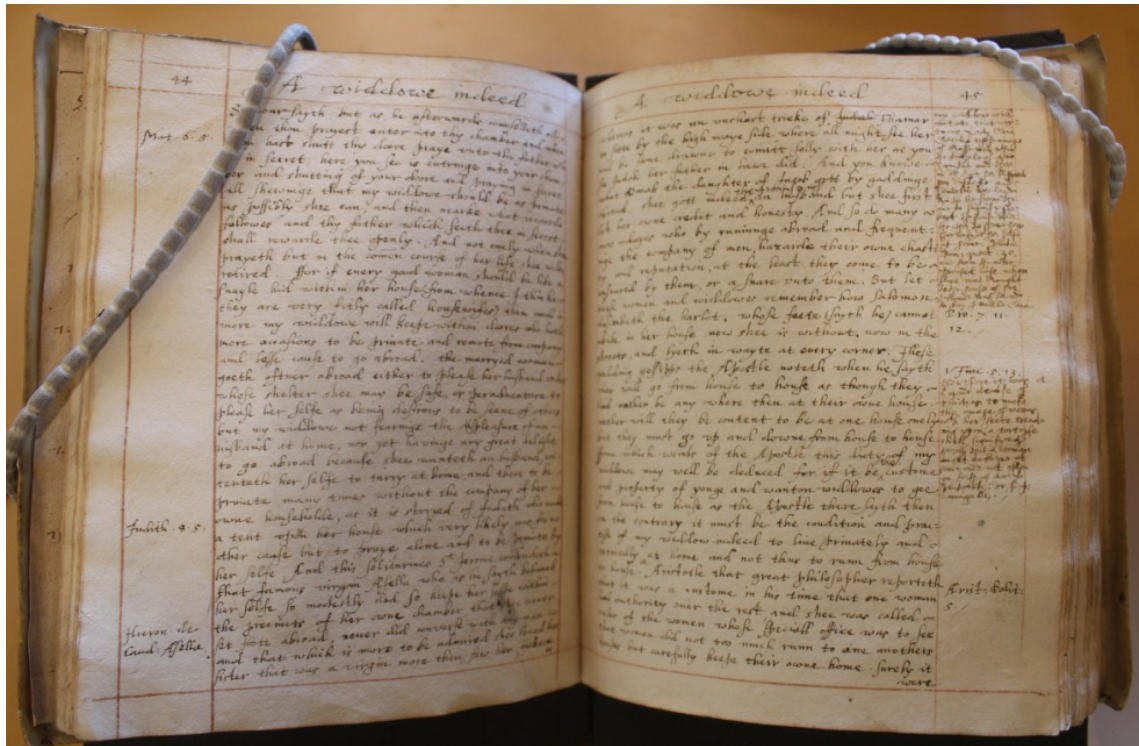


Figure 12. William Page, 'The Widdowe Indeed', Bodl. Bodley MS 115, 44-45.

between Venus, the archetypal woman, and the harlot.⁷⁷ 'If writing is preservative', as Lisa Gitelman suggests, these blank parts of books 'preserved preservation'. 'Their design, manufacture, and adoption worked to conserve patterns of inscription and expression'.⁷⁸ With this informed textual and spatial planning, nestled next to his condemnation of the harlot who ran, repeatedly, from house to house, Page cultivates instead a stark juxtaposition between the two types of women: the remarrying widow and the chaste domestic 'widow indeed'; the harlot and her snail's shell, or Venus and her tortoise.

Page also appears to be drawing from Pausanias's interpretation of the Venus trope by recognising the dual personality of Aphrodite. By referencing the harlot, he brings to mind the common touch of Aphrodite Pandemus, and by alluding to Venus and the tortoise, he references the celestial, heavenly Aphrodite Urania who was born from the sea. With his paratextual linking of the goddess's dual nature, Page appears to recognise the interpretive

⁷⁷ Page, 'The Widdowe Indeed', 45.

⁷⁸ Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 22.

ambiguity of the classical trope and work to both its extremes. Widows like his mother should be isolated from certain people within the wider world, and women should not embark upon journeys where they might be at risk of such encounters. Whether the conduct books by Page and Gataker successfully altered women's physical movement is hard to prove; but it is clear that the authors provided theories in the hope of altering the ways their readers imagined women's movement.

As Jennifer Panek asks in her study of widows and suitors in early modern drama, '[w]hen a woman emerged, at her husband's death, from the patriarchal control of coverture, why did men find it in their interest to deploy the fiction of her inordinate sexual appetite?'⁷⁹ To further Panek's study on suitors, why would Page counsel his own mother in sexual matters? Perhaps it was a financially-incentivised endeavour; a matter of securing his inheritance, which a remarriage might divert from his grasp. Or was he trying to protect her from gossip that might erupt if she were to remarry? Perhaps there was a danger that she would toy with suitors and not marry them, risking accusations of harlotry. As Dorothea Kehler suggests, the Catholic shackles condemning remarriage were hard to shake off in post-reformation England, despite the fact that '[m]ost Protestant thinkers and polemicists [...] knew in principle that they should feel differently'.⁸⁰ Although many Protestant authors encouraged this practice of remarriage, as Alan Macfarlane and Miriam Slater argue, others 'could not escape its age-old coding as a betrayal of the deceased'.⁸¹ In reality, remarriage was a common occurrence, but claims of bigamy, cuckoldry, and disrespect to the deceased were equally common.⁸² If Page also made a habit of preaching to his congregation on the validity

⁷⁹ Panek, *Widows and Suitors*, 4.

⁸⁰ Dorothea Kehler, 'The First Quarto of *Hamlet*: Reforming Widow Gertred', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (1995): 398-413.

⁸¹ Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300-1840* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 234-236; Miriam Slater, *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (London: Routledge, 1984), 104-107, and Kehler, 'The First Quarto', 398-413.

⁸² For more on remarriage and its opposition see Antonia Fraser's old but still relevant study, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984), 82-85; Barbara J. Todd, 'Demographic Determinism and Female Agency: The Remarrying Widow Reconsidered... Again', *Continuity and Change* 9, no. 3 (1994): 421-450; Tim Stretton, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England*

of a widow's celibacy, it is no wonder that this Church of England clergyman wanted to warn his own mother against it so that she could become a model citizen and avoid disapproval from the community he had helped to educate.

Pulter, 'Emblem 13'

The conduct literature that I have drawn upon so far has focused only on male interpretations of the feminine classical trope, but by the middle of the seventeenth century, the emblem had been interpreted by at least one female writer. Lady Hester Pulter was born in Wiltshire during 1595/6 and died in 1678; she was the daughter of Sir James Ley, the first Earl of Marlborough, and his wife Mary Petty.⁸³ Well-educated and highly literate, at the age of thirteen she married Arthur Pulter. Hester Pulter (hereafter Pulter) composed her manuscript at the manor of Broadfield, the rural home in Hertfordshire that she shared with her husband and their fifteen children. It is perhaps unsurprising that she wrote most of her poetry during the long periods of customary postpartum lying-in.⁸⁴ Pulter never published during her lifetime; her manuscript book is in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds, having been discovered only in 1996.⁸⁵ The volume contains around 120 poems under the title 'Poems Breathed Forth by the Noble Hadassas' ('Hadassah' being a biblical name in

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia Crawford *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁸³ Sarah C. E. Ross, 'Women and Religious Verse in English Manuscript Culture, c.1600-1668: Lady Anne Southwell, Lady Hester Pulter and Katherine Austen' (Doctoral thesis, St Hilda's College, University of Oxford, 2000), 101-106.

⁸⁴ Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson, 'Introduction', in *Early Modern Women Poets (1520-1700): An Anthology*, ed. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), xxxii-xxxiii.

⁸⁵ Hester Pulter, *Poems, Emblems, and the Unfortunate Florinda*, ed. Alice Eardley (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Brotherton Library, 2014). The history of the manuscript's rediscovery has been charted by Alice Eardley, "'Shut up in a Country Grange": The Provenance of Lady Hester Pulter's Poetry and Prose and Women's Literary History', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2017): 345-359. For more on Pulter's place within the genre of emblem books, see Rachel Dunn, 'Breaking a tradition: Hester Pulter and the English emblem book', *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 1 (2015): 55-73. For other recent scholarship on themes within her writing, see Sarah Hutton, 'Hester Pulter (c.1596-1678). A Woman Poet and the New Astronomy', *Études Épistémè* 14 (2008), 1 Oct. 2008, accessed 21 Feb. 2018, <http://journals.openedition.org/episteme/729>, and Ruth Connolly, 'Hester Pulter's Childbirth Poetics', *Women's Writing* (2017): 1-22.

Hebrew for Esther).⁸⁶ It also includes ‘The Unfortunate Florinda’, a two-part prose romance, the latter section being incomplete. An edited collection of her complete works was only recently compiled by Alice Eardley and was published in 2014.⁸⁷

Composed between the early 1640s and 1667, Pulter’s literature is generally considered to be a part of her and her husband’s supposed ‘royalist retirement’ from public life during this period of political turmoil.⁸⁸ One common way of avoiding ‘problems of past, present and future’ during the English Civil War, as Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday argue, was to ‘turn away from the world of messy political confrontation and create an idealised world of art or devotion’.⁸⁹ Many Royalist writers produced religious verse, poetry, masques, and other escapist texts, and as Earl Miner famously declared: ‘the most distinctive feature of the Cavalier response to the times was retreat’.⁹⁰ Although this trend has typically been considered in relation to male writers, in choosing to compose emblems – which were an increasingly unpopular art form by the middle of the century – Rachel Dunn argues that Pulter ‘present[s] the double death of the emblem poem and the king’.⁹¹ But the extent to which her withdrawal was ‘passively endured rather than actively resisted’ should be contested, James Loxley warns – and I argue that this theme is explored by Pulter in her use of the tortoise trope.⁹²

Pulter’s is the only known English emblem book authored by a woman that still exists from the early modern period.⁹³ Emblem books were, as Rosemary Freeman defines, ‘a collection of moral symbols’ containing or implying images, captioned with an interpretive

⁸⁶ Mark Robson, ‘Pulter, Lady Hester (1595/6–1678)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 4 Aug. 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68094>.

⁸⁷ Pulter, *Poems, Emblems*.

⁸⁸ Ross, ‘Women and Religious Verse’, 99.

⁸⁹ Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, ‘Introduction’, in *Literature and the English Civil War*, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7.

⁹⁰ Earl Miner, *The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 179.

⁹¹ Dunn, ‘Breaking a tradition’, 62.

⁹² James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1997), 192–241, quote from page 202.

⁹³ Dunn, ‘Breaking a tradition’, 56.

motto.⁹⁴ They were either wholly spiritual meditations on Christianity or moralising in their content, such as Pulter's, with the aim of propelling its reader towards virtue.⁹⁵ Although her volume does not contain literal pictures, Pulter's text invokes imagery by interpreting the classical trope as one both strange and familiar to her readers, beginning her composition 'Emblem 13' with a male porcupine's attack upon a female tortoise. This engagement with exotic animals shows, in turn, how some women were comfortable with writing about a range of subject matter that they could not have known for themselves through physical encounters, much like the drawings made by Elizabeth Lyttelton discussed in my Introduction.

The porcupine went ruffling in his pride,
 Scorning the humble tortoise by his side,
 Spurning her oft, and spurting many a quill;
 The tortoise pulled her head in and lay still.
 He called her 'patient fool' and 'suffring ass';
 Thus o'er her back, insulting, he did pass.⁹⁶

These opening lines reveal that the male porcupine insults the tortoise because of her passive response to his forthright provocation: she is a 'patient fool' and a 'suffring ass' since she submits to his quill-spurting. As Pulter's porcupine climbs upon the tortoise's shell, she inverts the figure of Venus who stands in other versions of the myth. He can easily perform this repressive action because the tortoise is concealed within her home in a motionless pose, the shelled creature's passive domesticity and refusal to journey means that she deserves the attack, reasons the porcupine.

After the male oppressor has finished physically and metaphorically walking over the tortoise, the abusive companion's behaviour is immediately met with retribution:

Just then, a loaded cart and men came by;
 As soon as they this different couple spy
 They laughed, which vexed the porcu at the heart.
 Arrows from's living quiver he did dart
 Promiscuously at horses, men, and cart;

⁹⁴ Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1970), 238-239.

⁹⁵ Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), 2.

⁹⁶ Hester Pulter, 'Emblem 13', *Poems, Emblems*, 202, lines 1-6.

The frocketeers threw stones and lashed their whip,
Which made the furious porcupine to skip[.]⁹⁷

While the porcupine suffers at the hand of these human visitors, Pulter's female character does not emerge unscathed from this encounter either, as the men '[t]hen drove their cart over the tortoise shell'.⁹⁸ The ambiguous impact of the poet's imagery and the confusion of her emblem's symbolism are shown by two contrasting scholarly interpretations. The cart's running over of the female character is used by Sarah Ross to suggest that the tortoise was 'humbled' by the porcupine to 'moralise on the scene's significance'.⁹⁹ Ross's interpretation is contested by a more recent reading of the poem by Margaret J. M. Ezell, who argues that women in Pulter's corpus 'manifest their personalities differently' as 'pragmatic heroines' who 'find themselves in extraordinary situations not of their making, and who react in sometimes surprising ways'.¹⁰⁰ The heroine's surprising reaction that Ezell could be referring to comes immediately after the creature's road accident in 'Emblem 13':

But she in spite of all their spite was well.
The cart went on, the rustics they run after;
The tortoise hardly could hold in her laughter
But did refrain, hearing the doleful moan
The porcupine made to himself alone,
Saying, 'let revengeful spirits learn by me
Not to retaliate an injury
But of this tortoise learn humility.'
The tortoise blushed to hear herself commended
Then crawled away and so the emblem ended.¹⁰¹

Demonstrating remarkable self-control, as well as a deep consideration for her partner, the tortoise maintains the Plutarchan premise that she should be 'with silence'.¹⁰² This noble exercise of humility is acknowledged by the porcupine, who becomes motivated to change his own attitude – a marital dynamic that is quite different to Plutarch's assertion that a wife must

⁹⁷ Pulter, 'Emblem 13', lines 7-13.

⁹⁸ Pulter, 'Emblem 13', line 14.

⁹⁹ See Ross, 'Women and Religious Verse', 123-124.

¹⁰⁰ Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'The Laughing Tortoise: Speculations on Manuscript Sources and Women's Book History', *English Literary Renaissance* 38, no. 2 (2008): 331-355, qtd. page 351.

¹⁰¹ Pulter, 'Emblem 13', lines 15-24.

¹⁰² Plutarch, *The philosophie*, 321.

speak either to or through her husband.¹⁰³ Similarly, Pulter goes on to invert Plutarch's interpretation of the classical tortoise trope that suggests how women 'ought [...] not goe foorth of doores' by having her female heroine crawl away, her shell damaged from the men's attack but her spirits firmly intact.¹⁰⁴

While Ross suggests that Pulter's poems are first and foremost a commentary on contemporary politics and popular literature, this view does not exclude them from being seen as comments on women's experiences.¹⁰⁵ Although Pulter retreated into her domestic dwelling in Hertfordshire during the period of profound political turmoil, her emblem's protagonist, as a variant of the classical trope, promotes travel as being compatible with fulfilling domestic duties of humility, compassion, and caring for her male porcupine partner. Pulter's diachronic history of an allegory, colliding with particular historical conditions, offers a stark contrast to Erasmus's explanation of the classical emblem: 'a wife should [...] be carrying the house with her'. 'If she looks out', he asserts, 'it should be no farther than the yard, the play ground, or the garden next to the house; these are the boundaries of the housewife's realm'.¹⁰⁶ While Erasmus believes that the trope illustrates how women should be restricted to the parameters of the house and its land, calling Phidias a 'wise man' for suggesting as much, Pulter's adaptation of the same trope means that her animal protagonist maintains a connection to her home and yet the spaces in which she should look or tread are not restricted.¹⁰⁷ Global exploration, according to Pulter, need not be incompatible with a woman's life at home.

Although claiming the emblem to have already ended, Pulter continues her poem:

Then, like the tortoise, though I feel or see
The least affront or seeming injury,
Yet let my mind above the greatest be.
What if they hurt my flesh; 'tis but my shell

¹⁰³ Plutarch, *The philosophie*, 321.

¹⁰⁴ Plutarch, *The philosophie*, 321.

¹⁰⁵ Ross, 'Women and Religious Verse', 99-173.

¹⁰⁶ Erasmus, *Institution of Christian Matrimony*, 382.

¹⁰⁷ Erasmus, *Institution of Christian Matrimony*, 382.

That suffers, my enfranchised soul is well.
 Then at my oppressors' feet myself I'll lay;
 Vengeance is thine, my God, thou wilt repay.¹⁰⁸

The poet appears to speak directly to her reader in the composition's final lines, comparing her own situation with that of her tortoise heroine, both of which are affronted and physically injured. Despite drawing no direct reference to Venus, the figure standing upon the tortoise is incarnated in the 'flesh' of her 'oppressors', representing the author's imprisonment within her rural Hertfordshire house by inverting the classical trope. Like her emblem, Pulter's retreat appears not to have been 'passively endured', an assumption often made about Royalist writers during the Civil War, as Loxley warns.¹⁰⁹ Through writing about the tortoise trope, Pulter uses her imagined travels to convey her struggles with the physical restrictions that were being enforced upon her off the page. She exposes how textual travels allowed her to move more freely than she was physically able to. Together, Pulter and her tortoise heroine might be physically damaged but are mentally strong, seeking divine vengeance for those who constrained their physical travels by binding them to domestic existences.

Hacket, 'Eighth Sermon Upon the Resurrection'

The emblem of Venus atop a tortoise was appropriated by different writers in many genres; the trope's rich ambiguity allowed it to be used in complex and varied ways in discussions about women's domestic duties and debates surrounding women's placement within the wider world. Pulter's poem shows how women writers could contest the patriarchal principles of the tortoise trope. This also suggests, more broadly, that if patriarchy often works through prescription, then one feature of prescription is that it can be revised and reworked, its condition of articulation also enabling its critique. Similarly, it can be assumed that the practices of some women did not perfectly enact the idealistic female experiences described in

¹⁰⁸ Pulter, 'Emblem 13', lines 27-33.

¹⁰⁹ Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, 202.

male-authored conduct literature written by those such as Gataker and Page. As Pulter's poem makes clear, the trope was used to embody women's *imagined* travels. As such, this correctional literature and its references to the trope should not be interpreted as a sign of historical physical conduct, because these texts would not have been produced if women were already obediently enacting the patriarchal rules outlined.¹¹⁰ For the remainder of this chapter, however, I complicate the assertion that it was only women who challenged the expectation that their sex should be silently and resolutely bound to their homes, considering a sermon by John Hacket (1592-1670), bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.¹¹¹

Hacket's 'Eighth Sermon Upon the Resurrection' was published posthumously by Thomas Plume in his 1675 publication *A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects*.¹¹² The folio, comprising more than 1,000 pages and measuring 26cm x 40cm, includes works that were preached in Lichfield and Coventry, as well as Whitehall, Cambridge, and Holborn. The volume comprises fifteen sermons about Christ's incarnation; six on his baptism; twenty-one about his temptations; seven about his transfigurations; five on his passions; five on the descent of the Holy Ghost; and nine that discuss the resurrection.¹¹³ Although accessibility for a general readership was limited because of the volume's cost, 30s, its original listening audience would have been more diverse, as well as less reliant on their own levels of literacy to engage.¹¹⁴ In his eighth sermon on Christ's resurrection, the bishop focuses on the actions of Mary Magdalen and 'the other women' who, in the days preceding Christ's resurrection,

¹¹⁰ For more on the misinterpretation between conduct and conduct literature, see Jessica Murphy, *Virtuous Necessity: Conduct Literature and the Making of the Virtuous Woman in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015).

¹¹¹ See Brian Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592-1670)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 3 Jan. 2008, accessed 9 April 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11837>.

¹¹² John Hacket, 'Eighth Sermon Upon the Resurrection', in *A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects* (London: Published by Thomas Plume, 1675), 615-623.

¹¹³ Hacket has received little scholarly attention, but for more on his transfiguration sermons, see Kenneth Stevenson, "'In all supernatural works, we rather draw back than help on': The Seven Transfiguration Sermons of John Hacket (1592-1670)", in *Exchanges of Grace: Essays in Honour of Ann Loades*, ed. Natalie K. Watson and Stephen Burns (London: SCM Press, 2008), 66-77.

¹¹⁴ Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2010), 84.

‘went to and fro sundry times’ to visit his disciples. Their journeying was so frequent that it caused onlookers to wonder ‘what make[s] these [women go] abroad, that they cross the streets so often’.¹¹⁵ But despite those who questioned the women’s travels, their journeys were entirely justified. The author vehemently contests Plutarch’s theory that forbids women’s movement by referencing the classical trope:

The married woman is described in *Plutarch*, [...] *treading upon a Tortoise*, as an emblem that it was good for her to stay at home, and to carry her house upon her back. But these holy Matrons had a clear conscience in them, that it could be no blemish to their honour to lackey up and down in so good an occasion, and upon the Errand of an *Angel*.¹¹⁶

He goes further still, dismissing those who took a dislike to these women’s travels as being ‘uncharitable persons’; and despite those who ‘censured them’, he proudly declares that the women ‘still [...] went on’. Rather than travelling slowly or ashamedly, ‘[t]he Messenger of good tidings should make haste [...] as they ran to tell his Disciples’, the bishop asserts. While Plutarch compares a wife’s voice to a minstrel who should speak through her husband, like playing a hautboy that makes her ‘utter a lower and bigger voice than her owne, by the tongue of another’, Hacket emphasises the women’s roles as messengers who ‘tell’ news using their own voices.¹¹⁷ The bishop imagines these biblical women’s roles in Christ’s resurrection to be founded in their ability to travel freely and quickly, as well as being effective communicators when relaying these journeys of ‘clear conscience’. While early modern women’s funeral sermons often ‘adopt a roll call of biblical examples of conventional domesticity’, Jeanne Shami argues, the biblical women in Hacket’s Easter sermon necessarily moved beyond the domestic realm: ‘what these women saw at the Sepulchre’ was because ‘they adventured boldly abroad’, as opposed to those ‘who were shut up for fear at home’.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Debra L. Parish more broadly discusses conflict in devotional works between the active power of women’s piety versus the ‘silent’ and ‘objectified’ women, in ‘The Power of Female Pietism: Women as Spiritual Authorities and Religious Role Models in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Journal of Religious History* 17, no. 1 (1992), 45.

¹¹⁶ Hacket, ‘Eighth Sermon’, 615-616.

¹¹⁷ Plutarch, *The philosophie*, 321.

¹¹⁸ Hacket, ‘Eighth Sermon’, 615-616. Jeanne Shami, ‘Women and Sermons’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

As the sermon progresses, Hacket alludes again to the classical trope, this time inverting the figure of Venus. He references Matthew (28.9), in which the biblical women ‘held [Christ] *by the feet*’, clasping his body in an act of worship.¹¹⁹ They ‘touch his flesh’, and ‘explored that he is no *Phantome*, or Delusion’, emphasising the reality of this true Christian god compared to beliefs of ‘Heathen[s]’ who worship the Roman gods and goddess like Venus.¹²⁰ Hacket plays with references to the trope in his use of an oceanic simile in his address to these ‘devout Matrons’:

you were before like waves of the Sea, tossed about with suspicions and uncertainties, you were carried hither and thither with doubtful fears whether Christ would come again from the dead, as he promised, on the third day, but now you have your hand upon the Anchor, upon his feet, hold them fast, and your faith shall no more be shaken. You touch his flesh, you feel the pulse of his veins, his joynts and bones are under your fingers.

While Pausanias suggests that Aphrodite was linked to the tortoise because of her birth from the foaming sea, Hacket believes that the biblical women had overcome previously felt waves of doubt regarding Christ’s resurrection.¹²¹ By replacing the figure of Venus with Christ, it is God who will help women venture into the wider world and so, in turn, the women’s feet become blessed as they ‘walk upon this errand to bring glad tidings of salvation’. The bishop writes that for women to be static is not the correct way for them to engage with society or the Lord, recalling a ‘*Samaritan Woman*’ who ‘did well not to stay’ still but knew it was ‘better to go into the City, and to tell her kindred that she had found the *Messiah*’. While ‘[t]he *Apostles* lurkt at home for fear’ these travelling women were ‘*Daughters of Jerusalem*’.¹²²

Hacket’s insistence that these biblical women were agents of their own highly mobile bodies would likely have prompted the women listening to his sermon or reading the

2011), 156. See also Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 198.

¹¹⁹ Matthew 28.9, *King James Bible “Authorized Version”, Cambridge Edition*, 1611, https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611_Matthew-28-9/.

¹²⁰ Hacket, ‘Eighth Sermon’, 618.

¹²¹ Pausanias, ‘Book VI – Elis II’, 152-153.

¹²² Hacket, ‘Eighth Sermon’, 622.

published version to imagine their own travels and reassess their own movement within the wider world.¹²³ The bishop was convinced that his sermons had a direct effect on his audiences: after delivering his 1665 visitation service in Wem, Shropshire, for example, he reported that his reading was so persuasive that ‘by my sermon preacht then, there were an 100 prisbyterians less then before’ – successfully converting members of the protestant subject to Calvinism.¹²⁴ His ‘Eighth Sermon Upon the Resurrection’ might have been similarly efficacious in changing how women’s travel was imagined by his congregation of listeners and readers. As Peter Lake writes about the depiction of early modern women in funeral sermons, it was essential for the clergymen to portray an idealised portrait of the deceased as well as one that was recognisable to the congregation; similarly, the biblical women of Hacket’s sermon were dually represented as being idealised yet relatable figures for their early modern audience.¹²⁵ Emulation of the holy women’s lifestyles, as described by the bishop, could allow early modern women to transgress the strict boundaries that demarcated them from the wider world – contrary to those described by Plutarch, Erasmus, Gataker, or Page in their evaluations of the classical trope. By discussing and promoting these travelling women in a sermon that was first preached and then subsequently published (thus facilitating the public exposure of women aurally and textually), the preacher doubly emphasises that women should travel into the wider world through their literary engagement.

¹²³ For more on women’s relationships with clergy, as one of the ‘few legitimate male-female friendships’, see Diane Willen, ‘Godly Women in Early Modern England: Puritanism and Gender’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43, no. 4 (1992), 570-571.

¹²⁴ John Hacket, letter to Dr Browne, 19 January 1665, Bodl. MS Tanner 45, fol. 13.

¹²⁵ Peter Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The “Emancipation” of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe’, *The Seventeenth Century* 2, no. 2 (1987), 160. Femke Molekamp uses the duality of sermons to explore women’s expected and actual devotional reading practices. See *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55-60, and ‘Early Modern Women and Affective Devotional Reading’, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire* 17, no. 1 (2010): 53-74.

Conclusion

Although classical mythology was firmly embedded in early modern English culture, it was also contested, subjected to diverse readings and interpretations, and became a source of anxiety for contemporary readers and writers. Knowledge of classical tropes came, as Angus Vine argues, in part, ‘through learned institutions such as the grammar schools and “high” forms of production such as mythological handbooks, but [was] just as influential and pervasive in more popular forms of entertainment such as pageants, progresses and the public theatre’.¹²⁶ The trope of Venus and a tortoise, turtle, or snail is no exception and was shared across learned and popular genres, between rich and poor alike. It appeared in high-brow manuscript literature with a select readership, such as the poetry of Pulter or the conduct book by Page, as well as cheaper printed texts and more widely read (and heard) works, such as the sermons by Gataker and Hacket. Early modern scholars’ ‘opportunistic use’ of classical myths to communicate personal philosophical theories has received a great deal of critical attention.¹²⁷ But Chapter 1 has shown that we need to consider the consumption of classical myths in relation to women’s travel, how gendered movement is imagined within early modern literature, and how reading or hearing about classical tropes might prompt women to imagine their own travels. Similarly, the various ways in which Venus atop a tortoise was used by seventeenth-century writers shows that its meanings, while often drawing upon previous interpretations, were nonetheless subjective. The trope’s reappearance suggests its serious social, cultural, and political currency in early modern England. Emphasising the malleable nature of the classical trope shifts the focus away from the impossible task of pinpointing its

¹²⁶ Angus Vine, ‘Myth and Legend’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 104.

¹²⁷ Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 193. See, for example, the debate surrounding Francis Bacon’s uses of classical myths and the uncertainty of his beliefs which is outlined by Rhodri Lewis, ‘Francis Bacon, Allegory and the Uses of Myth’, *Review of English Studies* 61, no. 250 (2010): 360-389.

true meaning, and instead encourages conversations about the intentions and effects of its multiple interpretations.

But what has also become clear is that the relationship between women and their spaces, domestic or worldly, as keepers or the kept, and makers or the controlled, was contested – and that any idea of travel must be seen within this context. Homeliness appears to be a culturally flexible construct that was necessarily relative to the wider world. Although this was deeply bound up with questions of authority and autonomy, seventeenth-century conduct literature often refers to the classical trope to emphasise the need for, or recognition of, a wife's active involvement with the world beyond her doorstep. In practice of course, some women certainly did leave their homes and travel, as I discuss in Chapter 4, but whether they *should* was a hotly debated issue. This case study of a seemingly patriarchal classical myth shows three key themes: first, that its interpretations are various and prescriptions breed counter-views; second, the unstable nature of myths and their meanings; and third, that ideas of gender operated on various scales and were displayed through funeral sermons, marriage guides, conduct books, poems, and other genres, and were written by male and female authors. As a result, a new model is required in order to understand how a broad range of opinions about gender were generated in early modern England, one that caters for women's complex relationship between the home and the wider world.

Did women readers, like Pulter, relate to and sympathise with the oppressed tortoise? Did the women in Hacket's audience imagine and alter their own perceptions of travel after hearing his sermon, which dismisses the trope and the domesticity he believed it to represent? The classical trope's reoccurrence in early modern literature might have made women appreciate the relative boundlessness of their imaginations and the virtual textual journeys they could embark upon, without conducting the more controversial act of physically moving abroad. As Chapter 2 will show, attempts to stifle women's physical movements did not stifle their imagined travels, and there were many English women who bought, read, owned, and

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produced printed international travel books as well as global geographies and histories. By using the classical trope to discuss whether domestic attachment prevented or permitted women to move into the wider world, and by inverting a trope which was in some senses the pinnacle of feminine purpose, these writers encouraged women to imagine their own relationship with travel.

Chapter 2. Making her Mark: Owning, Using, and Reading Printed Travel Books

There must have been hundreds of women called Elizabeth Smith living in early modern England. So when I came across this popular women's name written in the Folger Shakespeare Library's 1652 edition of Walter Raleigh's *The historie of the world*, a flurry of activity ensued; more than seven hundred pages were scanned in a desperate search to find out exactly who the reader was and discover clues as to how she read the book.¹ But when it became apparent that there weren't any other provenance traces hidden within – indicators such as a bookplate, coat of arms, handwritten date or place to accompany her name were all absent – the possibility of discovering the identity of this particular Elizabeth Smith waned.² It is a similarly difficult task to ascertain more about the elusive woman's reading habits. What can we learn about her uses of a book that contains only a smattering of marks in a similar ink and hand, including her name inscribed once on 3T2v and again on the verso of the book's final leaf (Figures 13, 14, and 15), two inked exclamation marks, a handful of ink blotches, and three swirled pen trials in the margins? What can be made of these oblique textual traces in relation to women's imagined travels?

These handwritten marks might initially appear inconsequential to scholars investigating the history of reading, considering that most of the volume is void of the copious user marks that typically whet the academic appetite. It would have been all too easy to return this volume to the Folger's vaults and call up any number of books owned by Gabriel Harvey or John Dee, readers famed for producing extensive marginalia thanks to their humanist training in reading and interpreting texts.³ But these are exceptional examples

¹ Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world in five booke*s (London: R. Best, Jo. Place, and Sam. Cartwright, 1652), Folger R163.

² No further provenance details were found after making enquiries to librarians and from using the library's online catalogue. See 'R163', *Hamnet: Folger Library Catalog*, Folger Shakespeare Library, creation date unknown, accessed 27 Jan. 2017, <http://hamnet.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=134425>.

³ On Harvey and Dee's reading habits, consult Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30-78; William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), and Lisa Jardine and William H. Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late

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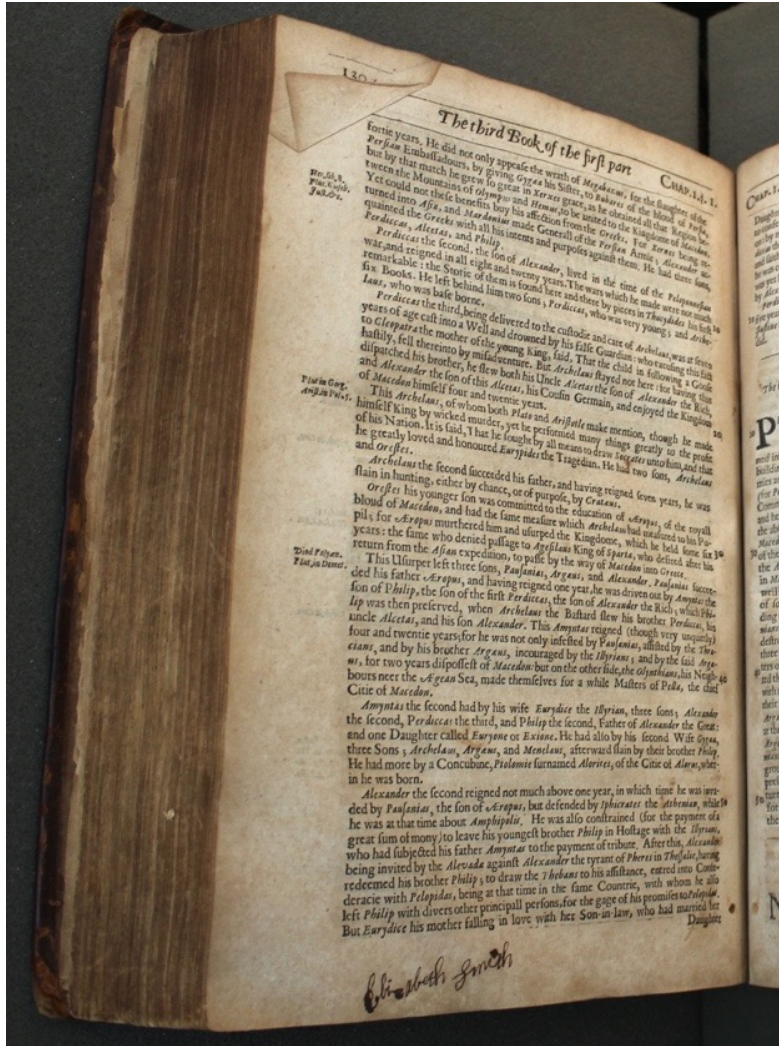


Figure 13. Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, Folger R163, 3T2v.

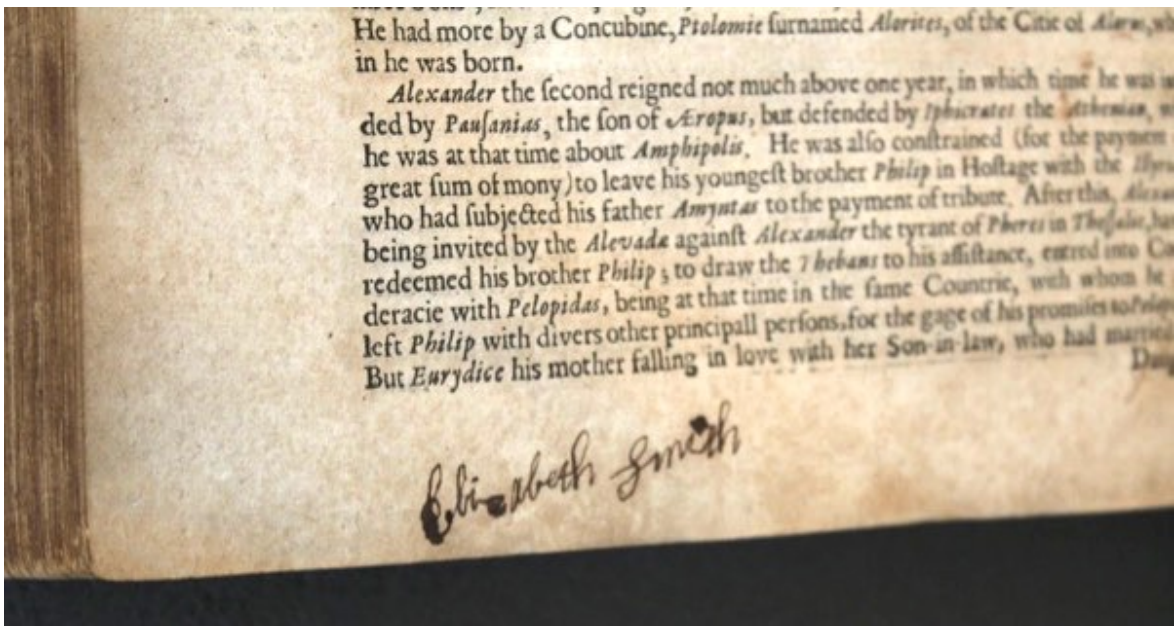


Figure 14. Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, Folger R163, 3T2v.

Elizabethan England', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 102-124.

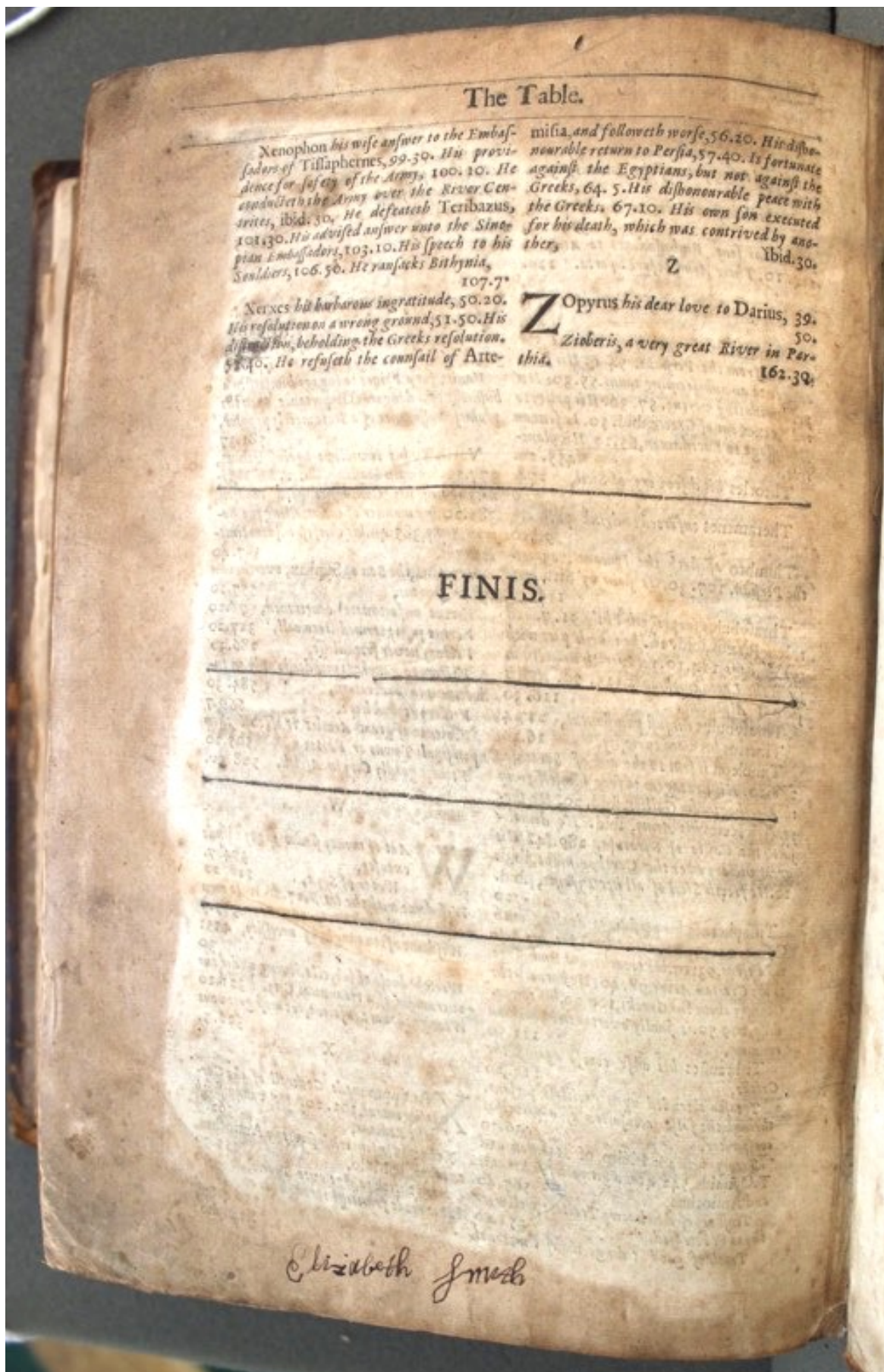


Figure 15. Final leaf, Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, Folger R163.

that are unlikely to have been equalled by many in the sheer abundance of their annotations.⁴ As Sasha Roberts argues, the smaller quantity of extant women's marginalia or the infrequency with which it can be found does not mean that they 'necessarily read less intensively than men'.⁵ Although it is conjectural to attribute all marks in this volume to the same reader, based only on the similarity of handwriting and colour of ink, the reduced quantity of the accidental and intentional marks in Smith's volume does not show that her imagination was equally limited during reading.⁶ A meaningful textual engagement is hinted at when, in addition to the other inked marks listed above, a tantalising phrase can be noted on *The historie of the world's* otherwise blank flyleaf: 'mindfully I doe' (Figure 16). Is this a reflection about the book itself, situated just a few pages from Raleigh's preface in which he tells his readers that 'Opinion [...] can travel the World without a pass-port', whereas 'labour[ing...] and seeing it is not Truth', and that the journeys made by 'externall figures of men' are limited compared to the 'many internall forms of the minde'?⁷ Was Smith therefore mindful of the text's worldly subject matter, or mindful of the way she was engaging with the volume – in some sense commenting *about* commenting? Or, contrastingly, this might just appear to exemplify the kinds of marks scholars hope to find in their quest to discover a history of reading, as well as assuming a positive attribution that connects handwriting samples to a single author. Perhaps it is a scrap of logic unrelated to Raleigh's text, a fragment of pen practice in which the writer copied out a phrase from somewhere else. If one thing is clear, however, it is that these marks open up a range of avenues from which we might further understand women's habits when reading printed travel books.

It is unsurprising that large quantities of meticulous critical commentary by seventeenth-century female readers have not survived. As Kenneth Charlton points out, little priority was given to the formal education of women in early modern culture plus, as David

⁴ Sherman estimates that no more than 'a handful of sixteenth-century readers' could match the information-processing system perfected by Dee in *John Dee*, 80.

⁵ Sasha Roberts, 'Reading in Early-Modern England: Contexts and Problems', *Critical Survey* 12, no. 2 (2000), 3.

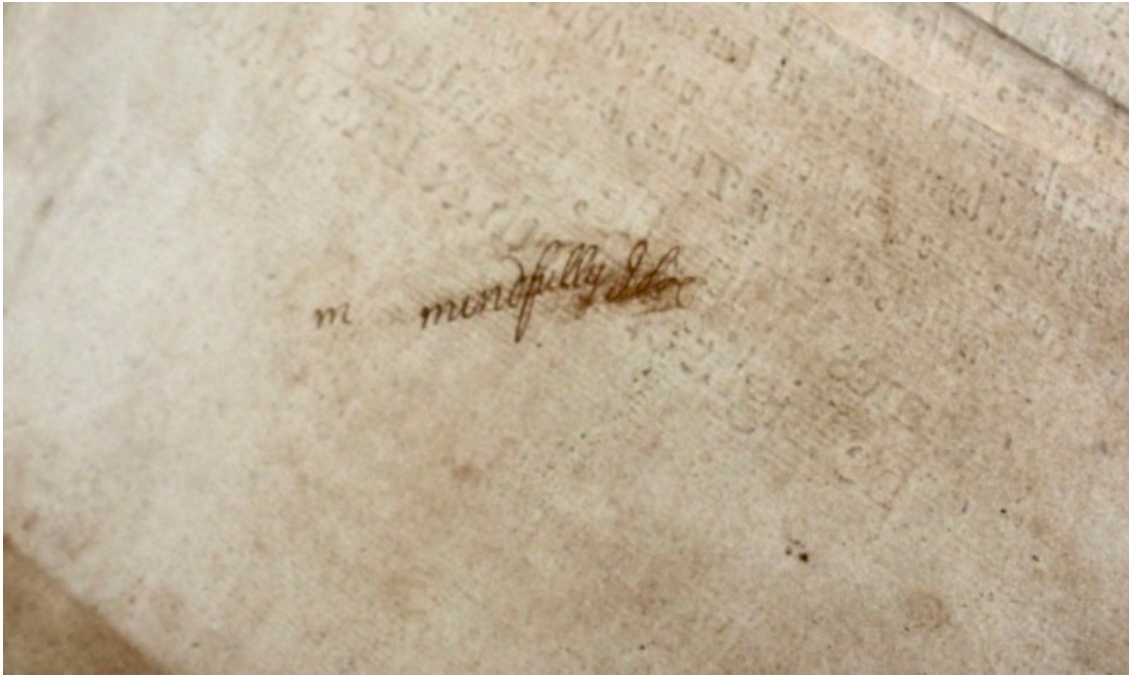


Figure 16. Front flyleaf, Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, Folger R163, 2r.

Greetham argues, there has been substantial preservation of men’s history in archives in subsequent centuries.⁸ The ‘most logical place’ to find printed books with women’s notes is in those aimed at and associated with the same sex, argues William H. Sherman.⁹ He conceptualises the nature of a ‘matriarchive’ – a neologism used but not explained by Jacques Derrida – by looking at ‘the role of women in organizing goods, information, and history in the early modern household’ to recognise their involvement in the period’s ‘archival practices’.¹⁰ Sherman proposes that searches should be carried out in domestic management manuals, Bibles, the Book of Common Prayer, and texts devoted to childbirth.¹¹ This is

⁶ For more on the science of authorship and palaeography, see Tom Davis, ‘The Practice of Handwriting Identification’, *The Library: The Transcriptions of the Bibliographical Society* 8, no. 3 (2007): 251-276.

⁷ Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, Folger R163, A1v.

⁸ Recent work has begun to reveal the ways women acquired an education outside of the university, such as through domestic tutors. See Kenneth Charlton, *Christianity and Society in the Modern World: Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1999), 106-118. David Greetham discusses the prejudices of analysing collections, arguing that they are too often considered to be neutral rather than gendered. See ‘“Who’s In, Who’s Out”: The Cultural Poetics of Archival Exclusion’, *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 32, no. 1 (1999), 13-14.

⁹ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 60.

¹⁰ Sherman, *Used Books*, 54-55, and Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 36.

¹¹ Sherman, *Used Books*, 59-60.

certainly a good place to start, investigating how practices commonly carried out by women could more easily evolve into intellectual interests. Contemporary pedagogical treatises and conduct books prescribed religious texts and books on domestic duties for women readers, arguing that they ‘ought nat to folowe [their] owne iugement’ when it came to the selection of reading material.¹² Nevertheless, as Chapter 2 will show, women did not always take this advice, and the critical tendency to repeat patriarchal ideas voiced during the period must be contested. There is a danger that this becomes self-fulfilling, and that women readers are only found where we expect to find them. While Suzanne W. Hull creates a list of books published in English before 1641 that were designed specifically for women readers, this approach does not consider that men may have read material intended for women and *vice versa*, not to mention books aimed at a general reader.¹³ What happens when traces of women’s readership can be found in books about supposedly improper female activities such as global travel – which was, as I established in Chapter 1, widely contested? What of Smith, who might have been claiming to ‘mindfully’ comment in or about Raleigh’s book, in which he guides his readers through the world’s history by drawing upon his own travel expeditions to the New World and Guiana, comparing them to the histories of Eden and the Amazons of antiquity?

Travel books in English became increasingly available from booksellers from the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The earliest collection of voyages printed in English was Rycharde Eden’s *The decades of the Nene Worlde* in 1555, based on the history of Christopher Columbus; the first printed ambassadorial account was by Giles Fletcher of his embassy to Moscow in 1588; Henry Timberlake’s *True and strange discourse of the travailes of two English*

¹² ‘What bokes ought to be redde some euery body knoweth: as the gospelles and the actes & epistles’, as well as other Biblical texts and the work of some Christian poets, writes Juan Luis Vives in *Instructio[n] of a Christen woma[n]* (London: Printed by Thomas Berthelet, 1529), F2v. Similarly, Richard Mulcaster writes that ‘Reading [...] is verie needefull for religion’, and that women should read what they ‘ought to perform [...] without hindering their housewifery’. Richard Mulcaster, *Positions vberin those primitiue circumstances be examined* (London: Printed by Thomas Vautrollier, 1581), 177.

¹³ Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent, and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1649* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1982).

¹⁴ Robin Myers and Michael Harris, ed., *Journeys Through the Market: Travel, Travellers, and the Book Trade* (Folkestone, UK: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1999).

pilgrimes was first printed in 1603 and went through nine more editions before the turn of the eighteenth century; 139 books about North America were written in the vernacular between 1581 and 1700; texts containing geographic, ethnographic, and historical details such as those by Raleigh or Thomas Harriot were highly influential, appearing in a more affordable pamphlet format as well as being celebrated in deluxe folios.¹⁵ The proliferation of new titles and translations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as printed editions of archaic journeys, shows that travel books were varied in their content and that this genre was extremely popular.

Scholarship has come a long way since the 1950s, when Sears Reynolds Jayne observed that ‘records of the ownership of books by [early modern] women are unfortunately very sparse’, having found only three extant book lists by Alice Edwards (fl.1546), Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford (1580-1627), and Elizabeth Walter (fl.1615).¹⁶ Peter Clark’s 1976 study emphasises the scarcity of evidence supporting women’s book ownership in towns in Kent between 1560 and 1640, and a supposed absence of national records relating to female book ownership continued to be mourned in the late 1980s by Hull and Caroline Lucas.¹⁷ Typically, a higher burden of proof is required for female readers and unnamed marks are assumed to have been made by men. Yet a recent burst of archival work has led to the discovery of many more female collectors. T. A. Birrell compares the royal libraries of Mary (1516-1558) and Elizabeth I (1533-1603), and Frances Egerton, Countess of Bridgewater (1583-1636), has attracted the attention of Heidi Brayman Hackel, thanks to hers being the

¹⁵ Pietro d’Anghiera, *The decades of the Newe Worlde*, trans. Rycharde Eden (London: Printed by Guihelmi Powell, 1555); Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe common wealth* (London: Printed by T[homas] D[awson], 1591), and Henry Timberlake, *True and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrimes* (London: Printed by Thomas Archer, 1603). Sherman discusses the broad array of texts that constituted early modern travel literature in ‘Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 17-36.

¹⁶ Sears Reynolds Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1956), 46.

¹⁷ Peter Clark, ‘The Ownership of Books in England, 1560-1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townfolk’, in *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 99; Hull, *Chaste, Silent*, xi, and Caroline Lucas, *Writing for Women: The Example of Woman as Reader in Elizabethan Romance* (Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 1989), 14.

largest known collection owned by a women in early seventeenth-century England.¹⁸ Notable contributions to the study of non-aristocratic collectors in England include Paul Morgan's work on Frances Wolfreston (1607-1677), whose almanacs I discuss in Chapter 3, and David McKitterick's of Elizabeth Puckering (c.1621-1689).¹⁹

These studies tend to focus on individual readers, as does mine; but while they hope to holistically recreate personal libraries, I will instead consider how women's textual habits reveal their access to certain genres of books, focusing on their different approaches to reading travel literature. I build upon recent studies that rethink what reading is, and what marking books is; when, as Juliet Fleming poses, 'a uniquely personal power' is invested by book users through textual customisation, and a text's meaning 'is a product of [their] own action'.²⁰ Women left behind varied and specific marks, such as 'marginalia', 'postillati', 'scholia', 'glosses', 'annotations' and handwritten notes that might at first appear unrelated to the printed text itself. Together, they are best described as textual graffiti, Sherman and Jason Scott-Warren suggest.²¹ Graffiti is a useful term since my study of travel literature focuses on names and recognisable 'tag' marks within taboo spaces, not to mention the often-public nature of these transgressive marks.²² One way of making female book users appear decidedly less rare is by noticing a very simple mark that they sometimes left behind: their handwritten name. It is, perhaps, the random mark of a pen trial or it might be an indicator of literacy, reading habits, or book ownership. This type of graffiti varies in quality and quantity; some

¹⁸ T. A. Birrell, *The English Monarchs and their Books: From Henry VII to Charles II* (London: British Library, 1987), and Heidi Brayman Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library', in *Material Texts: Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Sauer, Elizabeth Anderson, and Stephen Orgel (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 138-159.

¹⁹ Paul Morgan, 'Frances Wolfreston and "Hor Bouks": A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector', *The Library* 6, no. 3 (1989): 197-219, and David McKitterick, 'Women and their Books in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Elizabeth Puckering', *The Library* 1, no. 4 (2000): 359-380. Additionally, Sasha Roberts looks at Wolfreston's ownership of a copy of William Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* in *Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), esp. Chapter 1.

²⁰ Juliet Fleming, 'The Renaissance Collage: Signcutting and Signsewing', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45, no. 3 (2015), 449.

²¹ Sherman, *Used Books*, 181, and Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010), 364-365.

²² For more on graffiti on walls and objects, see Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion, 2001).

inscriptions comprise simple initials while others are elaborate flourishes of full names. They are often found inked on opening flyleaves or title pages but can, and indeed do, appear anywhere in books, be that once or on multiple occasions. They can be written by their namesake or by someone else entirely, and many different people's marks of identity can be contained within the same volume. Sometimes associated with literacy, secretaries, pedagogy, bureaucracies, and legal compliance, written names are both markers of authenticity and necessarily imitable marks of graffiti.²³

While the tendency to interpret written names as signs of ownership has helped to build an intellectual history, I argue that owning, reading, or marking texts does not necessarily occur simultaneously, and recognition of these often disparate practices can help build a broader social history of book use. As Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly postulate in their study of women's readership in the Atlantic world between 1500 and 1800, '[i]f it is true that female readers, like nonelite male ones, left *fewer* records to document their reading habits than did elite males, it is also true that female readers left *different* records'.²⁴ Written names are a different type of record left behind, being modest but nonetheless meaningful marks. I analyse their appearance in a range of texts printed in English that discuss travelling outside of Britain, considering fictive and factual, ancient and early modern accounts. By and large, it is not possible to accumulate detailed biographical information about these women who, like Smith, rarely left more clues about their own personal histories in their books; similarly, it's not always possible to always obtain extensive evidence through autograph marginalia alone as to why they engaged with books.²⁵ Rather, I consider women's

²³ Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), esp. Chapter 5; Jonathan Goldberg, *Shakespeare's Hand* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), and Elaine Scarry, 'Consent and the Body: Injury, Departure and Desire', *New Literary History* 21, no. 4 (1990): 867-896.

²⁴ Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly, 'Introduction', in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 3.

²⁵ This is even true for the period's most rigorously studied texts. As Emma Smith remarks, '[m]ost of the readers who have left their mark in Shakespeare First Folios cannot now be traced: the record of their

name-writing foremost – while treating accompanying snippets of commentary, doodles, or sketches that are conjecturally attributed to the same hand as a remarkable bonus – in order to illustrate how common it was for women to visibly engage with different types of printed travel writing, and how these signs of textual engagement are suggestive of their imagined explorations. Since women’s journeys in body and mind were much debated, by considering women’s unexpected ownership claims in travel books, I move away from the necessarily intimate, private, or personally expressive ways of considering women’s reading that has dominated scholarship.²⁶

Women’s active making of meaning occurred at different points in the social life of books. In addition to considering consumption as ‘another production’, as Michel de Certeau theorises, I argue that women had marked involvement with travel books during their production in the printing house.²⁷ In the second part of the chapter I compare some of the material decisions made by male and female stationers, comparing the corpus of Margaret Sheares to that of her late husband, William Sheares. I argue that it is important to recognise her subtle paratextual alterations; while this might initially suggest that women stationers had a lesser textual influence than their male counterparts, I propose that non-verbal changes modify the book’s condition, becoming part of a wider and more complex operation working to produce meaning for both the maker and future consumers. I question whether stationers

interaction with this text is all we know of their lives’, in *Shakespeare’s First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 139.

²⁶ Cecile Jagodzinski argues that ‘the reading experience bred a new sense of personal autonomy, a new consciousness of the self’ in seventeenth-century England thanks to the ‘widespread availability and accessibility of printed matter’, in *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 1-2. Kevin Sharpe argues that ‘[n]early all the readers about whom we have information are male. Educated women read, but in a patriarchal culture that valued obedience, women’s responses to books were seldom articulated or recorded publicly. It may be that the cultural acquiescence to male authority permeated to the innermost spaces of the private sphere.’ In *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 297. On private devotional reading, see Richard Rambass, *Closet Devotions* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 104-108.

²⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), xii.

sought to prescribe the bounds of their readers' imaginations or helped to expand these readers' worlds.

Chapter 2 draws upon volumes held in the Beinecke, Folger, British Library, Bodleian and the University of Oxford's college libraries – including St John's, Christ Church, Exeter, Worcester, and The Queen's College – relying on empirical evidence to establish individual women's reading habits. These institutions were selected principally for their extensively documented provenance notes; I do not offer a comprehensive study of all printed travel writing marked by women in these collections, nor do I aim to provide a definitive history of the way women used, produced, and read these books. Instead, I propose that it is important to attend to what remains of the seemingly understated or minor marks that women printed and handwrote in travel books. Writing of Dee's encounter with Christopher Columbus's travel accounts, Sherman suggests that '[h]is exploration [of the New World], which took place in the margins of a book in a library, was that of an armchair traveller'.²⁸ My chapter develops this notion of an 'armchair traveller' to consider how women explored the wider world through textual engagement, discovering the expanding globe from the comfort of their own homes by reading and marking printed books with graffiti, which signifies how their imagined journeys became manifest. This supports the overarching premise of my thesis, which seeks to unveil the ways in which English women, who had neither the means nor the opportunity to journey abroad, textually received and interpreted global information.

Manuscript marking of printed travel books

Raleigh's 1614 magnum opus surveys nearly four millennia of world history from its creation to 168 BC. The work was intended to be three sizable volumes, but in seven years of writing the explorer-turned-author only completed the first. Written in the vernacular, despite Latin

²⁸ Sherman, *Used Books*, 125.

being the language most commonly used by European scholars, *The historie of the world* was printed in a dozen editions in the century after its initial publication.²⁹ Raleigh began writing while captured in the Tower of London on the orders of James I, having been charged for his alleged involvement in the Main Plot, which conspired to assassinate the king and replace him with Arabella Stuart.³⁰ There were, therefore, possible implications of associating with this text at different points throughout the seventeenth century. Raleigh was viewed as a political radical and *The historie of the world* became a ‘source-book’ for Parliamentary opposition in the decades after his arrest, Roger Pooley contends; and yet by the 1650s it had ‘achieved canonical status’, Anna R. Beer argues, while ‘the political urgency and agency both of Raleigh’s writing and the responses of his [...] readers had been lost’.³¹ By the time of Raleigh’s fifth edition from 1652, Smith’s marks were not necessarily indicative of potential Parliamentary sympathies, as they might have been had her notes appeared in an earlier edition.

Other women had access to *The historie of the world* throughout the seventeenth century and felt compelled to leave their names within. Two more examples can be found in the British Library. A series of recent Latin manuscript notes on the title page and preface make clear that their gilt-edged 1614 edition of Raleigh’s work originally belonged to Princess Palatine Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), queen of Bohemia, and wife of Frederick V.³² But as the daughter of James I, it is unlikely that her ownership of an early copy of Raleigh’s text was indicative of anti-James sentiment. According to the annotations, the book endured an epic journey: it was abandoned by the princess upon fleeing Prague with her husband in

²⁹ As Nicholas Popper notes, ‘[e]ditions or reprints were published in 1614, 1617, 1628, 1634, 1652, 1666, 1671, 1677, 1687, and 1736; abridgements or excerpts in 1638, 1647, 1650, 1698, 1700, 1702, and 1708’, in *Walter Raleigh’s History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 2.

³⁰ See Francis Edwards, *The Succession, Bye and Main Plots of 1601-1603* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

³¹ Roger Pooley, *English Prose of the Seventeenth Century, 1590-1700* (London: Longman, 1992), 55, and Anna R. Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 139, 172. See also Steven Carriger, ‘Sir Walter Raleigh’s Legacy: His *History of the World* in the Seventeenth Century’ (Masters dissertation, East Tennessee State University, 2007).

³² Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world* (London: Walter Burre, 1614), BL C.38.i.10, title page and A1r.

November 1620 after his army was defeated, then salvaged by a Spaniard named Don Gulielmi Verdugo; finally, at the Swedish recapture of Prague in 1648, *The historie of the world* was retrieved by a German called Johannes Klee, who returned it to the princess's tenth child, John Philip Frederick (Figures 17, 18, and 19). In another copy of Raleigh's text in the British Library, published in 1634, Jane Draw's faintly scribbled autograph and date (1715) appear on the title page.³³ I will return to this copy later in this chapter to discuss the similarities between name-writing and non-verbal readers' marks.

These personal identifiers don't reveal much about how these women read their Raleigh – as a travel guide, history book, or something else entirely – but they do allow us to speculate as to why they penned their names in copies of his work. It seems unsurprising that women marked their names in such grand and costly volumes to safeguard their copies. This, in turn, shows that these users valued *The historie of the world*. The writing of a name becomes a way of marking property since, as the 1614 British Library edition shows, it could act as an identifier if the volume was lost or stolen. It might therefore be best interpreted as kind of public mark rather than simply a sign of privacy or interiority, since these women appear to proudly stamp 'I was here', as Fleming argues of early modern graffiti more generally.³⁴ This practice, as Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio note, 'simultaneously relocates the book to the intimate, private space of an individual's mind and makes an otherwise hidden knowledge public, thereby embedding the reader in the social realm'.³⁵ These female book users wanted to be remembered alongside this iconic global adventurer and marked their names as a way of writing themselves into his seminal work of travel literature, hoping, perhaps, that future readers of their volumes would be prompted to imagine these previous women's textual associations.

³³ Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world* (London: G. Lathum and R. Young, 1634), BL 581.k.13, title page.

³⁴ Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing*, 72. See also Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti', 372.

³⁵ Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Library, 2005), 2.



Figure 17. Title page, Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, BL C.38.i.10.

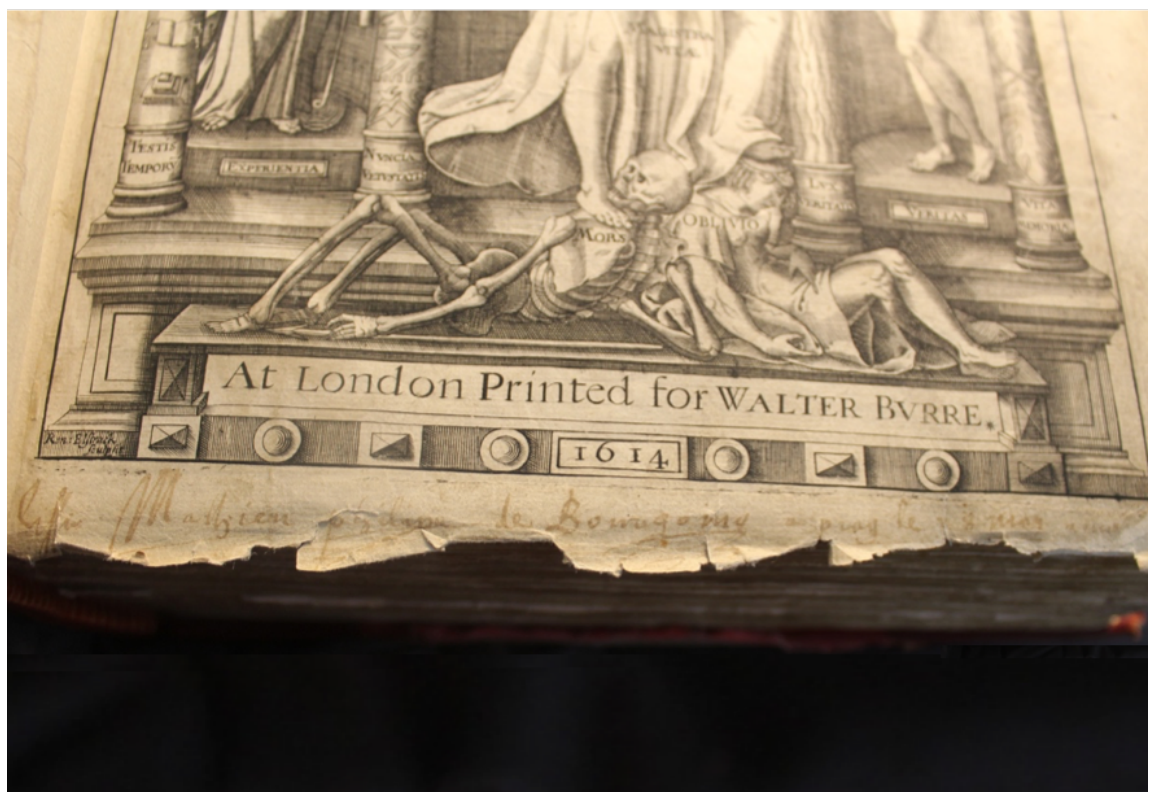


Figure 18. Title page, Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, BL C.38.i.10.

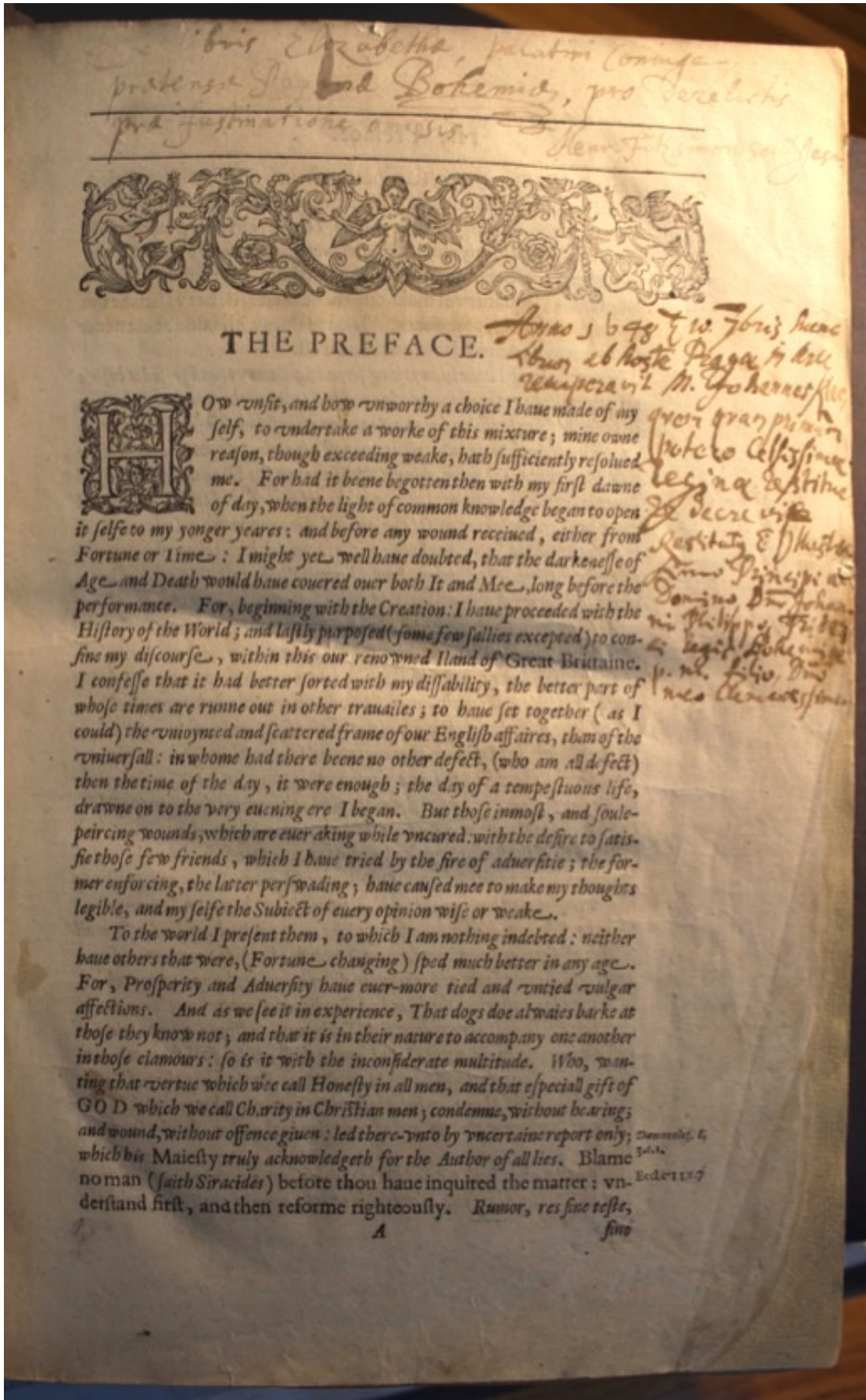


Figure 19. Title page, Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, BL C.38.i.10.

The historie of the world is just one printed book providing global information that was used by seventeenth-century women to configure their imagined travels within a more public form. I will now investigate texts from three loose categories – worldly descriptions, reflections on international journeys, and ancient fictional travels – to illustrate how many women visibly engaged with different types of travel writing. It should, nevertheless, be noted that the ability to read but not write was a prevalent consequence of pedagogic techniques from the period that particularly affected women – an estimated ninety percent of the female population outside of London by the 1690s could not write their own names – excluding many from participating in this scribal practice.³⁶ Considering these marks of ownership as representing a fraction of the number of women who read printed international travel books is therefore paramount.

Surveying the extant handwritten names in another popular descriptive text from the period, Francis Bacon's *Sylva sylvarum, or, A natural history in ten centuries*, supports this model. Bacon's text was published posthumously in 1626 and proved immensely popular, with seventeen editions in English produced during the seventeenth century. *Sylva sylvarum* is primarily a utopian fantasy and travel narrative, at once visionary and practical for readers. It explores natural philosophy and history, explains experiments and observations, and contains a brief tract, '*New Atlantis: A Worke vnfinished*', describing an idealistic island, Bensalem, in which Bacon focuses on the duty of the state to support scientific advancement and expresses his vision for the future of human discovery and knowledge.³⁷ Thirty-eight copies of *Sylva sylvarum*, covering fifteen different seventeenth-century editions, can be found in the Folger's vaults. More than half, twenty-three books to be exact, contain readers' manuscript marks; handwritten names can be found in twenty-one of these, and six copies of *Sylva sylvarum* – or nearly sixteen percent – contain women's names. Quantitative data such as this demonstrates

³⁶ David Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730', *The Historical Journal* 20, no. 1 (1977): 1-23.

³⁷ Bronwen Price, ed., *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

that examples of women's engagement with natural history books requires more sustained attention than might otherwise be assumed. One of the Folger's 1670 editions contains the name of Catherine Wentworth (B331 copy 2); a 1639 edition has the mark of Marie Theresa Josephine (STC 1173 copy 6); and Mary Lyne's name appears in a 1664 *Sylva sylvarum* (B330 copy 1).³⁸ The Folger has six copies of the 1635 edition of *Sylva sylvarum*, half of which have women's names written within: one has the autograph of Mary Wickehalse (STC 1172 copy 4), another, the inscription of Elizabeth Lloyd (STC 1172 copy 5), and a third is marked by 'Elisa. Scott' (STC 1172 copy 6).³⁹ These names might not reveal a great deal about the biographies of women note-makers. But they do indicate that Bacon's text was used by particular women, perhaps indicating their knowledge of the book's content and how it might have challenged or expanded their world view.

Women may have read printed international travel texts for private, imagined purposes, but by leaving evidence behind through textual mark-making, they appear to use travel books as part of a more public display of their global engagement. Handwritten contributions with an expressed intention to benefit others appear in William Claxton's c.1527 publication *The myrroure: [and] dyscrypcyon of the worlde*, which is now in the Bodleian.⁴⁰ Translated from French, Claxton's popular encyclopaedia 'treateth of the world & of the wonderful dyusion thereof' in three parts: first, exploring its creation and relation to other planets; second, analysing earth's geography; and third, explaining man's journey to celestial paradise.⁴¹ The volume is filled with male provenance notes and textual commentaries in mostly eighteenth-century hands, which are stylistically different to the earlier-looking hand by Ann Guy, whose inked marginal note states: 'Ann Guy is my name and I wish you all health and

³⁸ Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum, or, A natural history* (London: J[ohn] R[edmayne], 1670), Folger B331 copy 2; Francis Bacon, *Sylua syluarum: or, A naturall historie* (London: Iohn Haviland, 1639), Folger STC 1173 copy 6, and Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum: or, A natural history* (London: J. F. and S. G., 1664), Folger B330 copy 1.

³⁹ Francis Bacon, *Sylua syluarum: or, A naturall historie* (London: Iohn Haviland, 1635), Folger STC 1172 copy 4; STC 1172 copy 5, and STC 1172 copy 6.

⁴⁰ William Claxton, *The myrroure: [and] dyscrypcyon of the worlde* ([London]: Laurence Andrewe, 1527), Bodl. Lawn d.72.

⁴¹ Claxton, *The myrroure*, A3r.

hap[piness]’ (Figure 20). A clue as to exactly who ‘you all’ refers to is found in the margins on the opposite page: three names, Margary Watson, John Watson, and William Watson, appear to have been written in the same hand and colour ink as Guy’s own provenance marks (Figures 21 and 22).⁴² Although attributing these handwriting samples to one author is conjectural, it seems that Guy planned to give her book to another family with whom she was closely acquainted, intending her copy (and annotations) to be read by both men and women. In recommending *The myrroure* to other readers, Guy organises a collective imagined journey through this shared text. She trusts her judgement as a critical reader by believing that the distribution of her copy of Claxton’s travel book will bring health and happiness to her intended recipients, which was presumably founded upon her own prior engagement with the text. Guy strives to educate people about the wider world not through relaying first hand experiences of physical journeying, but by presenting the travel book as a gift.⁴³

The ink and style of Guy’s handwriting could match the hand responsible for drawings in the book’s margins. A more skilled ink illustration of a ‘popengaye’, an archaic word for parrot, sits next to a child-like imitation in a different hand (Figure 23). The act of parroting the text here takes on a literal embodiment of its metaphorical potential, as the passage beneath which these drawings lie discusses these birds of India, describing:

popengayes which ben grene and shynynge lyke pecockes which ben but lytell more than a Jaye / of whom, as men saye / they that haue on eche fote fyue clawes ben gentyls / and the vylaynes haue but thre / he hath a taile longer than a fote / and a becke courbed and a greate tonge & forked / who that myght haue one he myght well lerne hym to speke in the space of. II. yere[.]⁴⁴

Guy’s reading and copying out *The myrroure*’s content (if it is in fact her handwriting), paired with another hand’s childish attempts to draw the same image alongside it, illustrate the

⁴² Claxton, *The myrroure*, S4v-T1r.

⁴³ For more on books as gifts, see Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harrington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴⁴ Claxton, *The myrroure*, L2v-L3r.

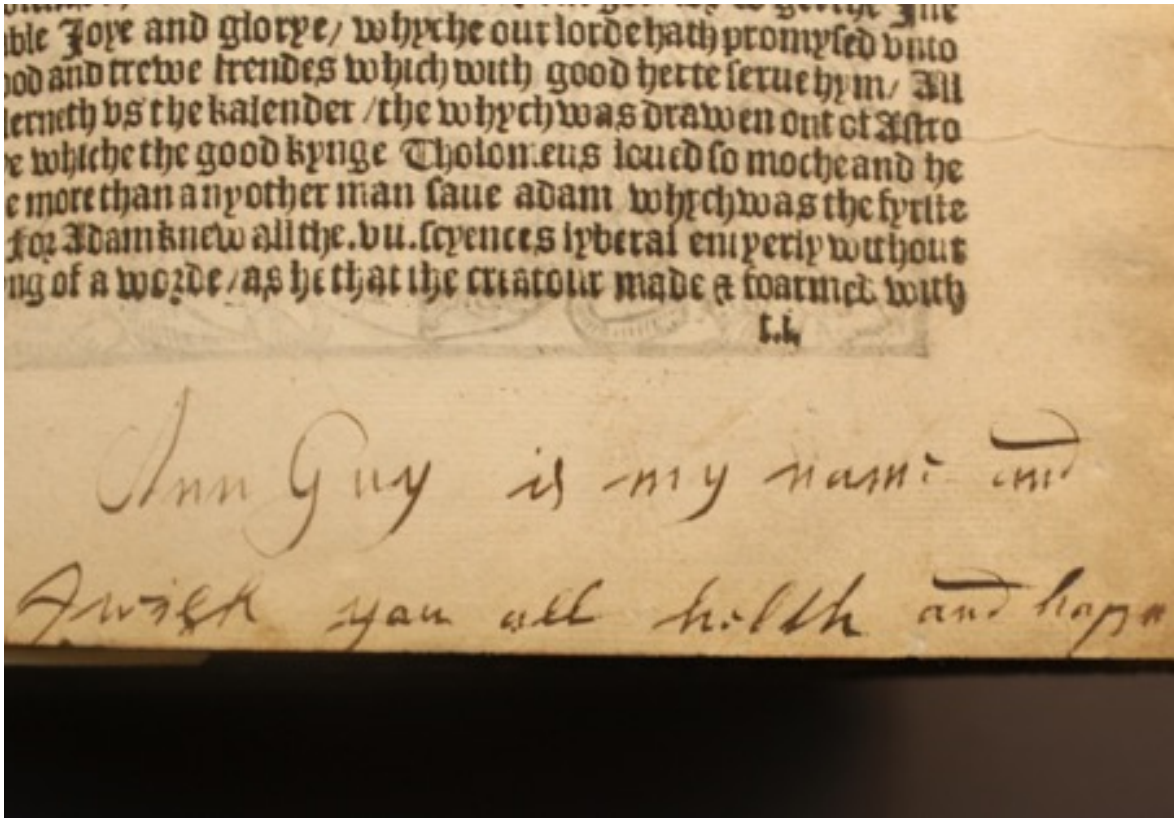


Figure 20. William Claxton, *The myrroure [and] dyscrypcyon of the worlde*, Bodl. Lawn d.72, T1r.

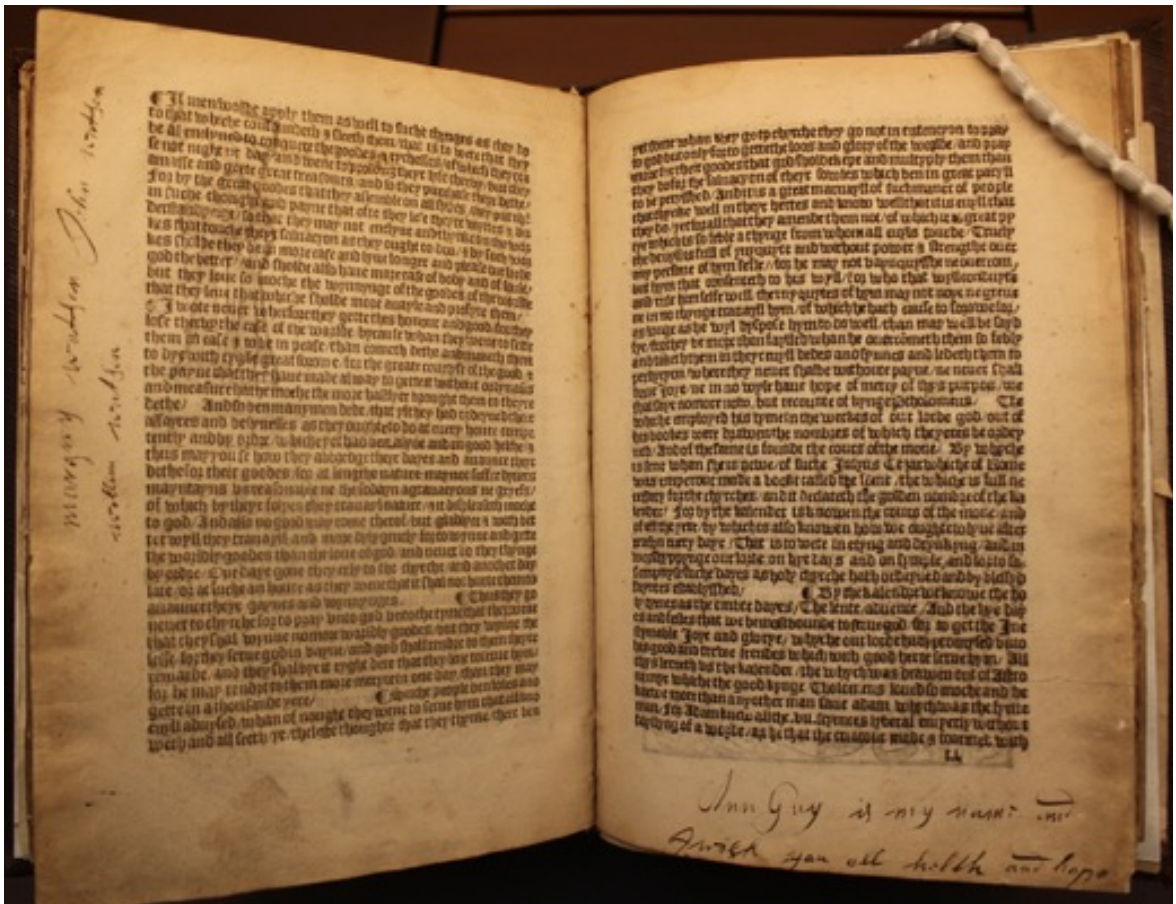


Figure 21. William Claxton, *The myrroure [and] dyscrypcyon of the worlde*, Bodl. Lawn d.72, S4v.

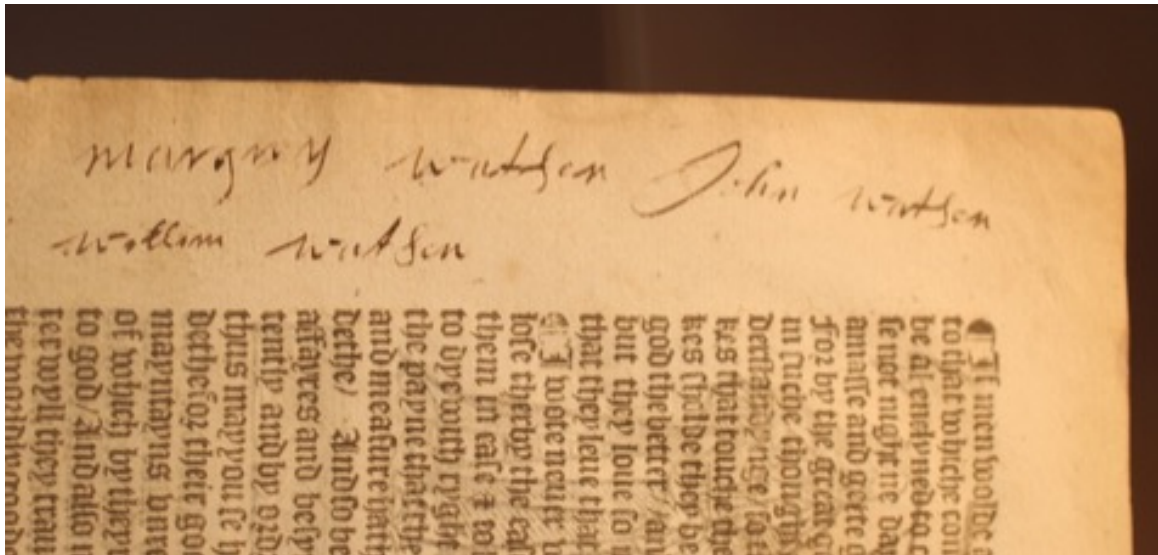


Figure 22. William Claxton, *The myrroure: [and] dyscrypcyon of the worlde*, Bodl. Lawn d.72, S4v.



Figure 23. William Claxton, *The myrroure: [and] dyscrypcyon of the worlde*, Bodl. Lawn d.72, S4v.

hands-on approach taken by these readers in order to teach and learn about India's exotic animals, as well as the natural histories of the world more generally. Much like Elizabeth Lyttelton, as discussed in my Introduction, who 'drew out' animals despite not seeing them first hand, the parrots form a link between the experiences of reading and marking texts that were provoked by imagined worlds.⁴⁵ Through her marginal sketch, Guy provides an interactive approach to using global texts. If women's contact with travel books generally, or natural histories in particular, was as contentious an issue as contemporary conduct books and pedagogical treatises imply, it seems unlikely that so many seemingly carefree marks of ownership would exist in this copy of *The myrrour*.⁴⁶

Name-writing provides clear instances of how books must be recognised as being 'not merely [...] a source of ideas and images, but [...] a carrier of relationships', as Natalie Zemon Davis memorably suggests.⁴⁷ The act of offering printed travel books as gifts to people outside of the family is insinuated by Guy's marginal notes and was certainly practiced in early modern England, examples of which can be found that fit into my second loose category of travel writing that reflects on international journeys. Dorothy Burton (1560-1629) gave a 1589 copy of Richard Hakluyt's *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* to her son, the scholar Robert Burton (1577-1640), which is now held in Christ Church College, Oxford.⁴⁸ The volume describes the English colonisation of North America through accounts of voyages and considers maritime enterprise, claiming to be the first of its kind. It attracted the attention of the whole Burton family, containing the handwritten names of Dorothy's husband Ralfe on the pastedowns and title page, as well as their eldest son William's

⁴⁵ Thomas Browne, *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 4 vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), vol. 4, 56, letter 37 (21 June 1675).

⁴⁶ Vives, *Instructio[n]*, F2v, and Mulcaster, *Positions vberin*, 177.

⁴⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 192.

⁴⁸ J. B. Bamborough, 'Burton, Robert (1577-1640)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, Oct. 2009, accessed 29 July 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4137>.

autograph.⁴⁹ Relatives could be ‘made living again’ by understanding and imitating their ‘manipulated material texts’, argues Austen Saunders in his evaluation of Elizabeth Isham, who greatly valued her grandmother’s sixteenth-century prayer book thanks to its heavy annotations, which ‘doth much reioyce mee to aplye theses places for my own use’, she remarks in her diary.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Burton family tradition of inscribing their names in their copy of *The principall navigations* suggests that together they embarked upon a sentimental journey when reading, preserving, and passing down this text from generation to generation. Books could therefore gain emotional capital for readers thanks to the relational identity of some copy-specific marks. Although none of the Burtons physically travelled to the Americas, passing the volume between family members might have ignited William’s interest in topography that would result in him publishing *The description of Leicester shire* in 1622, or inspired Robert’s interest in the geography of America, which is discussed in his wide-ranging text from 1621, *The anatomy of melancholy*.⁵¹ Travel books could therefore prompt readers to embark upon further imagined travels, and stimulate markers of printed books to become authors of their own geographical texts.

What is increasingly clear, as Scott-Warren remarks, is that as books circulated ‘aspects of communal life [...] rubbed off on them’.⁵² He describes how a 1615 copy of George Sandy’s *A relation of a journey*, now in Cambridge University Library, was repeatedly passed between John Parish and Elizabeth Stiles, husband and wife. The volume contains fifty maps that illustrate the Turkish empire, Constantinople, Greece, Egypt, the Holy Land, and Italy, as well as handwritten notes on the flyleaves which state: ‘John Parish [...] owns] This Book / Elizabeth stiles wittness to it / February 4the / Ano Domini 1691/2’; ‘Elizabeth

⁴⁹ Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589), OCCC f.1.34.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Isham, ‘Book of Rememberances’, (1609-1654), PUL RTC MS 01 no. 62; qtd. in Austen Saunders, ‘Lanhydrock’s Autobiographical Instillation: Books, Reputation and Habit in Early Modern England’, *The Seventeenth Century* 29, no. 3 (2014), 228.

⁵¹ William Burton, *The description of Leicester shire: containing matters of antiquitye, historye, armorye, and genealogy* (London: William Jaggard, 1622), and Robert Burton, *The anatomy of melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1621).

⁵² Scott-Warren, ‘Reading Graffiti’, 379.

styles not her book' and 'Elizabeth stiles Her book / John Parish witnes to it 1689'.⁵³ Another example of an unclear journey made by passing a printed international travel book between readers is a 1576 translation of the French admiral Jasper Colignie Shatilion's biography by Arthur Golding, now in Exeter College, Oxford.⁵⁴ The book gives details of the admiral's life and professional experiences, charting his army's movement around Europe and plotting the routes of European counter-attacking forces. According to an upside-down provenance note on the volume's penultimate flyleaf, it 'was given me by my Aunt M^{rs} Agnes Ridgway January ye 20th 1665', which was probably written by either Giles Stroubridge or John Ridgway, whose names appear in the same hand and ink further down the page (Figure 24).

Other provenance marks can be observed on the multiple front and back flyleaves – but never amid the prose, which remains curiously devoid of readers' manuscript contributions – including one by another woman that predates the note regarding Agnes Ridgway. A smudged and faint inscription dating from 1634 by 'Rose', whose surname is illegible, can be found on the first of four back flyleaves; she writes a humble note of thanks for the 'manifold Benefits Receiued by yo^r fauour' addressed 'ffor my Deare ffrend m^{rs}' (Figure 25). It remains an unsolved mystery as to whether the 'mrs' mentioned by Rose was in fact Agnes Ridgway, just as it is equally difficult to determine the links between Rose, Agnes Ridgway, John Ridgway, Giles Stroubride, and 'Sir Peeter Manwood' (d.1625), whose name is gilt-tooled into the pasteboard. As I have established, written names in books have both personal and public functions, making one's own mark in history as well as providing roots for the volume as it passes through the hands of other readers. The appearance of numerous names in Shatilion's biography exemplifies the popularity of this kind of marked engagement, and that various friendships and family relationships could result in many different people

⁵³ George Sandys, *A relation of a journey begun an. dom. 1610* (London: [Printed by Richard Field], 1615), CUL, Syn.4.61.5; qtd. in Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti', 379.

⁵⁴ Arthur Golding, *The lyfe of the most godly, valeant and noble capteine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatilion* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1576), OEC 9M 22248.



Figure 24. Third of four back flyleaves, recto, Arthur Golding, *The life of the most godly, valeant and noble captaine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatillon*, OEC 9M 22248.



Figure 25. First of four back flyleaves, verso, Arthur Golding, *The life of the most godly, valeant and noble captaine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatillon*, OEC 9M 22248.

gaining knowledge about the French army's European excursions. Studies into the history of reading must therefore begin to map the travels of travel books and uncover the many complex layers of book ownership as indicated by extant written names.

Deciphering how this copy of Shatilion's biography passed from person to person is made more difficult due to library practices. The inside cover's front paste-down displays the book plate of Exeter College, Oxford, which is firmly glued over some otherwise promising seventeenth-century handwriting (Figure 26). Masking provenance clues in this way indicates the bias for preserving 'clean' printed matter, a prevalent approach to collecting early printed books until the late-twentieth century. Prior to this, unwanted readers' marks were often eradicated from texts, when printed books were cropped or margins were bleached.⁵⁵ This ill-placed identity sticker poignantly illustrates yet another difficulty faced by scholars today in their quest to uncover how readers read their books, as they negotiate the well-meaning yet ultimately sabotaging effects enforced upon some volumes by subsequent collectors, owners, and libraries.⁵⁶

Mixing biography and bibliography

My discussion shows that studies of individual women marking books often benefit from setting them within their communities, considering how women acted within coterie and

⁵⁵ See Monique Hulvey, 'Not So Marginal: Manuscript Annotations in the Folger Incunabula', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 92, no. 2 (1998): 159-176; Randall Ingram, 'Lego Ego: Reading Seventeenth-Century Books of Epigrams', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 160-176, and Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6.

⁵⁶ As Assistant Curator of Rare Books for the Bodleian, Jo Maddocks, remarks: 'With few exceptions, most items in the early and rare collections were not considered valuable for attributes other than their text when they arrived at the [Bodleian] library. Therefore marks of ownership have been added to almost every item in the collection – and while some of these may seem destructive in hindsight, at the time they were considered reasonable to prevent loss.' Jo Maddocks, email to the author, 6 Feb. 2017. For more on collectors' marks, see David Rogers, *The Bodleian and its Treasures, 1320-1700* (Henley on Thames: Ellis, 1991); Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009); Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes* (La Haye: M. Nijhoff, 1956), and G. W. Wheeler, 'Bodleian Pressmarks in Relation to Classification', *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 1, no. 10 (1916): 280-292.

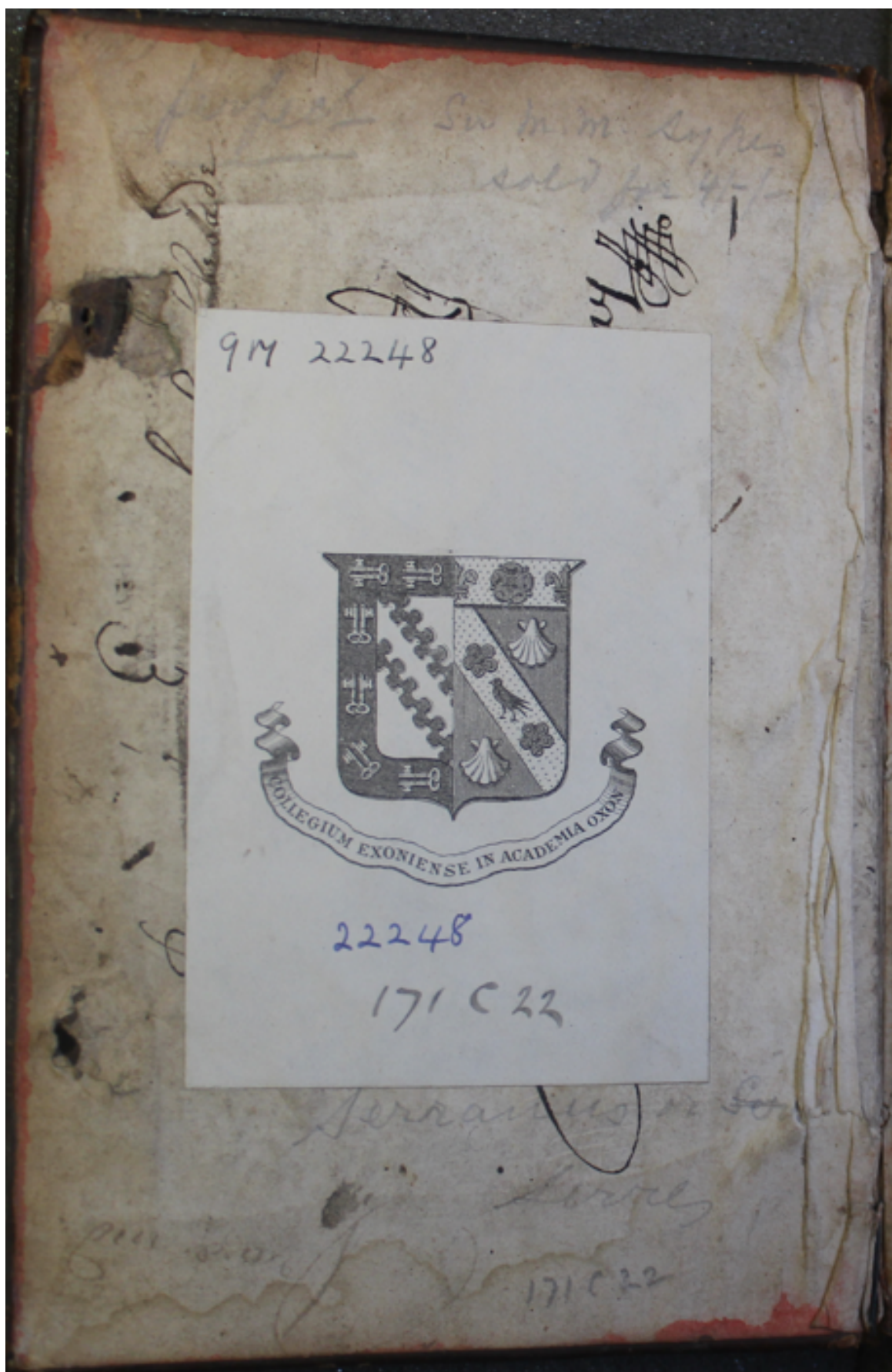


Figure 26. Inside cover, front paste-down, Arthur Golding, *The life of the most godly, valiant and noble capitaine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatillon*, OEC 9M 22248.

networks. But when name-writing suggests familial and social connections, or leads us to biographical details about their writers, the way we interpret contemporary marks of use can be altered – for better and for worse. Grace Talbot (1562–died after 1625) married Henry Cavendish (1550–1616) on 9 February 1568 in Sheffield. The pair were stepsiblings; Grace was daughter of George Talbot from his first marriage to Gertrude Manners, and his remarriage to Henry’s mother, Elizabeth Hardwick, had taken place the previous year.⁵⁷ While both marriages helped to secure the fortunes of two of the most rich and powerful families in the north of England, Grace and Henry’s union was not without its problems.⁵⁸ Henry despised his wife, publically referring to her as a ‘harlot’ in later years, although it was he who had at least four illegitimate children and none within his own marriage.⁵⁹ Henry spent a great deal of time away from their home in Derbyshire, and soon after the wedding he departed for the continent on a Grand Tour, where he made stops in Germany and Italy. It is ‘tempting to see this as an early symptom of marital breakdown’, as D. J. B. Trim points out, ‘but in fact Grace was only eight’ at the time.⁶⁰ Throughout their marriage, Henry was often absent due to foreign travel: in 1578 he raised a regiment of men and joined the Dutch army of William of Orange; in 1579 he voyaged to Portugal; and in March 1589 he departed for Turkey, travelling via Germany and eastern Europe.⁶¹

Knowing Grace and her husband’s biographical details as we do, it is perhaps unsurprising to discover her name in two printed books on international travel. ‘Grace Cavendyshe’ appears on the title page of José de Acosta’s 1604 book *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies*, translated into English by Edward Grimestone, now in *The*

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Goldring, ‘Talbot, George, sixth earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522–1590)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 28 May 2015, accessed 29 July 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26928>.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Goldring, ‘Talbot, Elizabeth [Bess of Hardwick], countess of Shrewsbury (1527?–1608)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 29 July 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26925>.

⁵⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 194.

⁶⁰ D. J. B. Trim, ‘Cavendish, Henry (1550–1616)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 3 Jan. 2008, accessed 29 July 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4935>.

⁶¹ Trim, ‘Cavendish, Henry (1550–1616)’.

Queen's College, Oxford (Figure 27). After spending more than twenty years in Peru and Mexico, the Jesuit missionary returned to his native country of Spain in 1587 where he wrote an analysis of indigenous Americans, supporting his own social experiences with a more extensive chronology of the land's social and geographical formation. The seasoned traveller gives an overview of the climates, terrains, and oceans of the East and West Indies, before ranking theirs against other world cultures – a list topped by Europeans, Chinese, and Japanese, followed by Aztecs and Incas (as he believed the Amerindian society to be defective and requiring improvement), and Africans bringing up the rear. First published in 1590, *The naturall and morall historie* proved popular. As Harry Liebersohn points out, Acosta's text served as 'a model for the kind of survey of non-European peoples and places that the Enlightenment travellers would produce over a century later', because of how the author interlaced his own travel experiences with observations from Aristotle and other ancient authorities.⁶² *The naturall and morall historie* was translated from Spanish into Italian, French, Dutch, Latin, and English, a copy of which ended up in Grace Cavendish's hands (hereafter Cavendish), complicating the idea of travel writing as a mediated form of direct experience.⁶³

She also inscribed her name in *A report of the kingdome of Congo, a region of Africa* by Filippo Pigafetta, now in St John's College, Oxford. Pigafetta tells the story of Duarte Lopes, a Portuguese pilgrim who set sail for Africa in 1578 on board a merchant ship before spending twelve years in the Congo, making his the earliest European account of this kingdom.⁶⁴ Lopes supposedly told his story to Pigafetta in Portuguese who translated it into his own language of Italian, then in 1597, it was translated into English by Abraham Hartwell – which Cavendish came into contact with.⁶⁵ Unlike her single mark of identity in *The naturall*

⁶² Harry Liebersohn, 'Anthropology Before Anthropology', in *New History of Anthropology*, ed. Henrika Kuklick (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 22. See also Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 82.

⁶³ José Acosta, *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies* (London: Val. Sims, 1604), OQC Y.h.18.

⁶⁴ Mary Newitt, ed., *The Portuguese in West Africa, 1415-1670: A Documentary History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 108.

⁶⁵ Duarte Lopes, *A report of the kingdome of Congo, a region of Africa: And of the countries that border rounde about the same* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1597), OSJC HB4/3.a.5.21(1).

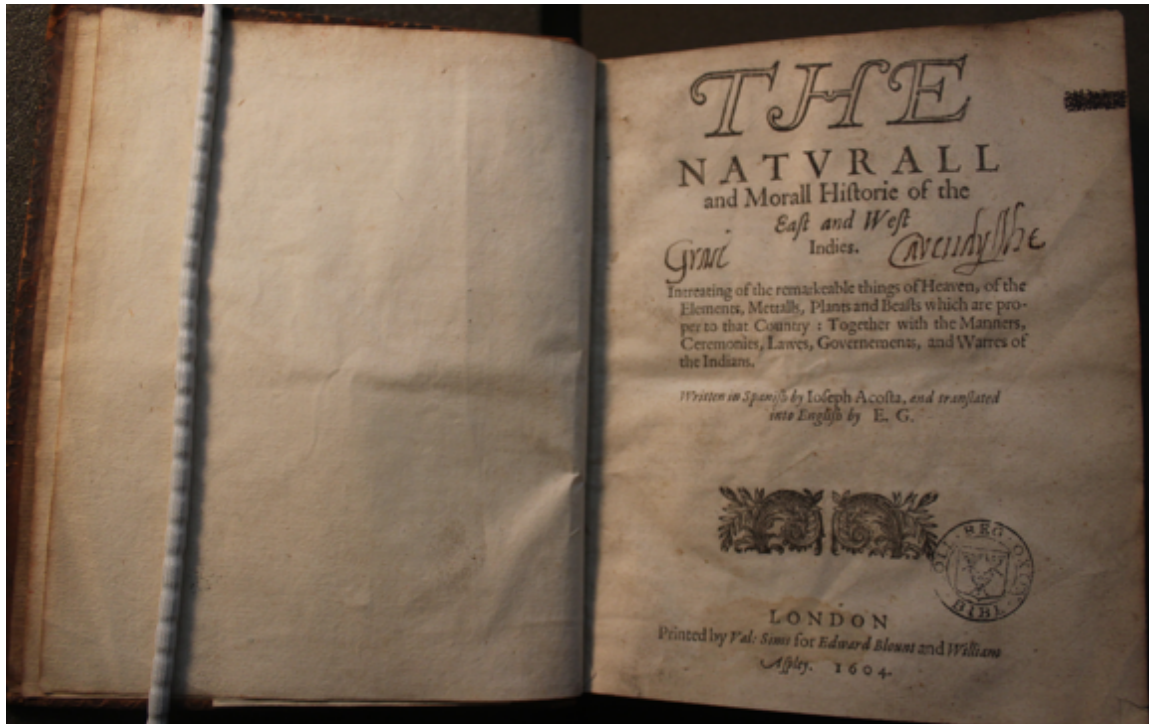


Figure 27. Title page, José Acosta, *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies*, OQC Y.h.18.

and morall historie, Cavendish's name is written in *A report of the kingdome of Congo* multiple times. The manuscript inscriptions 'Grace Cavendysshe' and 'Grace Cavendish' can be found in the centre of the title page (Figure 28); both are written in a stylised yet clear hand, with her first and second name boldly placed either side of the printed text. It can be noted that 'Grace Cavendysshe' is spelled the same, and written in the same place on the page, in both her volumes (Figures 27 and 28), indicating how 'open spaces of the book were read as permissive: white cues for personal interaction', as Emma Smith argues in her study into the markers of Shakespeare's First Folio.⁶⁶ The matching textual location and choice of spelling suggests that if more of Cavendish's collection was to be discovered (supposing she owned more than these two texts), the volumes might also be graffitied in this way. This, in turn, could tell us more about both her reading and marking habits; it would support the impression that while Cavendish respected the paratextual matter of books, she was intent on

⁶⁶ Smith, *Shakespeare's First Folio*, 166.

assertively proclaiming her ownership of them. Additionally, on Pigafetta's title page 'Cavendish' and 'Cavends' appear, faintly, in the margin. Her name can be found once more in the volume, 'Grace Cavendisch' featuring on A2r, so keen was she to mark the book as her own as well as explore the variant spellings of her name (Figure 29).

Having two books marked by the same reader allows us to begin rebuilding personal libraries even when their collections were separated, sold, and scattered in subsequent centuries. Besides Cavendish's, one other handwritten name can be found in *The naturall and morall historie*, belonging to the physician Theophilus Metcalfe who bequeathed over 1,000 volumes to The Queen's College in 1757. Little is known about Metcalfe or the history of his collection, except that it is particularly puzzling that he didn't bequeath his extensive library to Hart Hall (later renamed Hertford College, Oxford), where he matriculated in 1706 and earned his bachelor's degree in 1710.⁶⁷ There is no commentary in *The naturall and morall historie* besides the amendment of typographical errors in Cavendish's hand when, for example, 'greene' is neatly crossed out and 'great' inked in the margins.⁶⁸ Early modern writers such as John Milton and John Donne promoted the correction of printed errors by their readers, considering them 'an exercise in becoming assiduous' that would help 'establish and test [a reader's] virtue'.⁶⁹ But, by and large, this kind of reading was only expected of men despite being practiced by some women readers, as the case of Cavendish shows. In *Euphues and his England*, dating from 1580, John Lyly invites women to play with their lapdogs while reading, 'and in doing so constructs women's reading as merely recreational', Roberts argues, while men were supposed to spot 'faultes escaped in the Printing, [and] correcte with your pennes'.⁷⁰ But Cavendish did not only read with the intention of altering the printed word,

⁶⁷ On Metcalfe's bequest, see 'Metcalfe Collection', *Wellcome Trust Project*, The Queen's College, University of Oxford, date unknown, accessed 2 Aug. 2016, <http://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/node/173>.

⁶⁸ Acosta, *The naturall and morall historie*, OQC Y.h.18, 164.

⁶⁹ Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 111-112.

⁷⁰ John Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (London: Printed for Gabriell Cawood, 1580), A1v; qtd. in Roberts, 'Reading in Early-Modern England', 2.

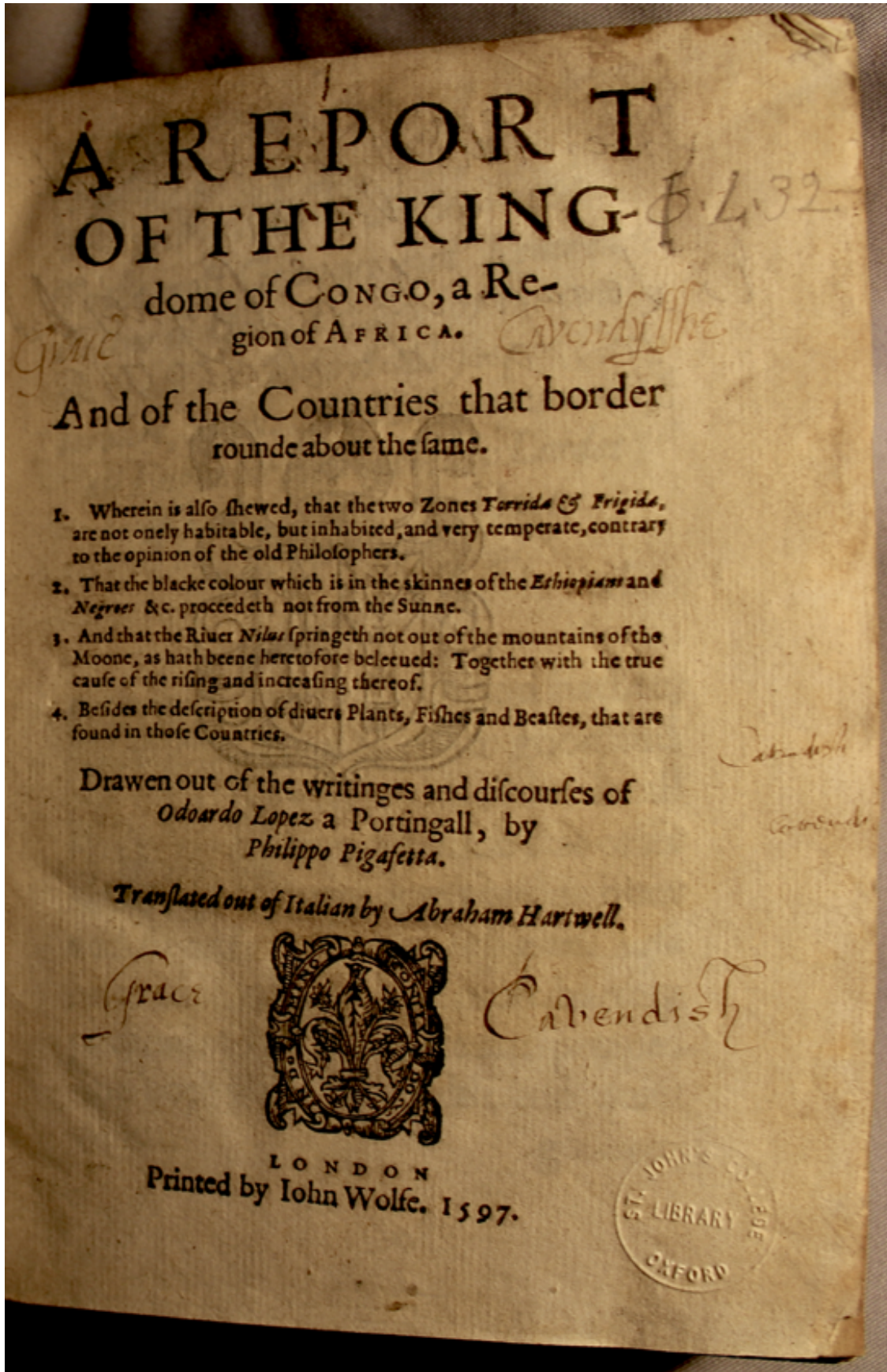


Figure 28. Title page, Duarte Lopes, *A report of the kingdome of Congo, a region of Africa: And of the countries that border rounde about the same*, OSJC HB4/3.a.5.21(1).

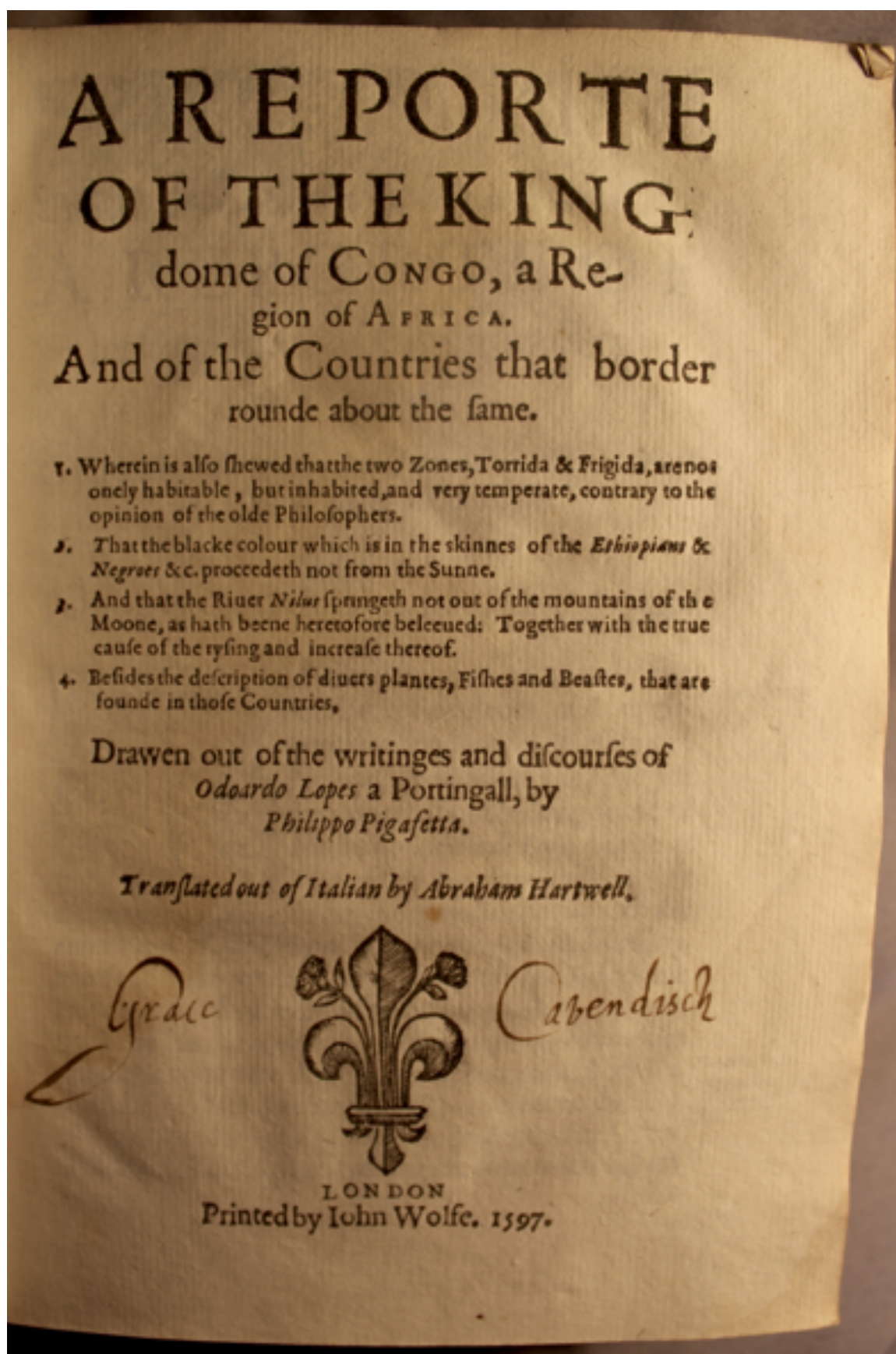


Figure 29. Duarte Lopes, *A report of the kingdome of Congo, a region of Africa: And of the countries that border rounde about the same*, OSJC HB4/3.a.5.21(1), A2r.

since corrective graffiti does not appear in her copy of *A report of the kingdom of Congo*. Rather, this volume is almost entirely ‘clean’ except for a few dashes in the margins on C1v and C2r, and a scrap of paper ripped from another printed source to be used as a bookmark.⁷¹ The book’s journey can be further pieced together thanks to Nathaniel Crynes’s inscription, a fellow of St John’s College, Oxford; this volume, along with 967 others of his, remained in the college after his death in 1745.⁷² It is something of a coincidence, therefore, that two texts once owned by the same woman were divorced from each other, only to be ultimately united at the same university in the following century.

I have found little evidence suggesting that Cavendish owned a more extensive library,⁷³ other than an unnamed French prayer book featuring in her 1591 portrait by an unknown artist, splayed open at Psalm XVI (Figure 30).⁷⁴ Compared to other women of a similar status, such as Lady Anne Clifford, who is set against a backdrop of forty-eight volumes with identifiable titles on their spines in her portrait (Figure 31), Cavendish appears to have been a less avid reader.⁷⁵ If her extant personal book collection is taken at face value, therefore, Cavendish’s literary taste appears to be overwhelmingly in favour of reading international travel writing as well as having a penchant for continental works, undercutting the expectation that early modern libraries (women’s or otherwise) would be dominated by religious texts.⁷⁶ While the majority of books owned by esteemed male collectors such as Dee

⁷¹ Lopes, *A report of the kingdom of Congo*, OSJC HB4/3.a.5.21(1). Inked lines in the margins can be found on C1v and C2r; the scrap of paper can be found between R1v-R2r, and Crynes’s inscription can be read on A2v.

⁷² Ian Gilbert Philip discusses the Crynes bequest in *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 84.

⁷³ Evidence for English women’s private libraries ‘survives in many forms’, as Brayman Hackel writes, traceable through ‘ownership stamps and signatures [...], references in journals and letters, passages in commonplace books, representations in portraits, bequests in wills, and lists in probate and household inventories’. There are no references to books Cavendish owned in her letters, which are held in the Folger (Folger, Cavendish-Talbot, MS X.d.428 (7, 8), and I have not come across any other documents in Brayman Hackel’s list relating to Cavendish. See ‘The Countess’, 139.

⁷⁴ ‘Lady Grace Talbot, Mrs Henry Cavendish (1562-d. after 1625) British (English School)’, *Search Collections and Places*, National Trust Collections, creation date unknown, accessed 30 July 2016, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1129101>.

⁷⁵ Richard T. Spence lists the painted book titles in *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590-1676)* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1997), 190-191.

⁷⁶ Femke Molekamp discusses the ownership of religious texts in “‘Of the Incomparable treasure of the Holy Scriptures’: The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household”, in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern*



Figure 30. Unknown artist. *Lady Grace Talbot, Mrs Henry Cavendish* (b.1562 – after 1625). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (Accredited National Trust Museum), 1591.



Figure 31. Jan van Belcamp. *The Great Picture, or the Appleby Triptych*. Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, 1646.

England, ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 121-136, and *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), esp. Chapter 1.

or John, Lord Lumley were in Latin, the books that comprise Cavendish's library consist of translations from Spanish and Italian into the vernacular, and only one in French. This is hardly surprising considering that most women were not encouraged to make continental journeys or study foreign languages, and is another aspect to consider of English women's mediation of international travel literature.⁷⁷ It should be noted that Cavendish's extant collection might just reflect the personal tastes of eighteenth-century academic book owners and Oxford students. But what is clear is that Cavendish valued these travel books and wanted to make her mark on them.

When the life of a name-writer can be embellished with additional biographical information, as is more easily achieved with elite readers like Cavendish, this attracts the attention of scholars of literature and history who can offer nuanced textual interpretations. Responding to the appearance of names with the thickening of biographies is an invaluable way of discovering individual reading habits, enabling us to situate them within a group context and a broader historical narrative. We are presented with the chance to guess the reader's motives for using travel books. As Hester Lees-Jeffries argues, the physical settings inhabited when reading and writing a book are akin to a paratext, as the book and the environment begin to interpret and inform each other.⁷⁸ It could be suggested that Cavendish sought imagined travels of her own while she lived in England, or that she wanted to understand the kinds of experiences and places her husband visited throughout their marriage. Many scholars synthesise biography, habitat, and book collections. George Hoffman argues that the tower of Michel de Montaigne's château in the Dordogne, furnished with the scholar's extensive library, was a closely integrated part of his dynamic estate

⁷⁷ Brayman Hackel, 'The Countess', 145. For women reading in English, see Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 104, and Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer, ed., *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700* (London: Routledge, 2004), 317.

⁷⁸ Hester Lees-Jeffries, 'Pictures, Places and Spaces: Sidney, Wroth, Wilton House and the *Songe de Poliphile*', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 185-203.

management.⁷⁹ ‘The meaning of books and landscape depended on each other’, Saunders suggests in his study of John and Lucy Robartes’s book collection at Lanhydrock, Cornwall, ‘because the way that John Robartes physically transformed the books which inhabited his library was linked to the way he physically transformed the animals which inhabited the land’.⁸⁰ Similarly, Lady Anne Clifford forges a connection between her books and her home, creating what Stephen Orgel calls a ‘reading diary’ of dates and locations in which reading occurred, an engagement that became ‘significantly locative’.⁸¹

It would be easy to dismiss Cavendish’s interest in international travel texts as being simply the result of an association with her husband and his repeated physical voyages abroad. Yet it doesn’t appear as if the books were shared by husband and wife, or gifted to her by Henry, or that she inherited them after his death. Compared to the joint handwritten ownership mark made by ‘Tho: and Isabella’ Hervey in their copy of Shakespeare’s First Folio, for example, which Smith argues is ‘witness to the private and shared enjoyment of particular texts’, Cavendish’s books appear to be decidedly her own and she publicly declared it as such.⁸² Knowing biographical details about name-writers is not without its dangers: there is always the risk of imposing factors onto readership that might not have been important to that reader. This is particularly true for the early modern period, when we have a great deal more information readily available about men than for women – even wealthy and elite women like Grace Cavendish. This kind of prescriptivism might, at worst, reduce a women’s agency, by seeing her readerly curiosity about the wider world as the consequence of her male relatives’ journeys abroad. Nevertheless, rather than entirely divorcing text from circumstance, when biographical information is used sensitively it can help us get closer to

⁷⁹ George Hoffmann, *Montaigne’s Career* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁸⁰ Saunders, ‘Lanhydrock’s’, 223.

⁸¹ Stephen Orgel, ‘Marginal Maternity: Reading Lady Anne Clifford’s *A Mirror for Magistrates*’, in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 267-289.

⁸² Smith, *Shakespeare’s First Folio*, 63.

answering the tantalising questions surrounding why women read and marked their travel books.

It is also becoming clear that the three key categories of printed international travel books I focus on – worldly descriptions, reflections on journeys, and ancient fictional travels – are not straightforward, and neither is the incomplete evidence we have of their uses and circulations. The marginal notes within them are equally complicated: book history living up to its reputation as an ‘undisciplined discipline’, as Cyndia Susan Clegg pronounced.⁸³ John Dryden’s 1700 *Fables, ancient and modern* can hardly be described as a travel book through and through, with its focus on retelling extracts by Homer and Ovid, as well as Geoffrey Chaucer and Giovanni Boccaccio. But many of the individual stories Dryden reworks originate from larger texts that fall within the remit of travel literature thanks to their recording of fictional journeys. Dryden includes versions of the ‘Palamon *and* Arcite: *or, The Knight’s Tale*’; ‘*The Cock and the Fox: or, the Tale of the Nun’s Priest*’; ‘*The Wife of Bath*’; and ‘*The Character of a Good Parson Imitated*’. All four are originally by Chaucer in his Middle English work, *The Canterbury Tales*, which includes the tales of twenty-four pilgrims on their fictional journey from London to Canterbury – offering a different model of worldly experiences to the first-hand travel accounts I have discussed so far.⁸⁴ Similarly, Dryden interprets stories from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, which chronicles the history of the world through myths from its creation to the deification of Julius Caesar. Dryden rewrites ‘Meleager and Attalanta’ and ‘Bauris and Philemon’ from Ovid’s eighth book, as well as ‘Pigmalion and the Statue’, ‘Ceyx *and* Alcyone’, and ‘Ciniras *and* Myrrha’ from the tenth book; he translates ‘wholly’ the twelfth book; ‘*The Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses*’ are rewritten from the thirteenth book; ‘*Of the Pythagorean Philosophy*’ is revised from book fifteen – all of which can be found in *Fables*.

⁸³ Cyndia Susan Clegg, ‘History of the Book: An Undisciplined Discipline? (Book Review)’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 221-245.

⁸⁴ For more on Boccaccio and Chaucer as travel writers, see Anthony Bale, ‘European Travel Writing in the Middle Ages’, in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016), 158-159.

Dryden's readers could therefore embark upon imagined voyages through his retelling of ancient and medieval travel literature.

Certainly, Dryden's choice of verse spans and expands upon three of my own sub-categories of travel (worldly descriptions, reflections on journeys, and ancient fictional travels); but it is hard to know if contemporary readers reacted to Dryden's undercurrent of travel writing during their encounters with his text. Marginalia would, in theory, be a good place to start determining this; but, unfortunately, marginalia rarely does exactly what one wants it to do. We know that some women did have access to *Fables*, thanks to one woman's handwritten name in the Folger's first edition of Dryden's text. There is a provenance inscription on the title page – 'Elizabeth Duke her Book Aug. ye 30th. 1698' – but this note is not without its problems.⁸⁵ As the Folger's bemused cataloguer exclaimed: '[! - but Dryden's pub[lishing] agreement with [Jacob] Tonson was 20 Mar. 1699]'.⁸⁶ This example falls into the category of book graffiti Brayman Hackel aptly calls 'sassy records of ownership'.⁸⁷ We appear to have found a female reader who backdated her autograph, emphasising the fragility of these kinds of records and our readings of them.

Even though Duke's uses of Dryden's book are unclear, and the rogue date throws into question whether she ever read her copy at all, it is possible to find more solid evidence elsewhere of how translations and re-workings of epic fictional travel journeys were owned, read, and marked by some early modern women. To take a few examples: the Bodleian's first edition of Thomas Hobbes's 1675 translation of Homer's *Odyssey* contains the inked name of Mary Sperman on the back flyleaves, as well as some pen trials.⁸⁸ Jane Stevenson's research at Aberdeen University Library reveals that their 1668 folio of Virgil's complete works contains

⁸⁵ John Dryden, *Fables, ancient and modern; translated into verse, from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer: with original poems* (London: Jacob Tonson, [1700]), Folger D2278.

⁸⁶ 'D22278', *Hamnet: Folger Library Catalog*, Folger Shakespeare Library, creation date unknown, accessed 1 Aug. 2016, <http://hamnet.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=151747>.

⁸⁷ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 158.

⁸⁸ Homer, *Homer's Odyssey*, trans. Tho[mas] Hobbes (London: James Cottrell, 1675), Bodl., Vet. A3 f.594.

provenance notes that state ‘Mary Bowes Junior her Booke 1682’;⁸⁹ and in the Beinecke’s 1553 edition of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, translated into the ‘Scottish metir’ by Gavin Douglas, the names of both Anna Gordon and Janet Williamsone can be found.⁹⁰ Similarly, mock epics about travel were also marked by women: the Bodleian’s 1664 copy of Charles Cotton’s *Scarronides or, Virgile travestie: A mock-poem*, contains the provenance mark of ‘Margareat Sanders’ and an elaborate swirled pattern filling the remainder of the front flyleaf (Figure 32). Worcester College, Oxford, holds an anthology of Roman history with a catchy rhyme inscribed on final printed page: ‘Margarat Mountfort is my name and with this pen I write the same’, adding a personalised quip to an otherwise sincere work of intellectual commentary.⁹¹

Gaining knowledge of the ancient world through reading was an activity encouraged for men of a certain rank and wealth, although reduced educational opportunities meant that



Figure 32. First flyleaf, recto, Charles Cotton, *Scarronides or, Virgile travestie: A mock-poem*, Bodl. 8° P 31(1) Art.BS.

⁸⁹ Virgil, *The works of Publius Virgilius Maro* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1668), AUL, SB f87312 O; qtd. in Jane Stevenson, ‘Reading, Writing and Gender in Early Modern Scotland’, *The Seventeenth Century* 27, no. 3 (2012), 356.

⁹⁰ Virgil, *The xiii. bukes of Eneados of the famous poete Virgill translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottish metir*, trans. Gavin Douglas (London: Printer unknown, 1553), Beinecke, Eliz. 235, Z1r, U3v.

⁹¹ Charles Cotton, *Scarronides or, Virgile travestie: A mock-poem* (London: E. Cotes, 1664), Bodl. 8° P 31(1) Art.BS; Thomas Goodwin, *Romanae historiae anthologia recognita et aucta: An English exposition of the Roman antiquities* (Oxford: Iohn Lichfield, 1633), OWC XXE.7.22.

accessing classical literature in its original languages was not possible for most women during the seventeenth century. Linda Pollock argues this is because parents considered it ‘of little service to a woman’s adult role in life, [since] they did not wish to encourage the masculine facets present in women and they wished to ensure sufficient time would be available to impart the appropriate feminine virtues’. Rather, ‘needlework, French, singing, instruction on the lute and virginals and dancing’ were elite women’s curricula, and if other women in possession of smaller fortunes were to have any education, Biblical study and the reading of household husbandries were thought to be the safest option.⁹² As discussed in Chapter 1, classical ideas were often reiterated in seventeenth-century books aimed at female readers, supplementing and challenging contemporary ideas of women’s travel with ancient theories. The absence of an education in the languages of Latin and Greek for most early modern English women could explain why some women’s libraries are restricted in scope compared to men’s, such as Lady Margaret More’s five-volume collection comprising one birthing manual and four prayer books, compared to her husband’s extensive library in English, Italian, Latin and French.⁹³ Nevertheless, as the frequent appearance of women’s handwritten names in printed international travel books makes clear, a reader’s curiosity could often overrule attempts to impose intellectual prescriptivism on what was to be read. The act of name-writing, Jonathan Goldberg suggests, is both an exhibition of education and, simultaneously, a symbol of the increasingly bureaucratic influence that limited this pedagogical freedom.⁹⁴ These tensions about which books women should or did read, and whether name-writing within these volumes was an autonomous act or one indicating conformity, must be considered when thinking about marks in early printed books.

⁹² Linda Pollock, “‘Teach her to live under obedience’: The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England”, *Continuity and Change* 4, no. 2 (1989), 241, 238.

⁹³ Roberts, ‘Reading in Early-Modern England’, 3.

⁹⁴ Goldberg, *Writing Matter*.

In their seminal study of Gabriel Harvey's reading habits, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine argue that scholarly reading in early modern England was not passive but an activity 'intended to *give rise to something else*' (their italics).⁹⁵ But it is not always possible to determine the exact '*outcome* of reading' (their italics), as Grafton and Jardine emphasise, when studying women's handwritten names alone, and the notion of 'active readership' – which ties into a romantic notion about personhood – is an equally uneasy model to apply here.⁹⁶ Since we know so little about the lives, education, rank, and wealth of most of these women name-writers, there seems to be little evidence to suggest that physical experiences of international travel meant readers were more likely to encounter texts on a similar subject. Women's handwritten names in printed international travel books should be interpreted as a means of generating a limitless number of feelings towards global explorations, be that contemplation, inspiration, or aspiration, while these marks provide the most simple and common type of evidence to reveal a woman's direct textual agency.

Printed marking of travel books

So far in this chapter I have debated name-writing's linguistic potential, exploring some of the uses of travel books and their complex relationship to bibliographic detail, as well as assessing how these marks sit alongside other types of marginal annotation. In this final section I consider the duality of handwritten names, as both verbal *and* non-verbal marks that are simultaneously written *and* drawn. I compare them and other types of patterns: first, with women's marginal doodles then, with printers' flowers used by women stationers, exploring the tensions between print and manuscript. In doing so, I continue to focus on a variety of supposedly small, seemingly insignificant, and often overlooked marks women made on

⁹⁵ Grafton and Jardine, 'Studied for Action', 30.

⁹⁶ Grafton and Jardine, 'Studied for Action', 40

printed international travel texts in order to further our understanding of how readers' imagined travels were shaped.

There are thought to have been vast numbers of partially literate women – who could read but not write, or could only write their own name – thanks to the prioritisation of certain literary skills over others in early modern education. Studying name-writing is therefore one way to learn about the practices of a particular social demographic of female readers who are otherwise difficult to access. This supports the work of scholars like Diane Willen, Margaret Spufford, and Keith Thomas, who refute the calculations made by David Cressy in the 1970s that the people who signed their names in witness statements – which includes a broad social demographic – were able to both read and write.⁹⁷ While reading was taught to younger school children, writing was only introduced in the curriculum at a later age, creating a bias against those who could not commit to a lengthy period of education.⁹⁸ This means that Cressy's statistics, as Tessa Watt points out, should be interpreted as minimal figures rather than certainties.⁹⁹

Similarly, the appearance of handwritten names in printed books could reveal a type of literacy that attends to reading rather than extensive formal writing skills. When a book user's written skills are questioned, and this is very often the case considering so many texts have no other verbal manuscript marks, the handwritten name's symbolic quality must be recognised. Tim Ingold discusses a similar phenomenon in his seminal study of lines, using A. A. Milne's classic 1928 work *The House at Pooh Corner* as an example. Three sticks are assembled by Eeyore. Although Piglet has no idea 'what this is', the donkey proudly

⁹⁷ Diane Willen, 'Women and Religion in Early Modern England', in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*, ed. Sherrin Marshall (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 144; Margaret Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Autobiographers', *Social History* 4, no. 3 (1979): 407-435; Keith Thomas, 'The meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 103, and David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 128-129.

⁹⁸ Carol Pal discusses women's curricula in *Republic of Women: Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. Chapter 6.

⁹⁹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7.

recognises his handiwork as being from the alphabet, declaring: '[i]t's an A'.¹⁰⁰ Ingold asks: 'at what stage does he cease to draw letters and begin instead to write?'.¹⁰¹ Similarly hybrid in nature, written names should be likened to non-verbal marginalia such as doodles, scribbles, crosses, and lines, particularly considering the haphazard or indeed entirely absent formal education most early modern women had. This shift enables names to be read as a public expression of identity rather than simply biography, and placed within a complex network of non-verbal marks.

Returning once again to the British Library's 1634 copy of Raleigh's *The historie of the world*, marked by Jane Draw, the similarities between handwritten names and doodles can be realised.¹⁰² Turn the volume's pages and a detailed motif comprising of interlinked lines and dots is repeated throughout, in what can be hypothesised as being the same hand as Draw's name. This disparately positioned yet discursive woven symbol provides a variation upon a theme, as each pen trial is slightly different in length but built with largely the same components (Figures 33 and 34). Undoubtedly, a distinction could be made between doodles and written names, as types of linear marks from the categories of drawing and writing respectively. But there is a case to be made for blurring the boundary that separates the two, and recognise these marks as communicative expressions of female creativity during a period with low rates of full literacy. Draw's varied marks become a material mode of continuance and return within the text when moving between its pages, as she appears to enact the metaphorical potential of her surname through drawing. Fleming's re-evaluation of what constituted 'literature' is useful to return to here, as she argues that graffiti has all its necessary and defining characteristics, including 'playfulness, discursivity, imagination and self-display'.¹⁰³ The values of objects are 'determined and secured not in themselves, but by the

¹⁰⁰ A. A. Milne, *The House at Pooh Corner* (London: Methuen, 1928), 86.

¹⁰¹ Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007), 120-121.

¹⁰² Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, BL 581.k.13.

¹⁰³ Fleming, *Graffiti*, 144.

authority they represent', Fleming argues, and that inscriptional action is when 'the maker registered itself in matter'.¹⁰⁴ Rather than considering how useful marks are to individual scholarly agendas, where verbal marginalia so often takes priority, patterns must also be studied thanks to the value bestowed upon them by their creators. Draw's motifs are not simply ornamental; these planned, interlocked doodles become a series of signposts that plot a route through Raleigh's text and, at the same time, clearly demarcate its female reader.

Nevertheless, suspecting poor literacy levels from the name-writer is not a requirement when recognising a name's symbolic quality. Nowadays, when we write our name the spelling is fixed, thanks to habit and the cultural standardisation of words, meaning minimal concentration is required. But writing names was a more creative process in the early modern period. Although the proliferation of printed texts slowly began to introduce a standard system, there was still considerable orthographic variation in print and manuscript, leading Samuel Johnson to declare in his 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language* that general spelling had been 'to this time unsettled and fortuitous'.¹⁰⁵ William Shakespeare, most famously of all, used two different spellings of his surname in his will (as well as variants in other sources).¹⁰⁶ But so too did Cavendish, as I discussed earlier, who used her books to test versions of her name (Figures 27, 28, and 29). While always spelling 'Grace' in the same way, her attempts at the marital surname differ, trying 'Cavendish' (as the family is now commonly referred) and 'Cavendisch' in Lopes's text, and 'Cavendyshe' on the title pages of both volumes.¹⁰⁷ Having been a Cavendish for more than thirty years before either book was printed, it was hardly a new way for her to self-identify; consequently, name-writing was not an automatic motion and perhaps expresses a political component of resistance within her

¹⁰⁴ Fleming, *Graffiti*, 114.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A Social History* (London: University College London Press, 1999), 242-280.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Barber, Joan Beal, and Philip Shaw, *The English Language: A Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 213.

¹⁰⁷ Lopes, *A report of the kingdom of Congo*, OSJC HB4/3.a.5.21(1), and Acosta, *The naturall and morall*, OQC Y.h.18.

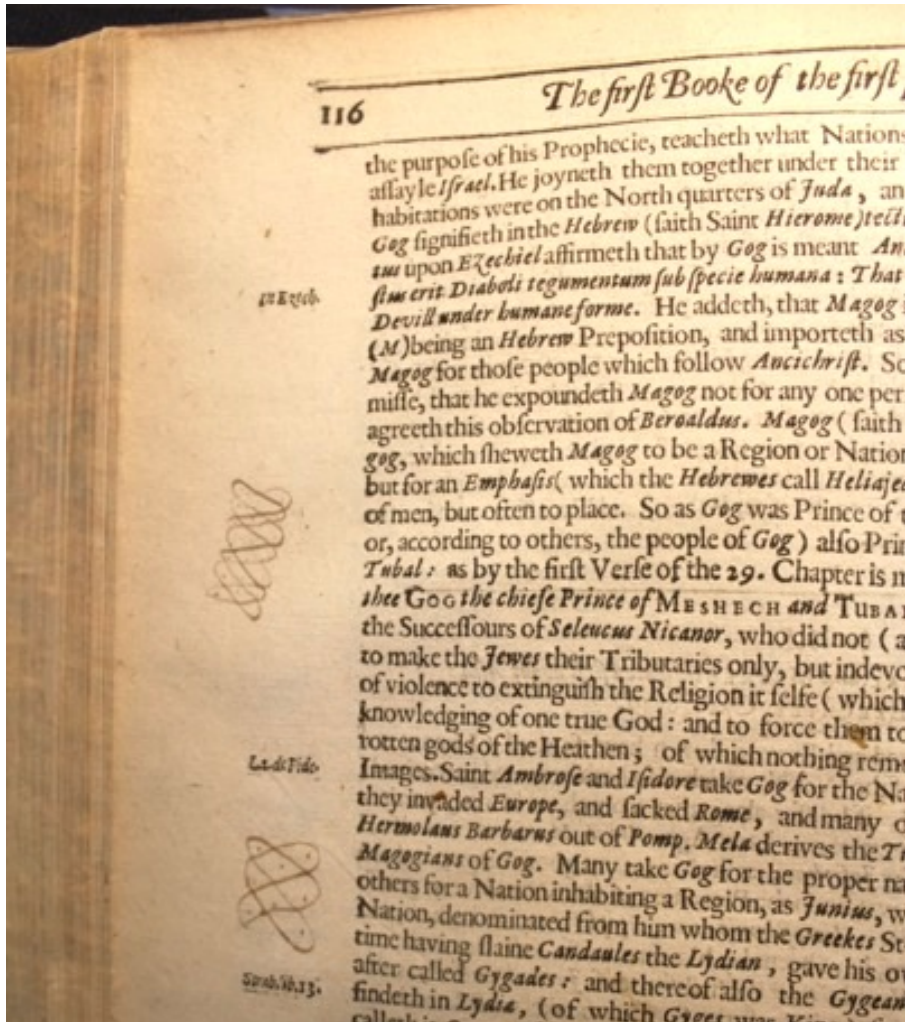


Figure 33. Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, BL 581.k.13, 116.

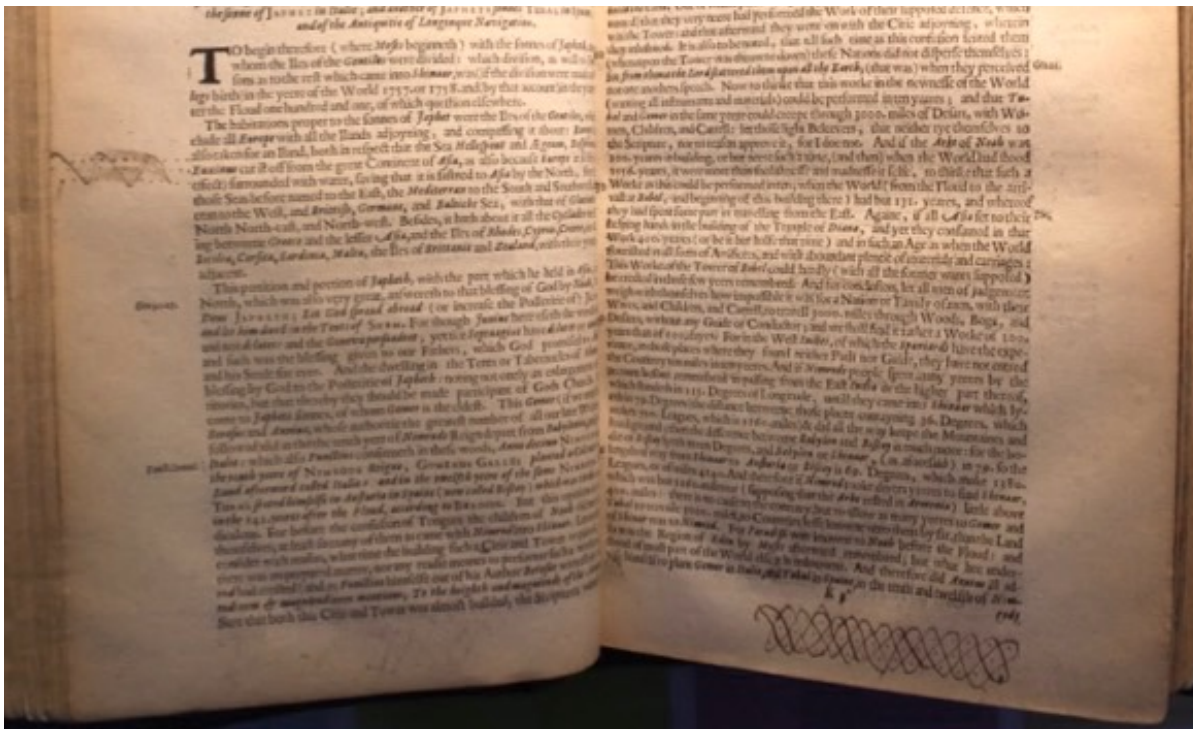


Figure 34. Walter Raleigh, *The historie of the world*, BL 581.k.13, 112-113.

domestic restlessness. ‘To complete the pattern is not to take a line for a walk but rather to engage in a process of construction or assembly’, Ingold remarks, ‘in which every linear segment serves as a joint, welding together the elements of pattern into a totality of higher order’.¹⁰⁸ Cavendish’s spelling trials comprise highly controlled gestures born from deliberate decisions, comparable to Draw’s detailed marginal patterns, as well as the careful act of construction or assembly Ingold describes. Even when the name-writer could read and write extensively (as is made clear in other documents by Cavendish’s hand, namely her letters), to mark a printed book in this way is akin to the creative processes of drawing.¹⁰⁹

When considering the written name as a verbal and visual annotation, useful comparisons can be made with other printed patterns in books and the stationers that made them. William Sheares was, according to Linda Levy Peck, ‘a prolific London bookseller’ and owned two shops, but he also commissioned the publication of books.¹¹⁰ After drawing his last breath in 1662, William’s business did not die with him thanks to Margaret Sheares, probably his wife, who continued its management until 1671 (after which she presumably died too). Every text marked with Margaret Sheares’s name dates from after her husband’s death, in keeping with the tendency remarked upon by Maureen Bell whereby women’s names ‘occur in book-trade sources only during the few years (sometimes months) between marriages’.¹¹¹ But it seems logical to suggest the pair worked side by side, rather than Margaret learning the trade from scratch after his death since, as Martha W. Driver suggests in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the wife was ‘generally invisible’ in the printing business despite working ‘in close partnership with her husband or male relative’.¹¹² Between 1663 and 1671, Margaret was responsible for the printing of at least twelve texts; while ten

¹⁰⁸ Ingold, *Lines*, 74.

¹⁰⁹ Folger, Cavendish-Talbot, MS X.d.428, fols. 7, 8.

¹¹⁰ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 240.

¹¹¹ Maureen Bell, ‘Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51’, *Publishing History* 26 (1989), 5.

¹¹² Martha W. Driver, ‘Women Printers and the Page, 1477-1541’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 73 (1998), 139.

editions of these had been previously published by her husband, two were new out of her Bedford Street printers (see the table below):

Title	Author	Margaret's editions	William's editions
<i>A box of spikenard</i>	Thomas Warmstry	between 1666 and 1671 ¹¹³	1660
<i>A briefe description of the whole world</i>	George Abbot	1664	1634 1635 1636 1642 1650 1656
<i>A choice manuell</i>	Elizabeth Grey	1663 1667 1671	1653 1654 1659 1661
<i>A divine antidote against the plague</i>	John Featley	1665	No edition produced
<i>A true gentlemans delight</i>	Elizabeth Grey	1671	1653
<i>Accademical discourses</i>	Giovanni Francesco Loredano	1664	No edition produced
<i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i>	Walter Raleigh	1664 1669	1657 1661
<i>The prerogative of parliaments in England, proved</i>	Walter Raleigh	1669	1661
<i>The unlawfulness of subjects taking up arms against their soveraigne</i>	Dudley Diggs	1664	1662

The extent to which William and Margaret Sheares were as much booksellers as they were publishers is unclear. Although the trades of booksellers, stationers, publishers, and printers have since become distinct, these roles were not clearly divided in the seventeenth century. ‘The term “publisher” would have been unfamiliar’, Helen Smith argues, meaning that ‘[e]ither the printer or bookseller could take on the role [...], determining what was to be printed and venturing the costs of the impression’.¹¹⁴ Studying imprints – information on the

¹¹³ I have not come across any extant copies of this text and only know of it from Robert Clavell’s *A catalogue of all the books printed in England since the dreadful fire of London in 1666, to the end of Michaelmas term, 1672* (London: S. Simmons, 1673), 22. Since Margaret Sheares probably died in 1671, I reduce Clavell’s range by a year.

¹¹⁴ Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 94. Smith also cites Peter Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997), 383-422.

title page naming printer and seller, where it was produced, and when – gives the impression that this husband and wife duo took on very different roles when they were each in charge of the business. Consider the four editions of *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh* in chronological order of their printing dates. The first imprint reads: ‘Printed for William Sheares Iunior [...] 1657’.¹¹⁵ The second: ‘Printed for William Sheares [...] 1661’.¹¹⁶ It was then produced by Margaret Sheares in 1664 and again in 1669, both times with identical wording and punctuation: ‘Printed by Iohn Redmayne for Margaret Sheares’.¹¹⁷ As I have already suggested, it is likely that Margaret was involved in the production of the first two editions in some unacknowledged way; but a pointed shift appears in the latter two editions by mentioning Redmayne.

This feature is not an anomaly amid her corpus: all but four of Margaret’s texts specifically mention male printers in their paratexts, including Thomas Mabb, Iohn Redmayne, or Augustine Mathewes. If interpreted as inherently commercial, as Michael Saenger suggests of imprints generally, these examples of front matter could show how Margaret required more help from a printer to produce these editions than her husband had previously, perhaps marking out her role as a bookseller and nothing more.¹¹⁸ But it is worth questioning whether these phrases were within or beyond the control of women in the book trade. As Sonia Massai has noted about editorial pledges in contemporary dramatic paratexts, untangling individual textual contributions can be impossible.¹¹⁹ Men’s names might have been required to legitimise women’s textual authority, even if their contribution was minor. This imprint strategy might help fulfil readers’ expectations about the appropriate roles for

¹¹⁵ Walter Raleigh, *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: William Sheares, 1657), title page.

¹¹⁶ Walter Raleigh, *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: William Sheares, 1661), title page.

¹¹⁷ Walter Raleigh, *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: Iohn Redmayne for Margaret Sheares, 1664), title page, and Walter Raleigh, *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: Iohn Redmayne for Margaret Sheares, 1669), title page.

¹¹⁸ Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006).

¹¹⁹ Sonia Massai, ‘Editorial Pledges in Early Modern Dramatic Paratexts’, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Smith and Wilson, 91-106.

women, or alter the reception of the improvements and shortcomings that Margaret made to her new editions.

It is impossible to exactly pinpoint the agency behind textual decisions; but even if it was not her hand setting the type, the books printed between 1662 and 1671 were at least overseen by Margaret and, therefore, the differences between editions should be considered. During her time in charge of the business, there were recurrent themes in texts she produced – namely, that printed books about global travel often feature in her small corpus, and that she published the works of authors with strong international ties. Three of her twelve books were by Raleigh and hers was the first edition of Loredano’s text in English, translated out of Italian. She also produced *A briefe description of the whole world* by Abbot, which I will take as my focus. Did the social unease surrounding women and travel, as discussed in Chapter 1, mean that male printers’ names featured on Margaret’s title pages as if to chaperone her during the production of texts about global journeys?¹²⁰ Perhaps the fact that nearly half of her texts have a global content indicates her personal preference for setting the type for this kind of literature, turning private pleasure into a business venture. What is more likely, however, is that the theme was the result of her professional decision-making; that Margaret’s selection of texts to publish was based on her understanding of the book market and its trends, and so she printed her texts according to the demands of a readership who clearly enjoyed embarking upon imagined travels.

George Abbot’s *A briefe description of the whole world* describes a broad selection of monarchies, empires, kingdoms, and oceanic geographies, with some chapters on specific countries and others being about more general topographical areas (such as ‘Of the Northern Ilands’). There are several key paratextual differences between Margaret’s edition and William’s six, and I will investigate printed flowers that run throughout this text about

¹²⁰ Only once does Margaret Sheares include another woman printer on her title page: Gertrude Dawson (fl.1649-1661). But this text is not in a travel book – rather, a household manual. See Elizabeth Grey, *A choice manuell* (London: Printed by Gertrude Dawson and sold by Margaret Sheares, 1667).

international travel.¹²¹ Besides the woodcut letter on page one, an ornate “T” for “The” that begins her 1664 edition (Figure 35), no other woodcut letters are used by Margaret.¹²² This is unlike most of her husband’s editions of Abbot’s text. In William’s first two editions, dating from 1634 and 1635, the printer uses a woodcut letter at the beginning of each subsection to introduce the new countries of Abbot’s discussion, so that each edition contains thirty-five in total.¹²³ Woodcut letters are used more sparingly in his 1636 edition, featuring only eight times,¹²⁴ and similarly, in his fourth and fifth editions dating from 1642 and 1650, William uses eight again, although they demarcate different textual passages to his 1636 edition.¹²⁵ In William’s final edition, from 1656, he uses only one woodcut letter, just as Margaret would in her edition eight years later, although husband and wife chose different patterned blocks (Figures 35 and 36).¹²⁶ By raising awareness of the paratextual codes used throughout these editions of Abbot’s text, Margaret appears to resist many of the material conventions that had gone before her. Her single use of a woodcut letter in the travel book makes its rare presence more pronounced; her precision during the carefully calibrated process of pressing the inked block onto the blank paper achieves a greater clarity in her patterns of fauna than those produced by William in his 1556 version. These printers’ physical relationships with type, woodcut letters, and printing presses helped make the text they imagined producing become a reality and this would, in turn, help to guide readers on textual journeys of their own through Abbot’s description of the world.

¹²¹ William H. Sherman, “The beginning of “The End”: Terminal paratext and the birth of print culture”, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Smith and Wilson, 65-88. Sherman challenges the founder of the term’s solely prefatory applications, from Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹²² George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Margaret Sheares, 1664), 1.

¹²³ George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: William Sheares, 1634), and George Abbott, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: William Sheares, 1635).

¹²⁴ George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: T. H[arper] and are to be sold by Wil. Sheares, 1636), 1, 40, 54, 91, 102, 186, 312, 342.

¹²⁵ George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: B. Alsop for J. M and are to be sold by W. Sheares, 1642), 1, 205, 231, 235, 240, 279, 294, 321, and George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: B. Alsop, and are to be sold by VVilliam Sheares, 1650), 1, 205, 231, 235, 240, 279, 294, 321.

¹²⁶ George Abbott, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: W. Sheares, 1656), 1.

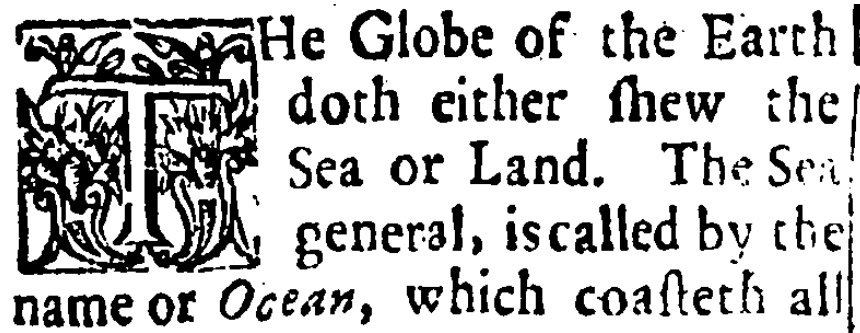


Figure 35. George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed for Margaret Sheares, 1664), 1. Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

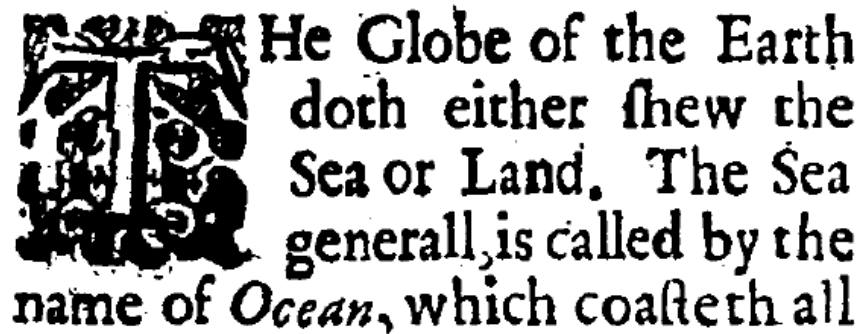


Figure 36. George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed for W. Sheares, 1656), 1. Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

Studying Margaret and her husband's uses of woodcut letters is a key way to distinguish between their editions of Abbot's text, although another difference can be found in their contrasting approaches to printed flowers or borders. Margaret's 1664 title page does not have a printed floral border and is instead outlined by a simple double line framing formation (Figure 37). Contrastingly, William's 1642, 1650, and 1656 editions have elaborate borders that incorporate multiple patterns, varied fleuron formations, and occasional reuse of the same designs (Figures 38, 39, and 40). William's earlier editions from 1634 and 1635 are different again, since they don't have intricate borders and instead feature centralised single spot flowers (Figures 41 and 42). Yet his 1636 edition has neither borders nor flowers, meaning that the author's name and profession appear in a larger font size and dominate the centre of his title page (Figure 43). Unlike woodcut letters, which William gradually used less frequently over time, the marking of his text with printed borders did not similarly diminish. There might have been practicalities at work that determined the ornamental resources available to both Margaret and William. Perhaps Margaret sought inspiration for her title page

from her husband's later, simpler designs, but she did not directly copy his layout during her edition of Abbot's text. Typographic variants include her font size, use of lines to demarcate the text, use of italics and capital letters – all of which differ from his 1636 edition (Figures 37 and 43). It is possible that printers selected flowers not simply as markers of professional competence, to adequately separate passages of text or keep the pages clean from unwanted ink. '[V]isual forms of a text are part of a text's meaning', Fleming argues in her study of printed ornaments, since they 'crucially organize our response to its context'.¹²⁷ Similarly, Margaret and William might have used their woodcut letters to shape the imagined travels of their readers, making alterations to the physical constructs of Abbot's global description to control the book's aesthetic effects.

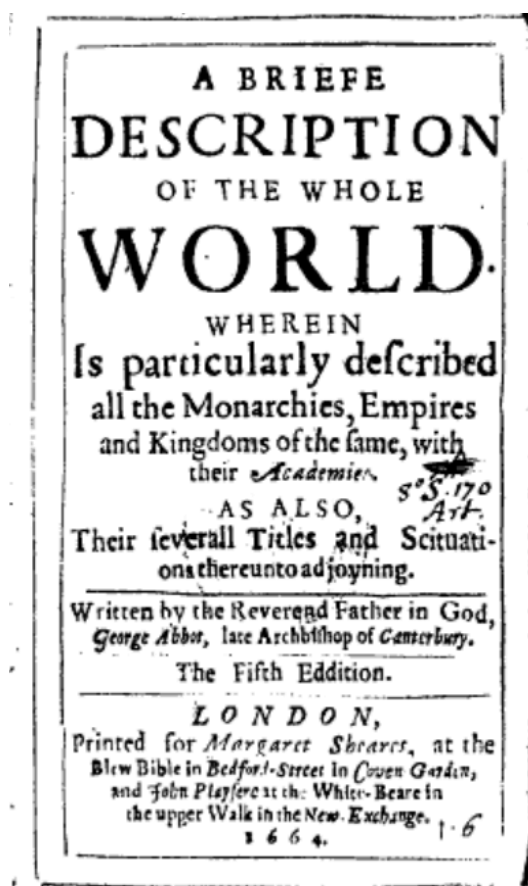


Figure 37. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed for Margaret Sheares, 1664). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

¹²⁷ Juliet Fleming, 'How Not to Look at a Printed Flower', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 2 (2008), 351.

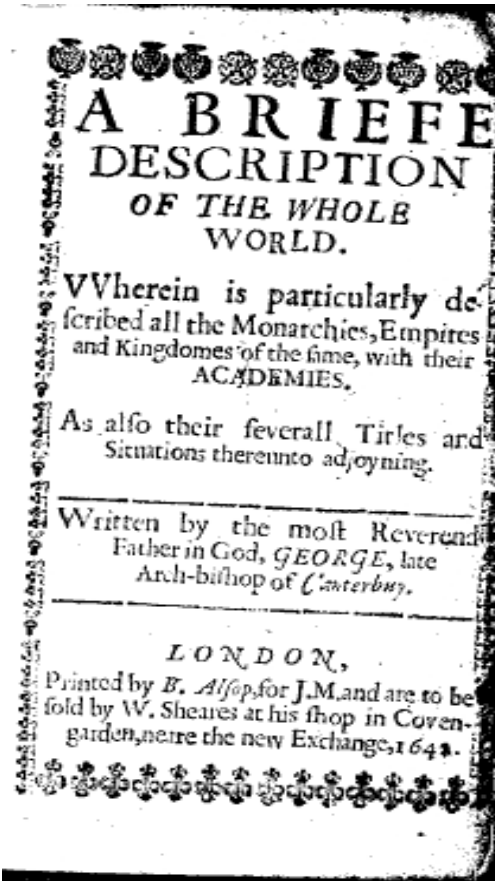


Figure 38. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed by B. Alsop for J. M and are to be sold by W. Sheares, 1642). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

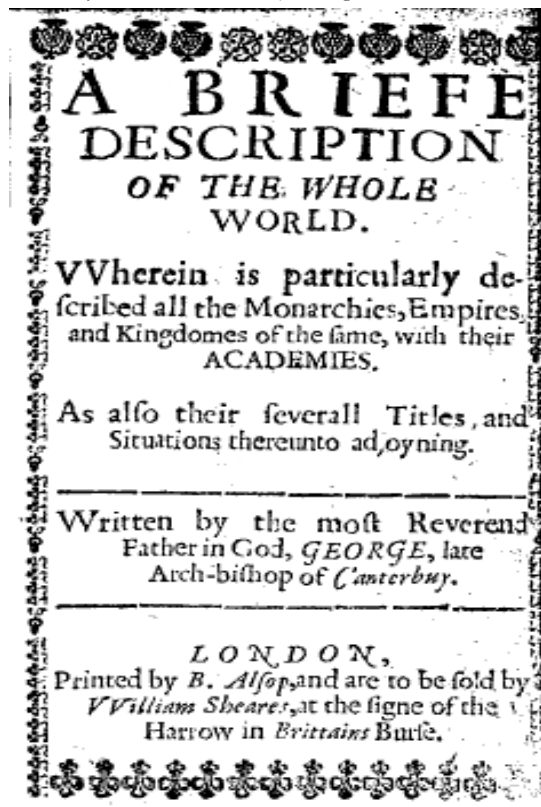


Figure 39. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed by B. Alsop, and are to be sold by VVilliam Sheares, 1650). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

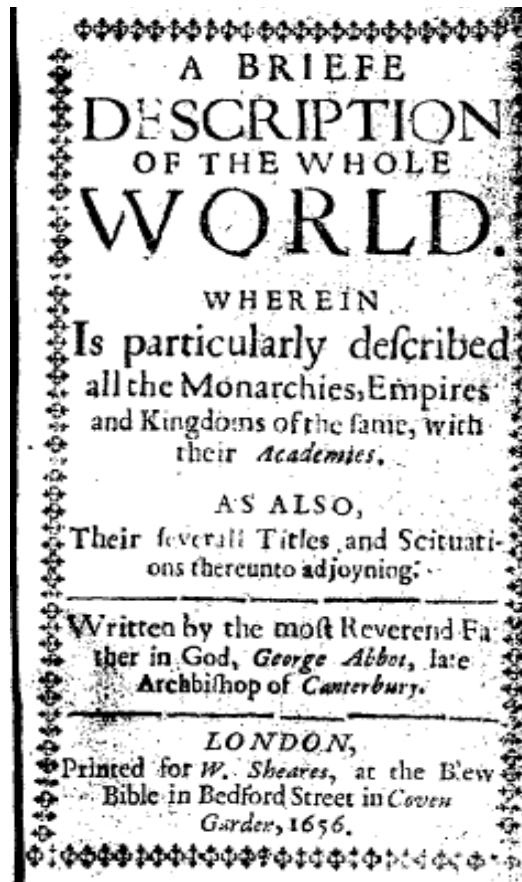


Figure 40. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed for W. Sheares, 1656). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

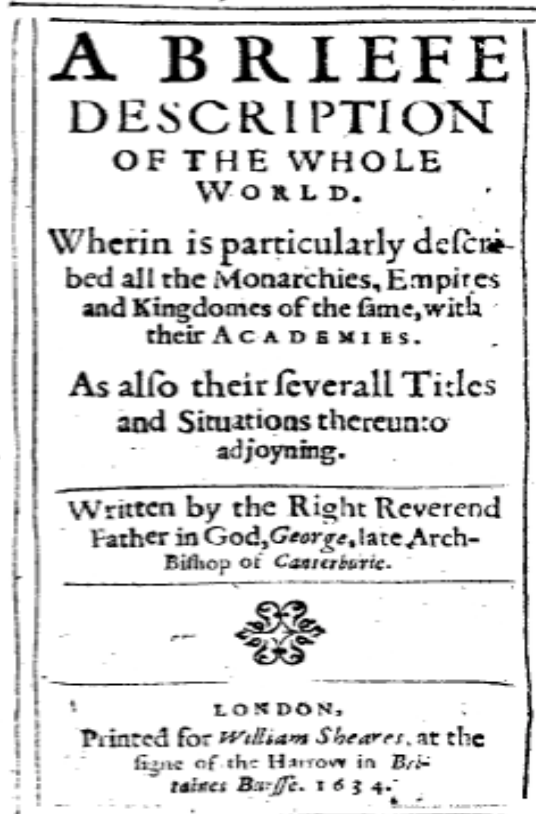


Figure 41. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed [by Thomas Harper] for William Sheares, 1634). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

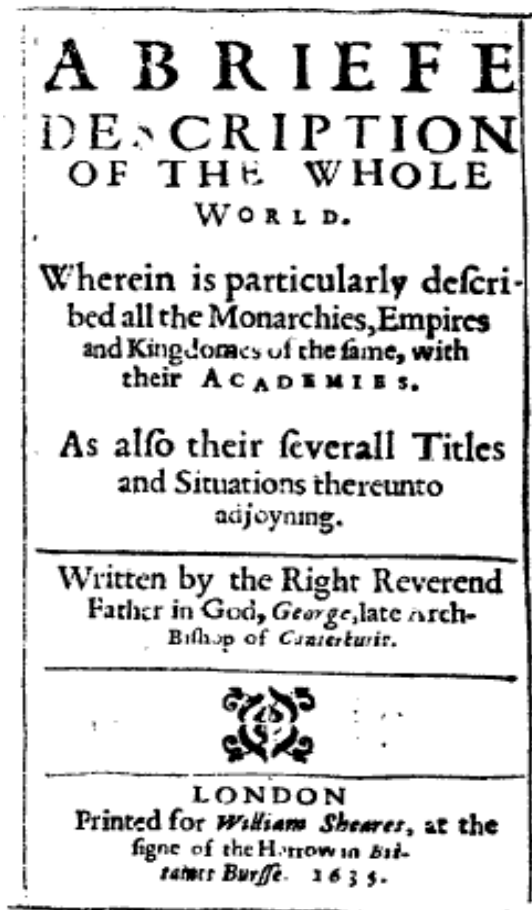


Figure 42. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed for William Sheares, 1635). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

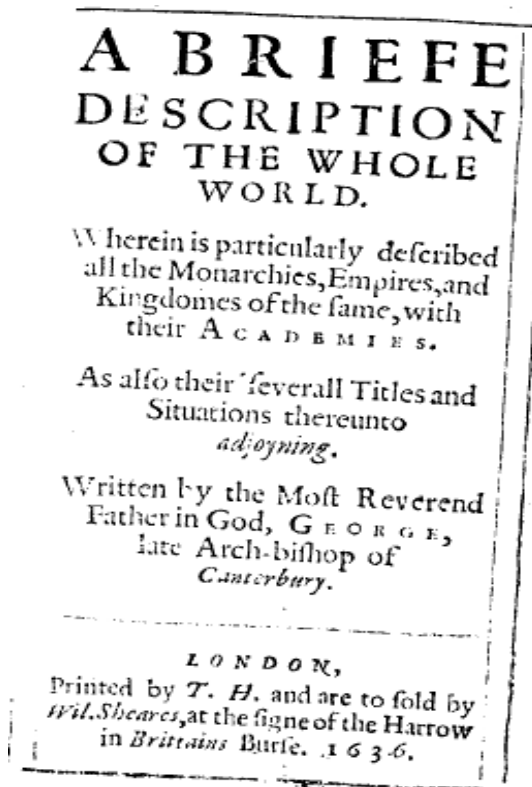

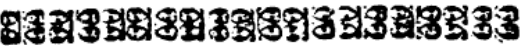

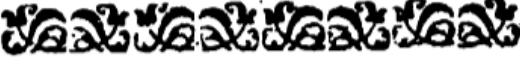
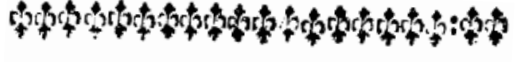
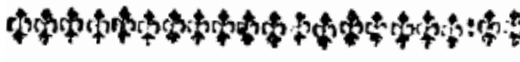

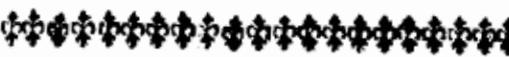




Figure 43. Title page, George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world* (London: Printed by T. H[arper] and are to be sold by Wil. Sheares, 1636). Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

Other discrepancies in Margaret and William’s ornamentation can be found in their headpieces, which consist of printed flowers typically situated at the top of the page above noteworthy passages of text. The first of these can be found on Abbot’s opening page above ‘A briefe description of the whole world’, and the second appears at the end of the volume above an appendix listing the universities in Europe. All seven editions by William and Margaret have headpieces in these two locations, and nowhere else in their editions are these particular ornaments used:

Edition date	Ornamentation (all page 1)	List of universities ornamentation (pages specified)
1634	 <p>A BRIEFE DE- SCRIPTION OF the whole World.</p>	<p>329</p>  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>
1635	 <p>A BRIEFE DE- SCRIPTION OF the whole World.</p>	<p>350</p>  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>
1636	<p>A BRIEFE DESCRIPTION OF THE WHOLE WORLD.</p>	<p>350</p>  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>
1642	 <p>A BRIEFE DESCRIPTION OF the whole World.</p>	<p>329</p>  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>
1650	 <p>A BRIEFE DESCRIPTION OF the whole World.</p>	<p>329</p>  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>

1656	 <p><i>A Briefe Description of the wbole World.</i></p>	329  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>
1664	 <p><i>A Briefe Description of the wbole World.</i></p>	338  <p>UNIVERSITIES.</p>

William occasionally uses the same woodcut for his headpieces, as can be seen above the universities list in his 1642, 1650, and 1656 editions, as well as the 1642 and 1650 title pages. But all other editions use different patterns, meaning that the flowers could be ‘read’ as signifying a creative freedom enjoyed by husband and wife respectively.¹²⁸ The bond between word and image is further strengthened by Fleming, W. A. Dwiggin, Frances Meynell, and Stanley Morison, who discuss how setting type letters on the printing press is akin to the setting of type ornaments.¹²⁹ Since headpieces do not feature elsewhere in either Margaret or William’s editions of Abbot’s text, it appears as though the visual and verbal became inseparable for printers during the composition stages.

A simple definition of printed flowers would be to call them an arrangement of lines that are systematically placed throughout texts, much like the repeated appearance of manuscript names and doodles. Flowers also ‘test [...] the spatial and temporal limits of this experience of language’, as Fleming suggests, and prompt questions to be asked about how symbols should be read if the typical direction of reading from left to right that texts in English often require is not necessary.¹³⁰ The couple’s uses of different flowers supports

¹²⁸ Hazel Wilkinson, ‘Fleuron: A Database of Eighteenth-Century Printers’ Ornaments’, *Fleuron*, 2016, accessed 3 Feb. 2017, <https://fleuron.lib.cam.ac.uk>.

¹²⁹ Fleming, ‘How not to look’, 355; W. A. Dwiggin, ‘Casllon Flowers: An Appreciation’, paper read before the Society of Printers, Boston, 1913; qtd. in Daniel Berkeley Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use; A Study in Survivals*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1962), vol. 2, 106-107, and Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison, ‘Printers’ Flowers and Arabesques’, *The Fleuron: A Journal of Typography* 1 (1923), 3.

¹³⁰ Fleming, ‘How not to look’, 351, 358.

Smith's assertion that printing houses were 'site[s] in which texts could change', and Massai's claim that stationers produced texts that they deemed to be perfect, rather than necessarily taking us further away from the author's original.¹³¹ Margaret's printed flowers show women's marks as being less reflective of the private traces of personal expression, and more that they are expressly inputted to dictate the way the public should read and mark travel books.

Ornaments help to decide the physicalities of travel books and change the experiences of readers. Margaret shows how women who might not have had the means or opportunity to physically travel could construct the imagined travels of readers through her printing of Abbot's text. Ornaments set the paratextual bounds of the travel text, meaning that printers were responsible for setting the limits of readers' physical experiences with the book, despite hoping to provoke a boundless imagined travel experience by reading a text about the world's history.

'[R]eaders, in fact, never confront abstract, idealized texts detached from any materiality', Roger Chartier argues. 'They hold in their hands or perceive objects and forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading [...] and consequently the possible comprehension of the text'.¹³² My chapter shows that decorative designs were customised by printers and this, in turn, was intended to stimulate and accommodate human use of travel books. By studying how lines were integrated into, and became integral to, printed books, it is possible to align the women's hand inking typeface and the women's hand penning marginalia. Much like Margaret Sheares's use of printed ornaments in her editions, Jane Draw's repeated manuscript patterns, or Grace Cavendish's repeated handwritten names, these women made their own distinctive marks as they journeyed around and upon international travel texts that would, in turn, help to guide future readers on their textual

¹³¹ Smith, 'Grossly Material Things', 87, and Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹³² Roger Chartier, 'General Introduction: Print Culture', in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier (Oxford: Polity, 1989), 4.

journeys. The variety of readers and their manuscript responses to printed international travel books suggests that modes of exchange are not simply inseparable from, but instead are entirely *dependent* on, the textual space in which they take place. Studying readers' and printers' marks together is meaningful because both function on a non-verbal level that has typically been overlooked and trivialised. This pairing also allows us to attend to 'the textual manifestation of gender at all stages of literary production', as Danielle Clarke requests. When women's names appear in travel books, as the creators or readers of these texts, their personal marks of agency must be interpreted as a way of changing the imagined travels of subsequent readers.¹³³

Conclusion

'A Learned Woman is thought to be a Comet, that bodes Mischief when ever it appears', Bathsua Makin remarked in her 1673 *Essay to revive the ancient education of gentlewomen*.¹³⁴ The frequent appearance of handwritten names, doodles, and flowers are just a few traces of women's reading and production of literary meaning that we should remark upon. My study into individual cases of women's graffiti in printed travel books shows signs of their 'Learned [...] Mischief' in a genre that was not considered appropriate for them to read, and how their marks of use supported a public function.¹³⁵ It adds to the growing body of work finding alternative ways that women marked books, such as Franklin B. Williams's index of dedications, Smith's study of women and book production, or McKitterick's analysis of post-mortem inventories by and regarding women.¹³⁶ Print and manuscript need not be separated: as Margaret Sheares's books indicate, evidence for female literary experiences can be found

¹³³ Danielle Clarke, 'Nostalgia, Anachronism, and the Editing of Early Modern Women's Texts', *TEXT* 15 (2003), 190.

¹³⁴ Bathsua Makin, *Essay to revive the ancient education of gentlewomen* (London: J. D., 1673), A2r.

¹³⁵ Vives, *Instructio[n]*, F2v, and Mulcaster, *Positions vberin*, 177.

¹³⁶ Franklin B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962); Smith, 'Grossly Material Things', and McKitterick, 'Women and Their Books', 366-369.

from the moment the pages of type are being set, where material decisions cater to potential readers, some of whom left manuscript evidence of their involvement behind. The physical and intellectual effects of books that were felt and created by women should not be underestimated, particularly when the topic at hand – international travel – was often discouraged in practice. ‘Texts, rather than being the product of a solitary author, transmitted direct from fertile mind to well-stocked bookshelf, are the products of numerous processes populated by diverse persons’, Smith wryly notes, meaning that although the international travel accounts I have observed were initially based on the physical transatlantic voyages experienced by men, these textual journeys are far from complete thanks to their construction and reception by women.¹³⁷

The abundance of extant international travel books containing women’s handwritten names from the seventeenth century paved the way for the genre’s widespread popularity in the eighteenth century. Travel features increasingly appeared in the burgeoning genre of the periodical and travel books were more popular than novels; not only were they more frequently borrowed from lending libraries, but novelists often ‘tried to capitalize on the contemporary popularity of travel books by suggesting the similarity of their wares’ to this genre, according to J. Paul Hunter.¹³⁸ Many eighteenth-century women read travel literature, as Robin Jarvis explains, enjoying its ‘narrative pleasure, or the pleasures of novelty, or the pleasures of emotional engagement with the protagonists [...] – and not just satisfaction at imbibing the latest advances in geographical knowledge’.¹³⁹ Seventeenth-century women’s

¹³⁷ Smith, ‘*Grossly Material Things*’, 2.

¹³⁸ J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York, NY: Norton, 1990), 353. On eighteenth-century lending libraries and travel narratives, see Paul Kaufman, *Libraries and their Users: Collected Papers in Library History* (London: Library Association, 1969), and Shef Rogers, ‘Enlarging the Prospects of Happiness: Travel Reading and Travel Writing’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 5: 1695-1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 781-790. For introductions into eighteenth-century travel writing, consult Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), and Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, ‘Introduction’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-16.

¹³⁹ Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel: Expeditions and Tours in North America, 1760-1840* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 31.

graffiti in travel books is similarly indicative of readers who used this literature for a range of reasons, proudly embossing it with a name or ornamentation, rather than as a defacement of the surface that the word 'graffiti' denotes today. As Helen Smith suggests, 'the early modern book and its texts can be reconceptualized not as male- or female-authored but as the interface at which numerous agents coincide, in complex and varied ways'.¹⁴⁰ Marks in printed travel books should not be considered as peripheral to the author's words, such is implied by the terms *marginaka* and *paratext*. Inked from quills, type, and woodcuts, these marks of female agency were often 'mindfully' done, echoing the ambiguous phrase that might have been written by Elizabeth Smith with which I began.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, 'Grossly Material Things', 4.

Chapter 3. When Life gives you Lemons: Agency and Importation in Almanacs

Let us begin with the untidy scene of an unremarkable meal. In what has become a famous moment of pause carved from an otherwise ordinary dinner, the Dutch Golden Age painter Pieter Claesz provides a masterful example of a still life in 1630s Haarlem. A small loaf of white bread lies untouched upon a white table cloth, which is deeply creased as if unfolded especially for the mundane occasion. A large pewter jug dominates the right side of the composition, and three plates of the same alloy are scattered across the table top which, although plain in design and increasingly affordable commodities in the early modern period, capture the eye thanks to their polished surfaces.¹ The jug sits within pouring distance of a drinking glass, half filled with white wine; yet the presence of a sliced lemon – believed to reduce alcohol’s potency – suggests that the vessel was intended as manifestation of medicinal moderation rather than gustatory excess.² The apparent disarray of the open book, the scattered shells of nuts, and the casual cascade of citrus peel propped up against a plate, suggest a prior human presence. There is, after all, no sign of the portion of pie that has been greedily cut from the crust, its diner having left the serving spoon precariously balanced on the pastry while its mincemeat innards ooze. Like the vanitas tradition, where sensuous consumables are underscored by moralistic warnings against empty pleasures, the seemingly common nature of the goods in Claesz’s allegorical painting is more complex than first appears. Despite the dining scene’s casual façade, the artist’s careful selection of these domestic objects should not go unnoticed (Figure 44).

The remains of this meal are thoroughly seasoned with desirable foreign goods.

Blown from green ‘waldglas’ (‘forest glass’), and decorated with ‘prunts’ (additional droplets),

¹ For more on pewter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see John Hatcher and T. C. Barker, *A History of British Pewter* (London: Longman, 1974).

² One such example is ‘Could Possett’, a beverage commonly consumed for medicinal purposes, which included white wine, lemon juice and rind, along with other herbs. See Anon., recipe book (England, ca. 1600-1710), 52, Rare Book & Manuscript Library University of Pennsylvania, UPenn MS Codex 252, <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/1580840>.



Figure 44. Pieter Claesz. *Still Life with Pewter Pitcher, Mince Pie, and Almanac*. National Gallery of Art, London, c.1630.

roemer glasses such as the beaker shown in Claesz's painting were mainly produced in Germany during the early modern period, although a small number were made in the Low Countries.³ These decorative goods were exported across Europe, but despite their widespread popularity, roemer glasses were possessions of the wealthy – a sharp contrast to the more affordable pewter pitcher positioned nearby in the painting.⁴ It was fashionable for minced meat to be flavoured with exotic spices from the Far East, yet the pie's dribbling juices would have been soaked up with a simple hunk of fresh white bread that was most

³ Donald B. Harden, *Masterpieces of Glass: A Selection* (London: British Museum, 1968). For the use of roemer glass in Dutch Golden Age art, see Peter C. Sutton, *Dutch & Flemish Paintings: The Collection of Willem Baron Van Dedem* (London: Francis Lincoln, 2002).

⁴ In seventeenth-century England, as Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths note, '[m]ost of the population [...] relied not on silver and glass for their food wares, but on a trio of pottery, base metals (particularly pewter, iron and brass) and wood', in *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 144. See also Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2004), 98-108.

likely baked locally.⁵ Lemons and wine were luxuries tasted only by the rich in Haarlem and other northern European countries, which were reliant on international trade from the south to receive these imported goods.⁶ When Samuel Pepys ‘first saw oranges grow’ during a visit to Robert Grenville’s London gardens on 25 June 1666, he was ‘mighty curious of them’, emphasising the mysterious nature of goods that were typically imported.⁷

This highly skilled still life announces with pride the Low Countries’ access to global markets in the seventeenth century. But the extent to which Claesz’s work is wholly devoted to being a ‘meticulous visual inventory’ and a ‘visual celebration of conspicuous consumption’, as Lisa Jardine argues is a common theme in art from the period, is up for debate.⁸ After all, Claesz’s painting is distinctly different to other still lifes from the Dutch Golden Age known as ‘pronkstillevens’ (literally translating to ‘ostentatious still life’) that were, as the name suggests, saturated in rare and spectacular luxury goods. The ‘cramming sensuousness’, as Simon Schama aptly describes, of Abraham van Beyeren’s *Still Life with Lobster and Fruit* is achieved because the scene is overrun with highly valued, imported spectacles – a knocked-over silver tazza, Chinese porcelain, a silver platter, lobster and exotic fruit (Figure 45).⁹ Another example is Willem Kalf’s flamboyant painting, *Still Life with a Chinese Bowl*, which rests enticing delicacies on top of exceedingly desirable imported objects such as a Ming bowl, Persian carpet, and nautilus cup made from the Pacific creature’s shell that has been made into a beaker by enclosing it in an intricate filigree cover (Figure 46).

⁵ Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. makes a similar observation about mince pies in paintings by Willem Claesz Heda, a contemporary of Pieter Claesz. See Wheelock’s ‘Willem Claesz Heda/Banquet Piece with Mince Pie/1635’, *National Gallery of Art Online Editions: Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, creation date unknown, accessed 22 June 2015, <http://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/72869>.

⁶ Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas discuss the introduction of lemons into Europe from Southeast Asia in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), vol. 2, 1800; for wine in England, see Adam Smyth, ed., *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004); and for wine’s importation and tax, see Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London: Routledge, 1996), 240-244.

⁷ Samuel Pepys, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972), vol. 7, 182 (Monday 25 June 1666).

⁸ Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Papermac, 1997), 8-9.

⁹ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 161.



Figure 45. Abraham van Beyeren. *Still Life with Lobster and Fruit*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, NY, c.1650.



Figure 46. Willem Kalf. *Still Life with a Chinese Bowl*. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisze, Madrid, 1662.

Compared to paintings that show an overwhelming abundance of lavish material goods, Claesz includes an unusual selection of objects that are and are not opulent. The extravagant is placed alongside the everyday, objects of local origin are married to lavishly exotic goods. Not only do imported objects seamlessly merge into this scene of quotidian consumption, the exotic becoming integrated to the point that it appears commonplace, but the aesthetic monochromaticity of the overall painting insists on their ordinariness. Claesz's still life becomes tantalisingly relatable, stimulating an aspiration for costly imported goods to become as obtainable as those that are ordinary. Wendy Wall concludes that early modern recipe books 'indulge in imaginative identification and fantasies' as well as 'asserting and bequeathing definitive knowledge' that can be put to practical use; and so too does Claesz's painting display a speculative, dreamlike space as well as a more relatable depiction of everyday dining.¹⁰

Amid Claesz's complex culture of consumption is an almanac, splayed open as if it had been recently perused by the departed diner.¹¹ The book poses as an embodiment of the still life in which it lies. As Neil Rhodes aptly posits, almanacs established a 'sense of the relationship between the self and the rest of the world in time and space'.¹² As a sort of encyclopaedia of worldly knowledge intended for everyday use, almanacs were key witnesses of the domestic and the international, the base and the sophisticated, the pewter pitcher and the roemer glass of the painting. The popular publication's appearance in *Still Life with Pewter Pitcher, Mince Pie, and Almanac* suggests an increasing desire felt by early modern people to situate their lives within their global surroundings. Claesz captures a cultural thirst to

¹⁰ Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 253, 227.

¹¹ For more on almanacs in seventeenth-century paintings, particularly their appearances in Edward Collier's trompe l'oeil letter racks to create 'visual-and-textual games and riddles', see Dror Wahrman, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art & Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), qtd. page 16.

¹² Neil Rhodes, 'Articulate Networks: The Self, the Book, and the World', in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, ed. Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London: Routledge, 2000), 183.

incorporate worldly fragments into daily routines, and his twin pull between allegory and realism is poignantly embodied in the almanac's presence.

It would have been unlikely for Claesz to cook his own pie and paint it too: hidden behind most early modern European culinary scenes were women working with the everyday and the rare. In this chapter I explore how authors of almanacs integrated common and foreign goods such as the lemons, wine, spices and dried fruit of Claesz's painting into their texts and, subsequently, the lives of women readers in seventeenth-century England. I ask how knowledge and use of imported goods complicate standard ways of understanding women's lives and their household duties. But this was also the period in which women, for the first time, wrote printed almanacs. My study centres on *The Woman's Almanack for the year 1694* by Dorothy Patridge and draws upon a wider selection of almanacs published earlier in the century that were the first to be written by and aimed at women. These publications laid the foundations for a highly successful women's almanac series called *The Ladies' Diary*, which appeared annually in London from 1704 and continued for a further 137 years, greatly influencing women's reading and education.¹³ I consider decisions undertaken by Patridge to make her volume an instructional and innovative device, accommodating an expanding global market of commodities within her textual content, and persuasively encouraging her women readers to incorporate exotic goods into their lives. In doing so, Patridge altered the typical functions of almanacs, and publications more broadly, that were by and for women.

First I explain the functions and forms of almanacs, then I situate Patridge's publication within the ongoing debate over her identity, before considering the subversive departure of *The Woman's Almanac* from the geographic and meteorological content they

¹³ The publication was an influential mathematical publication for women, see for example Shelly Costa, 'The Ladies' Diary: Gender, Mathematics, and Civil Society in Early-Eighteenth-Century England', *Osiris* 17, no. 1 (2002): 49-73; Joe Albrecht and Scott H. Brown, "'A valuable monument of mathematical genius': *The Ladies' Diary* (1704-1840)", *Historia Mathematica* 36, no. 1 (2009): 10-47, and Timothy Feist, 'The Stationers' Voice: The English Almanac Trade in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 95, no. 4 (2005): i-129.

typically provided. I argue that importation is a central theme in Patridge's text not only because she encourages her women readers to acquire newly available global goods, but because she provocatively imports and curates material from John Evelyn's 1664 work *Kalendarium Hortensey: or, The gard'ners almanac*. I use the word 'import' here to provoke some of its multiple meanings: not only signifying the moving commodities from one territory to a domestic market, or having a quality of importance, but conveying information by quoting from one source to another written document – all of which were commonly invoked in early modern texts.¹⁴ I ask how Patridge's knowledge and practices of importation complicate standard ways of understanding women's writing, women's lives, and women's household duties. In doing so, I return to the central theme of my thesis to consider how English women understood the early modern world through writing and reworking global texts.

I finish Chapter 3 by studying how women used their almanacs, taking Frances Wolfreton's twelve extant bound almanacs dating from 1666 to 1677 as my focus.¹⁵ Acquired by the Bodleian in 2010, these almanacs are yet to be the subject of sustained analysis, and my account provides the first scholarly investigation. I analyse how Wolfreton records local social events alongside the almanac's broader global themes. I build upon Adam Smyth's work on the recovered annotated almanacs belonging to Lady Isabella Twysden to further understand the almanac's purpose as a site that records the significant occasions of women's lives during the period.¹⁶ Having previously suggested that the emphasis of importing exotic goods is linked to the lists of distances to foreign cities, as well as the advice about the stars'

¹⁴ For an example of 'import' to mean 'importation', see Anon., *The Case of several Italian merchants settled in London* (London: unknown, 1693), 1. When 'import' means 'significance', see Melchior Adam, *The Life and Death of Dr Martin Luther* (London: I. L., 1641), 18. When 'import' means 'quotation', see A. B., *Remarks upon a late pamphlet entituled A brief and full account of Mr Tate's and Mr Brandy's New version of the Psalms* (London: William Keblewhite, 1699), 14. See also 'Import, n.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2017, accessed 25 May 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/92549>, and 'Import, v.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2017, accessed 25 May 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/92550>.

¹⁵ *Bound collection of 'Poor Robin' and 'Dade' almanacks annotated by Frances Wolfreton, 1666-1707*, Bodl. MS. Don. E. 246.

¹⁶ Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance* 38, no. 2 (2008): 200-244.

influence, I go on to argue that these popular printed discussions of broader global issues provoked readers like Wolfreton to comment on their own worldly influences on both a micro and macrocosmic scale. It is the almanac genre's characteristic duality, I suggest, that helped readers situate their own lives within the wider world.

Early modern almanacs

Hailed as 'the most popular print publication after the Bible' by Rhodes, the almanac – deriving from either 'al-manāk' (Arabic for 'calendar') or 'manacus' (Latin for 'sundial')¹⁷ – took the early modern world by storm.¹⁸ Printed and sold in the final months of each year, almanacs offered readers a wealth of information about the year to come. Usually octavo or duodecimo in form, these small and light-weight publications were typically crammed with a calendar, prognostications, and other information authors deemed useful for their readers. Almanacs were roughly sorted into three categories: 'blanks', containing around forty-eight pages that included some blank pages; 'sorts', which were about forty pages long and did not contain blank pages interleaved within the binding; and single sheet almanacs.¹⁹ The publications were often written by medical practitioners or students of astronomy and astrology, and first emerged on the continent in the fifteenth century (Gutenberg, incidentally, launched the first printed almanac in 1448 before the publication of his Bible), becoming increasingly available in England from the turn of the sixteenth century.²⁰

By the 1540s, almanacs by English authors were appearing in significant numbers.²¹ It wasn't long before the information they provided was customised to different geographic

¹⁷ Carroll Camden, 'Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications', *The Library* 12, no.1 (1932), 84.

¹⁸ Neil Rhodes, 'Time', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 287.

¹⁹ R. C. Simmons, 'ABCs, almanacs, ballads, chapbooks, popular piety and textbooks', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4: 1557-1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (with the assistance of Maureen Bell) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 508.

²⁰ Anna Miegion, 'The Ladies' Diary and the Emergence of the Almanac for Women, 1704-1753' (Doctoral thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2008), 3.

²¹ Bernard Capp, 'The Potter Almanacs', *Electronic British Library Journal Article* 4 (2004), 1, <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2004articles/article4.html>.

locations and territories (from London to Jamaica, as well as provincial English towns) and targeted distinctive occupational groups (from constables to clergy). ‘In the sixteenth century, hundreds of thousands were printed; in the seventeenth century several millions’, R. C. Simmons postulates. Offering insight into how the world was understood in households of the rich and poor alike, by 1660 it is thought that one family in three bought an almanac each year, with sales averaging around 400,000 copies annually.²² These, Eustance Bosanquet exudes in his seminal 1917 bibliography of English printed almanacs, likely constituted ‘the entire library of many families’ during the period.²³ Their success caused Thomas Nashe to declare in 1596 that selling almanacs was ‘readier money’ than the trading of such quintessentially English foodstuffs as ‘ale and cakes’.²⁴ ‘Cheap [...] and utilitarian’, as Smyth writes, these were ‘amphibious texts, floating across class lines’ that reached both elite and non-elite readers, and could therefore guide anyone through life’s most trivial and monumental events, with suggestions about when to pick turnips sitting alongside advice about how best to propose.²⁵ Bernard Capp estimates that the average almanac cost 2d in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and 4d as the century progressed – although larger texts might have cost more and smaller texts less.²⁶ The Stationers’ Company monopolised this lucrative trade after being granted exclusive rights to publishing almanacs and prognostications by James I in 1603 (which ended in 1775) making, as Cyprian Blagden calculates, £39 for every £100 of almanac sales.²⁷ But what became of almanacs? Capp argues that individual copies were rarely preserved and few exist today – which could, ironically,

²² Simmons, ‘ABCs, almanacs’, 508, and Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 23.

²³ Eustance F. Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacs and Prognostications: A Bibliographical History to the Year 1600* (London: for the Bibliographical Society at the Chiswick Press, 1917), vii.

²⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron Vvalden, or Gabrielle Harueys Hunt is vp* (London: John Danter, 1596), L4r.

²⁵ Adam Smyth, ‘Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity’, *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013), 125-133.

²⁶ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 41, 114-16.

²⁷ Cyprian Blagden, ‘The Distribution of Almanacs in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century’, *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958): 107-116. For more information about the end of this monopoly, see Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers’ Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), 234-242.

indicate either their popularity or unpopularity²⁸ – and were often recycled as wrapping material, for the ‘stopping of mustard pots’, or even used as toilet paper.²⁹ Although almanacs are still being produced in the twenty-first century, the genre largely morphed during the eighteenth century into pre-printed diaries and pocketbooks.³⁰

Most critical material on almanacs attends to the genre’s history, or its medical and astrological themes.³¹ Early studies include Bosanquet’s work on the genre’s bibliographical history until 1600, while Marjorie Nicolson pits supposedly ‘professional’ astronomy against the astronomy that appeared in almanacs.³² Next came Blagden’s publication, focusing almost exclusively on the physical nature of almanacs and their distribution, rather than their content.³³ Capp’s seminal study from 1979 takes astrology as the focus of his social history of almanacs, while Louise Hill Curth builds upon his investigation in her more recent publication on astrological and popular medicinal information.³⁴ Notable studies further afield include Maureen Perkins’s analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century almanacs, exploring the relationship between the genre and visionaries, superstition and prophecy in England and Australia; Joao Luis Lisboa investigates the conveyance of popular knowledge in eighteenth-century Portuguese almanacs; and American almanacs receive critical attention from Robb Sagendorph.³⁵ Additionally, Frank Palmeri explores satirical almanacs between 1660-1760; Alison A. Chapman studies time and temporal modes; William E. Burns focuses on politics

²⁸ Smyth, ‘Almanacs and Ideas’, 127, and William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5.

²⁹ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 66.

³⁰ Hazel Tubman, ‘The First Pre-Printed Diaries: Origins, Development and Uses of an Information Genre, 1700-1850’ (Doctoral thesis, Brasenose College, University of Oxford, 2016).

³¹ Simmons provides an introduction to the genre in ‘ABCs, almanacs’, 504-513.

³² Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacs*, and Marjorie Nicolson, *English Almanacs and the ‘New Astronomy’* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1939).

³³ Bladen, ‘The Distribution’, 107-116.

³⁴ Capp, *English Almanacs*, and Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine, 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

³⁵ Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change, 1775-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Joao Luis Lisboa, ‘Popular Knowledge in the 18th Century Almanacs’, *History of European Ideas* 11 (1989), 511-512, and Robb Hansell Sagendorph, *America and her Almanacs: Wit, Wisdom and Weather, 1639-1970* (Dublin, NH: Yankee, 1970).

and religion, particularly Catholicism, during the reign of James II; and Capp's more recent study tracks the publishing history of almanacs and their use to promote party politics.³⁶

There has been little scholarly attention paid to female authors of early almanacs, however. Hill Curth and A. S. Weber focus on the prophetic and astrological elements of Sarah Jinner and Mary Holden's medical content.³⁷ The eighteenth-century publication *The Ladies' Diary* is increasingly attracting critical attention: Shelly Anne Costa, Joe Albree and Scott H. Brown explore the publication's mathematical content; Robert Bataille's surveys the mechanics behind the editorial board and their printing decisions; and Miegion's thesis focuses on these almanacs as a marketable publication for women.³⁸ Yet there has not been a study dedicated principally to Patridge's publication. While Smyth offers an insightful reading into the almanacs used by Lady Twysden in his broader investigation into life-writing and identity, seventeenth-century almanacs by and used by early modern women is still an area that demands more scholarly attention.³⁹

Questions of authorship

The only surviving copy of *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* by Dorothy Patridge is held in the Bodleian.⁴⁰ It is an unusually short work (A1r-B2v) in octavo form and is bound together with eleven other almanacs by men dating from between 1670 and 1695, the bound volume formerly belonging to 'F:W:?' as is written twice on the front flyleaves. No

³⁶ Frank Palmeri, 'History, Nation, and the Satiric Almanac, 1660-1760', *Criticism* 15, no. 3 (1998): 377-408. Alison A. Chapman, 'Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs, and English Protestantism', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2007): 1257-1290; William E. Burns, 'Astrology and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England: King James II and the Almanac Men', *The Seventeenth Century* 20, no. 2 (2005): 242-253, and Capp, 'The Potter Almanacs', 1-11.

³⁷ Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, and A. S. Weber, 'Women's Early Modern Medial Almanacs in Historical Context', *English Literary Renaissance* 33, no. 3 (2003): 358-402.

³⁸ Costa, 'Gender, Mathematics', 49-73; Albree and Brown, 'A valuable monument of mathematical genius', 10-47; Robert Bataille, 'Elizabeth Beighton and the *Ladies' Diary*', *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History* 2, no 2 (1990): 20-26, and Miegion, 'Emergence of the Almanac', 1-291.

³⁹ Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators', 229-244.

⁴⁰ Dorothy Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* (London: Printed for J. S., 1694), Bodleian Library, Oxford.

biographical details are known about Partridge, who published no other works, except for her title page's claim to be a 'Midwife [and] Student in Astrology' (Figure 47). Partridge is one of three writers that produced almanacs targeting female readers during the seventeenth century, the others being Jinner's series of almanacs published from 1658 to 1664, and Holden's of 1688 and 1689.⁴¹ Besides these publications for women, almanacs were either aimed at a readership that was not divided by gender – the 'courteous'⁴² or 'friendly'⁴³ readers as stated in their prefaces – or were directly aimed at men.⁴⁴ Partridge's publication, as she establishes on her title page, was 'adapted to the Capacity of the Female Sex'; while it cannot be known for sure whether she acquired the desired gender-specific readership, hers is certainly not an unusual aim. Each of the three female almanac writers never explicitly wrote for men, and tended to address their readers as women.⁴⁵

So little is known about the life of Partridge that the few scholars who have written about her focus their efforts on debating whether she existed at all. Weber argues that *The Woman's Almanack* is 'probably pseudonymous' because 'the sexual humor in Partridge [...] is completely lacking in Jinner and Holden' – despite the fact that almanacs were expected to be 'part information and part entertainment', as Dror Wahrman argues – and in doing so Weber problematically implies that women can't be humorous.⁴⁶ Capp, on the other hand, claims that 'it is quite likely that [Partridge's almanac] was penned by a pamphleteer attempting to capitalize on the fame of the celebrated astrologer John Partridge', considering that in 1710

⁴¹ For more on Jinner's publications, see Chantelle Thauvette, 'Sex, Astrology, and the Almanacs of Sarah Jinner', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 5, (2010): 243-249. For more on Holden's, see Maureen Bell, George Parfitt, and Simon Shepherd, 'Holden, Mary, fl. 1688-9', in *A Biographical Dictionary of English Women Writers, 1580-1720* (New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), 107.

⁴² John Tanner, *Angelus Britannicus* (London: Printed by John Streater, 1657), and Walter Gray, *An Almanack with a Prognostication* (London: by E. Allde, 1604).

⁴³ Thomas Fowle, *Speculum Uranicum* (London: Printed by R. F. 1694), and Arthur Hopton, *Hopton 1610 an almanack and prognostication* (London: Company of Stationers, 1610).

⁴⁴ Miegion, 'Emergence of the Almanac', 47.

⁴⁵ Partridge's address is similar to the printer J. J.'s edition of Jinner's almanac, which contains 'events that shall befall women [...] With several predictions very useful for the female sex'. Additionally, Partridge, Jinner and Holden's almanacs are all specifically addressed to women in their titles. See Partridge, *The Woman's Almanack*; Mary Holden, *The Woman's Almanack, or, An ephemeris for the year of our Lord* (London: J. Miller, 1689), and Sarah Jinner, *The Womans Almanack or, Prognostication for ever* (London: J. J., 1659), title page.

⁴⁶ Weber, 'Women's Early Modern Medical Almanacs', 360, and Wahrman, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks*, 8.

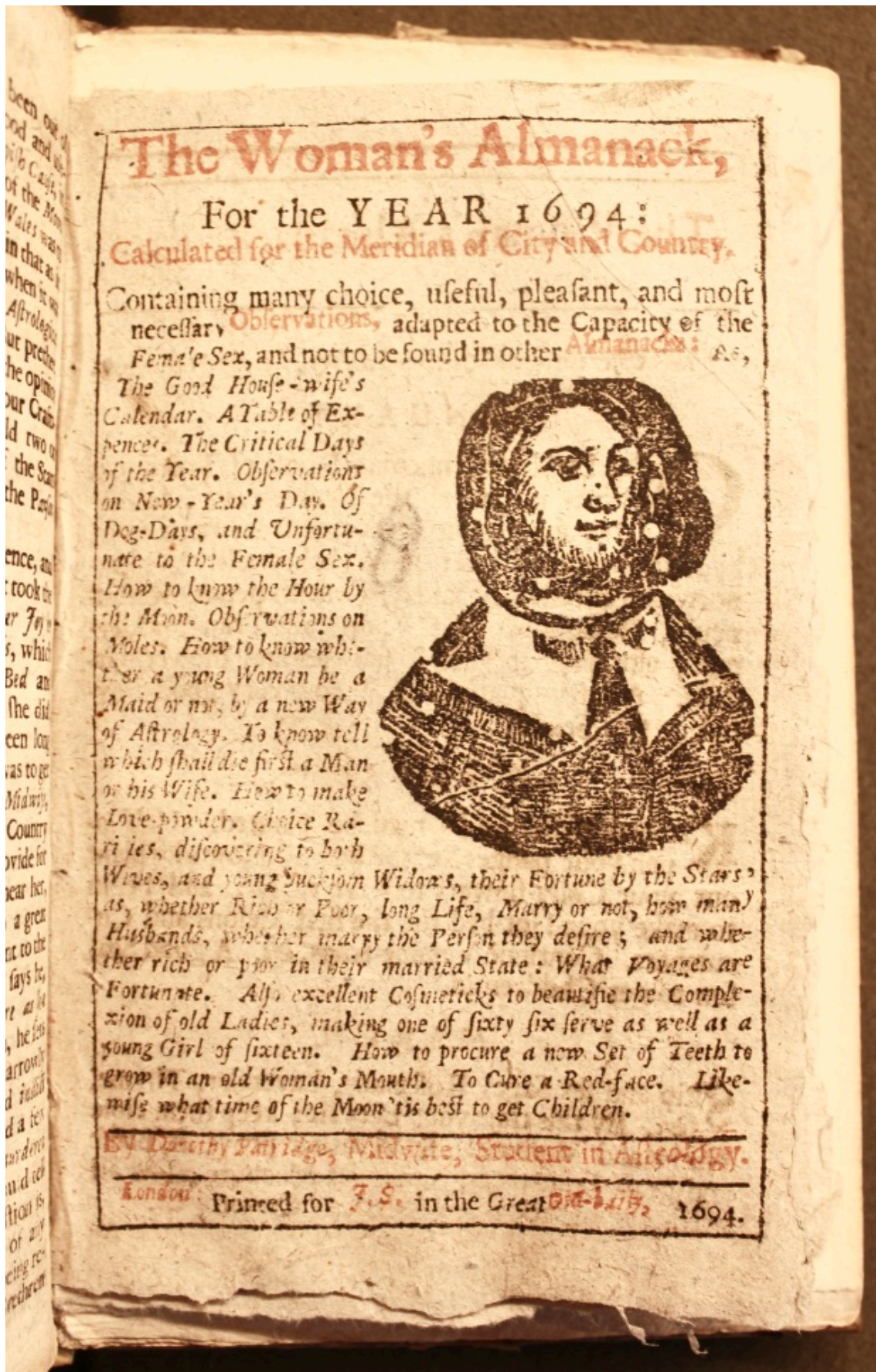


Figure 47. 'Midwife, Student in Astrology', Dorothy Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* (London: Printed for J. S., 1694), A1r.

and 1711 the ‘rogue’ publisher Benjamin Harris issued ‘spurious’ editions of Partridge’s almanacs.⁴⁷ His opinion appears to waver, however, variably spelling her name as ‘Partridge’ and ‘Patridge’ in his different publications.⁴⁸ In an attempt to elucidate Capp’s comment, Hill Curth suggests that Patridge and Partridge’s surnames are only spelled differently because the only surviving copy of her almanac is ‘in very poor condition’, and, ‘[a]s a result, it is not totally clear whether the writer was named ‘Dorothy Partridge or ‘Patridge’.⁴⁹ However, after observing the extant title page, there can be little doubt that the ‘t’ and ‘r’ are unmistakably placed in this order and that the surname is spelled with one ‘r’ only (Figure 48): for this reason, I shall refer to her as ‘Patridge’ rather than ‘Partridge’. The politics that lurk behind scholarship such as this, which make consistent attempts to prove the masculinity of the author, is somewhat problematic. As discussed in Chapter 2, the doubts voiced by Capp, Hill Curth, and Weber appear to demand a greater burden of proof for the existence of women writers than that required for men.

There is indeed a possibility that Patridge’s publication was the result of a cunning capitalisation on either Partridge’s success or the proliferation of women’s writing at the time. Patridge is not alone in attracting this kind of criticism, and Ann Geneva claims that Jinner was also a pseudonym for a male author.⁵⁰ But, as Hill Curth makes clear elsewhere in her study, it is likely that there were more women writers of almanacs than is currently assumed. Citing the late seventeenth-century almanac *Poor Robin*, dating from 1692, which states that it had been fifty-six years ‘since Women began to learn to make Almanacks’,⁵¹ Hill Curth asserts that women ‘were actually involved in compiling almanacs, perhaps under pseudonyms, much

⁴⁷ Bernard Capp, ‘Patridge, Dorothy (fl.1694)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 24 April 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60920>.

⁴⁸ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 121, 241, and ‘Patridge, Dorothy (fl.1694)’, *ODNB*.

⁴⁹ Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, 71-72. This is similar to the Bodleian’s online catalogue entry for her book: ‘Patridge, Dorothy’, *SOLO: Search Oxford Libraries Online*, University of Oxford, creation date unknown, accessed 28 April 2017, http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph014347075.

⁵⁰ Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

⁵¹ *Poor Robin, Poor Robin, an Almanack Of the Old and New Fashion* (London: Company of Stationers, 1692), A3v.

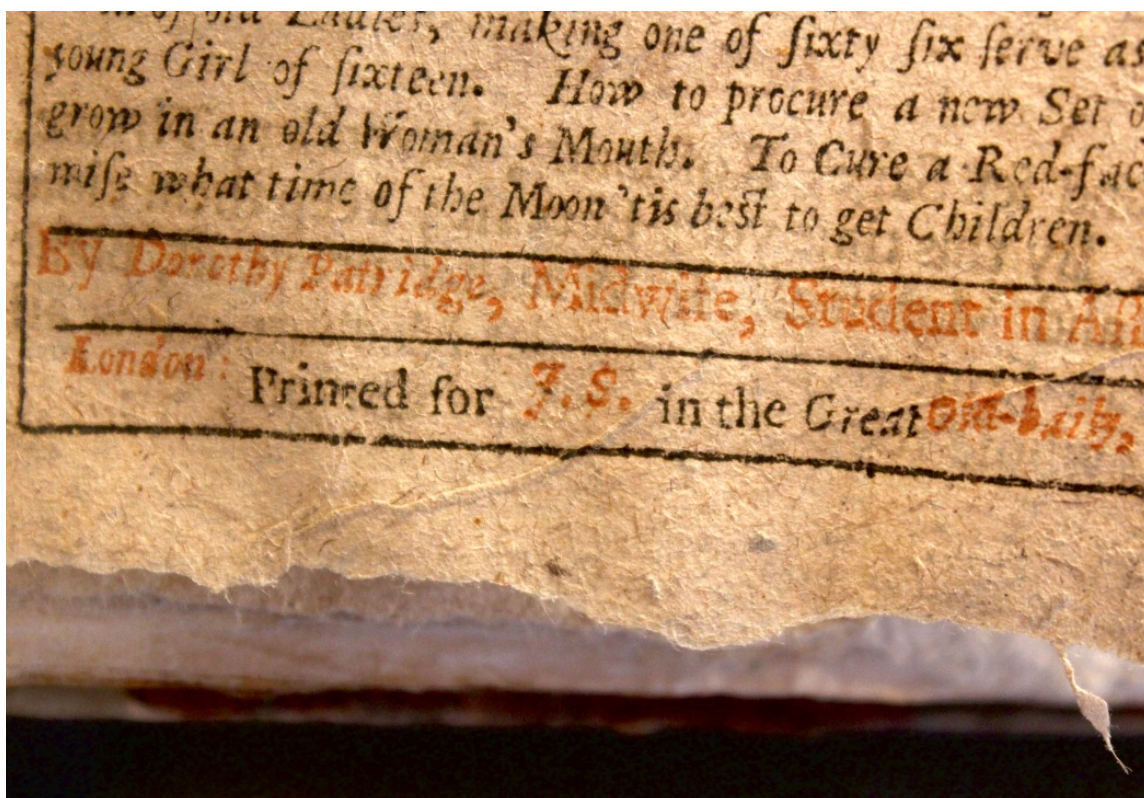


Figure 48. 'Partridge' not 'Partridge', Dorothy Partridge, *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* (London: Printed for J. S., 1694), A1r.

earlier than previously thought', given that the earliest almanac attributed to a woman is by Jinner in 1658.⁵² It is, therefore, important to pose a simple and overlooked line of argument, in accordance with the title page's claims, which suggests that Partridge's femininity should be taken seriously.

Partridge's almanac

Almanacs by and for men and women tended to follow a basic pattern, containing the following inventory of essential components:

The dominant inclusion was a detailed calendar: a double page for each month, listing the number of days; the moon's positions; the ascendant sign; the latitude of the moon; the weather, and what almanacs call 'Remarkable days' – church festivals [...] Saints' days [...] and political anniversaries [...]. The other contents of these books [...] included descriptions of local fairs and routes between towns; chronologies of history which mix cosmological, Biblical, social, meteorological and political events [...]; tables for calculating financial interest; husbandry advice [...]; astrological,

⁵² Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, 67.

medical and agricultural advice; a ‘zodiacal body’, anatomizing the effect of the planets on parts of the body; and ‘predictions of weather and strange events’ [...].⁵³

Yet *The Woman’s Almanac* by Patridge alters the content that was typically provided, most notably by abbreviating the ‘detailed calendar’ feature. Smyth argues that having a ‘double page for each month’ is typical, illustrated by Richard Allestree and Holden’s publications from 1623 and 1689, for example, who use thorough grids and tables (Figures 49 and 50).⁵⁴ But Patridge reduces the size of this feature, excluding most of its details in a paragraph of written prose per month, cramming all the year’s necessary information into less than three pages (Figures 51 and 52).

Patridge discusses her own, more unorthodox topics. She offers only a reduced supply of essential items from Smyth’s list: typical ‘tables for calculating financial interest’ come in the form of a half-page titled ‘Table of Expences’.⁵⁵ There is a strong cosmological theme running throughout her text and advice upon husbandry and agriculture is provided, which Smyth considers to be essential attributes. Although she provides medical advice, this comes largely in the form of ‘Cosmeticks’, remedying beauty ailments rather than diseases.⁵⁶ While similar recipes are found in Jinner’s almanac – as well as popular publications by and for women such as *The Queen’s Closet Opened* and Hannah Woolley’s *The Accomplisht Ladies Delight* – they were condoned by others: ‘painted snouts are ladies’ shames’, Walter Gray wrote in his almanac entry for June, 1604.⁵⁷ By reducing and reinventing the calendar that was supposedly the ‘dominant inclusion’ of contemporary almanacs, as well as omitting daily details such as travel routes, fairs, political anniversaries, and church festivals, socially-prescriptive events are not thrust upon the reader. Instead, Patridge’s almanac guides the

⁵³ Smyth, ‘Almanacs and Ideas’, 125-126.

⁵⁴ Richard Allestree, *Allestree: A new almanacke and prognostication* (London: Company of Stationers, 1623), A4v-A5r, and Holden, *The Woman’s Almanack*, 726.

⁵⁵ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack* B1v.

⁵⁶ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack* A1r.

⁵⁷ Jinner, *The Womans Almanack*, B2v; W. M., *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (London: Printed for Nathaniel Brook, 1655); Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish’d Ladies Delight in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying and Cookery* (London: Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1685), and Gray, *An almanac with* (1604), A5v.

Figure 49 shows two pages from Richard Allestree's 'A new almanacke and prognostication' (1623). The left page, titled 'January hath XXXI. daies', contains a table with columns for 'The place the ☽ is in the Zodiac', 'The place the ☽ is in the Zodiac at noon', 'The place the ☽ is in the Zodiac at night', and 'The time & min of day'. It lists various zodiac signs and planetary positions. The right page, titled 'January the Moone hath 30. daies', contains a table with columns for 'English' and 'Roman' moon phases, listing the day of the month and the corresponding moon phase.

Figure 49. 'January', Richard Allestree, *Allestree: A new almanacke and prognostication* (London: Company of Stationers, 1623), A4v-A5r. Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

Figure 50 shows two pages from Mary Holden's 'The Woman's Almanack, or, An ephemeris for the year of our Lord' (1689). The left page, titled 'Table whereby may be knowne the Moons age every day this year, 1689, by help whereof may be found the time of full Sea at London-bridge', contains a table with columns for 'Days' and 'Moons age'. The right page, titled 'January hath XXXI. Days', contains a table with columns for 'English' and 'Roman' moon phases, listing the day of the month and the corresponding moon phase.

Figure 50. 'January', Mary Holden, *The Woman's Almanack, or, An ephemeris for the year of our Lord* (London: J. Miller, 1689), 726. Image from EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.



Figure 51. Monthly de-brief, Dorothy Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* (London: Printed for J. S., 1694), A1v-A2r.

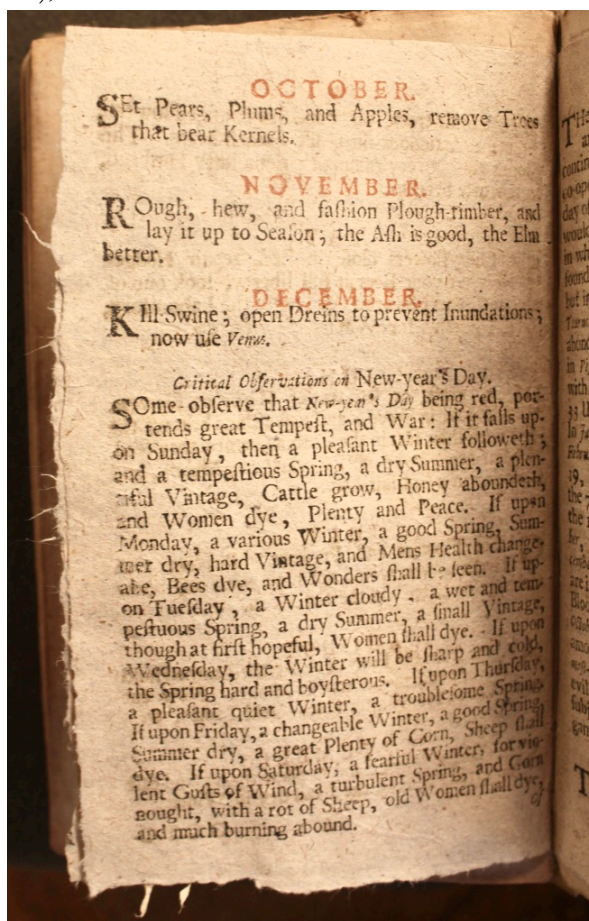


Figure 52. Monthly de-brief, Dorothy Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* (London: Printed for J. S., 1694), A2v.

reader on their own path of ‘discovering’ knowledge, as she states on her title page.⁵⁸ Much like recipes, where ‘making, maintaining and mending’ is at the core of early modern physical and ideological domestic life, as Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo argue,⁵⁹ Patridge’s almanac is awash with the answers for ‘How to know’, ‘How to make’ and ‘How to procure’, stimulating inquisitive readers to put into practice the knowledge gained on the page.⁶⁰

Patridge’s omission of national events and other geographical information means that her almanac sits on the fringes of its genre, which traditionally documents relevant information for local agricultural and seasonal practices. There are, however, certain tropes that the author aligns herself with. Seventeenth-century almanac writers, Thomas A. Horrocks notes, are renowned for their tendency to borrow or extract text from other publications.⁶¹ In this respect *The Woman’s Almanack* is no different: Patridge imports and heavily truncates passages by the esteemed diarist and writer of horticultural manuals, John Evelyn (1620-1706). Evelyn had been using printed almanacs since he was a teenager, one of which survives from 1637 during his time as an undergraduate at Balliol College, Oxford, in which he first made notes before transferring them to his famous diary.⁶² In 1664 he published his own almanac called *Kalendarium Hortense: or, the gard’ners almanac*, exactly thirty years before Patridge’s almanac became available. Evelyn’s text was initially published in a volume with *Sylva, or a discourse of forest-trees*, but *Kalendarium Hortense’s* second edition was published in 1666 as a stand-alone work.⁶³ This text and format proved popular, with eight further editions printed before 1691, and then three more by different publishers in 1699

⁵⁸ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack*, A1r.

⁵⁹ Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo, ‘Introduction’, in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800*, ed. Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 15.

⁶⁰ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack*, A1r.

⁶¹ Thomas A. Horrocks, *Popular Print and Popular Medicine: Almanacs and Health Advice in Early America* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 70.

⁶² Thomas Langley, *Langley 1637 a new almanac and prognostication* (London: Company of Stationers, 1637), OBC 670 a 13; qtd. in Adam Smyth, ‘Diaries’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 444.

⁶³ John Evelyn, *Sylva, or a discourse of forest trees* (London: Printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry, 1664), 54-83, and *Kalendarium Hortense: or, the gard’ners almanac* (London: Printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry, 1666). All quotes are from the 1666 edition.

after Patridge's publication.⁶⁴ Patridge's importation of Evelyn's text appears to be unprecedented: despite almanac writers often copying material from each other, I have not come across any that directly borrow and truncate Evelyn's work, and the parallels between his and Patridge's texts have thus far gone unnoticed by scholars.

Patridge's almanac begins with a two-and-a-half-page section on 'Monthly Observations in Goodhousewifery', 'housewifery' being commonly used to mean the domestic 'business acumen' possessed and required by women, as discussed in Chapter 1.⁶⁵ Here, the author briefly advises her readers on the horticultural and household tasks that should be undertaken each month, and her borrowing of Evelyn's text becoming apparent from the outset. In her entry for February, Patridge writes that

Kitchen-garden-herbs may be planted. Half open your pass[a]ges for the Bees. Now also plant out your Colly-flowers to have early; and begin to make your Hot-bed for the first Melons and Cucumbers.⁶⁶

These brief remarks are abridged, direct quotes of Evelyn's more detailed observations on the same month, Patridge having made an informed selection from his six-page analysis for February. Rather than 'Kitchen-Garden herbs may now be planted, as Parsly, Spinage, and other hardy Pot-herbs', as Evelyn's writes, Patridge only uses the first clause of the sentence.⁶⁷ Her advice about bees is a similar story, with *The Woman's Almanack* duplicating only the first half of *Kalendarium Hortensey's* sentence, choosing to leave out 'or a little before (if weather invite;) but continue to feed weak *stocks*, &c'.⁶⁸ Additionally, the order in which Patridge gives her advice is altered from Evelyn's version; for January, he advises first on the tending of herbs, then 'colly-flowers', followed by melons and cucumbers, before finishing with his bee-keeping

⁶⁴ Between the first edition in 1666 and 1691, editions were produced in 1669, 1670, 1671, 1673, 1676, 1679, and 1683.

⁶⁵ Ann C. Christensen, 'Words about Women's Work: The Case of Housewifery in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Studies Journal*, creation date 2014, accessed 15 Feb. 2018, https://www.earlymodernstudiesjournal.org/review_articles/words-womens-work-case-housewifery-early-modern-england/.

⁶⁶ Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack*, A1v.

⁶⁷ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 20.

⁶⁸ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 20.

tip.⁶⁹ Much of Evelyn's horticultural advice for February is left unsaid in Patridge's monthly briefing: his list of '*Fruits in Prime*' is abandoned; his to do list for the '*Parterre, and Flower-Garden*' is excluded; so too does she omit his lists of '*Flowers in Prime*'.⁷⁰ Patridge's entire passage for February comes from a single subsection in Evelyn's text for the same month, '*In the Orchard, and Olitory-Garden*'.⁷¹

Patridge selects extracts from Evelyn's text to encourage her hypothetical women readers to become more adventurous, as is most clearly shown in her writing about garden tasks, ingredients, and equipment. A hotbed, as Francis Bacon vividly describes in his 1627 work *Sylva Sylvarum*, is a contraption consisting of

Horse-dung; old, and well rotted; This was laid vpon a Banke, halfe a foot high, and supported round about with Planks; And vpon the Top was cast Sifted Earth, some two Fingers deepe; And then the *seed* Sprinkled vpon it.⁷²

This inexpensive and easily constructed apparatus could be used to grow plants that are native to English soil at times of the year not normally suitable; in January, for example, Evelyn recommends 'Sow[ing] *Chervil, Lettuce, Radish*, and other (more delicate) *Salletings*; if you will raise in the *Hot-bed*'.⁷³ But hotbeds were also a gardener's trick for creating environments imitating warmer climates, allowing ordinary people to grow the new and exotic seeds being transported back to England by building an inexpensive device made of wood and dung. Evelyn was certainly aware, if somewhat doubtful, of the instrument's exotic potential. The author instructs his readers in February to 'make your *Hot-bed* for the first *Melons* and *Cucumbers* to be sow'd in the Full; but trust not altogether to them' – a suggestion that is included in his 1666 version of *Kalendarium Hortense* but not in others, such as his 1683 edition.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 20.

⁷⁰ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 21-23.

⁷¹ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 20.

⁷² Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum: or A naturall historie* (London: William Rawley, 1627), 109.

⁷³ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 13.

⁷⁴ Evelyn, *Kalendarium Hortense*, 20.

It is important to note that Patridge excludes Evelyn's direction about using the hotbed to house salad leaves and, rather, imitates Evelyn's passage in which he recommends readers to grow melons and cucumbers instead.⁷⁵ Similarly, Patridge leaves out Evelyn's doubtful comment 'but trust not altogether to them', about the cultivation of these non-native plants. Rather than the radishes, parsley, and lettuce that Evelyn suggests, all of which had been commonly grown and eaten in England for centuries, she promotes the growth of February's more unusual offerings and imparts knowledge about global produce. Patridge's mediation of Evelyn's global horticultural knowledge in her own writing can be likened to the artistic practices of Elizabeth Lyttelton, as discussed in my Introduction, who 'drew out' animals that she had not seen first-hand by basing them on the sketches her father had first drafted during his research excursions.⁷⁶ Margaret Ezell's assertion that early modern women writers who wrote for women readers suggested 'alternatives to conventional women's roles in society', and 'formed a special audience, which received different female models than those depicted in domestic conduct books by men' is particularly resonant here.⁷⁷ Taking Ezell's prompt, the almanac offers the imagined possibilities of a global lifestyle that can also become a reality. Patridge's editorial decisions suggest that she was managing exotic exploration for the female readership she sought to reach, all the while journeying where she herself had not been through the second-hand nature of her textual exploration of Evelyn's almanac.

The significance of Patridge's importation, by borrowing from Evelyn textually and encouraging the acquisition of new goods from the wider world, becomes clear. Although her almanac excludes the 'double page for each month, listing the number of days; the moon's positions; the ascendant sign; the latitude of the moon' and the list of distances to foreign

⁷⁵ In the early modern period, 'salad' commonly denoted a green leaf base upon which other toppings could be added. 'Salad, n.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Jan. 2018, accessed 24 June 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/169911>.

⁷⁶ Thomas Browne, *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 4 vols., vol. 4, 56, letter 37 (21 June 1675).

⁷⁷ Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 126.

cities from Smyth's typical almanac checklist, Patridge establishes a unique yet strong sense of worldly placement through her emphasis on importing exotic goods.⁷⁸ Lisboa writes that for eighteenth-century Portuguese almanacs, their power lies in the printing of information applicable to everyday life as opposed to the transmission of 'any great discovery'; but in Patridge's almanac these two elements need not be kept separate.⁷⁹ Patridge encourages her readers to grow more outlandish crops and asserts her authority as a global horticulturalist. Considering the vast number of almanacs that have been lost, it is possible that Patridge quotes from an intermediary text responsible for this editing, rather creatively abridging Evelyn's almanac herself; similarly, it is possible that Evelyn was directly importing his information from an earlier text that has been lost. But I have found no extant evidence to suggest that this network of importation included anyone other than Evelyn and Patridge in *Kalendarium Hortense* and *The Woman's Almanack* respectively.

'Vegetables are social barometers', observes Teresa McLean in her study of medieval English gardens, '[o]ne can tell a lot about the social life of a country at any given period by looking at the way people used their vegetables'.⁸⁰ Patridge's editorial decisions tap into an early modern debate concerning the appropriate diet to complement bodily humours. Melons, along with cucumbers, were '[c]onsidered among the most harmful vegetables because of their cold and moist qualities', Ken Albala states. This resulted in physicians 'usually recommend[ing] that they only be eaten in the summer by people who were naturally hot', and for those with 'colder complexions cucumbers could cause shuddering fits or fevers as the noxious juice collects in the veins and putrefies'.⁸¹ According to Galenic principles, the popular medical belief system during the period, women's compositions were cold and moist as opposed to men who were hot and dry. In her seminal essay on women as 'leaky vessels',

⁷⁸ Smyth, 'Almanacs and Ideas', 125-126.

⁷⁹ Lisboa, 'Popular Knowledge', 511-512.

⁸⁰ Teresa McLean, *Medieval English Gardens* (London: Collins, 1981), 208.

⁸¹ Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 29.

Gail Kerern Paster argues that this negativity is inscribed upon them by early modern discourse ‘by isolating one element of the female body’s material expressiveness – its production of fluids – as excessive, hence either disturbing or shameful’.⁸² Women were particularly at risk when consuming these foodstuffs,⁸³ and as Richard Boulton commented in 1698, ‘nothing is more common, than that Children and young Women drive themselves into the Green-sickness, by eating Fruit’.⁸⁴

Considering the formidable effects of melons and cucumbers upon female consumers and their reproductive capacities, Patridge makes a bold statement by using these foods in an almanac directed at women. She even goes so far as to mention both foods for a second time, suggesting in June that her female readers should ‘Sow [...] Cucumbers and Melons [...] in a hot fair Day’.⁸⁵ As Wall argues, it is not simply that ‘early English recipes were a nodal point for attracting consumers to join an increasingly complicated global commerce system’, but that there were ‘*intellectual* components involved in the creation, exchange, and use’ of this literary genre.⁸⁶ Risking accusations of advocating the green sickness – a disease which supposedly suppressed menstruation and principally affected young women – rather than including Evelyn’s simple ‘*Salletings*’, indicates how important the author believed it was for women’s lives to be enriched with unusual food.⁸⁷ Patridge’s act of textual borrowing does not dampen her intellectual and authorial rigour. Rather, through the pruning of Evelyn’s

⁸² Gail Kern Paster, ‘Leaky Vessels: The Incontinent Women of City Comedy’, *Renaissance Drama* 3, no. 18 (1987), 44.

⁸³ Sara Read notes that some women acknowledged that men were also at risk from eating melons, but concerns were overwhelmingly directed at women. In her *Book of Remembrances*, Alice Thornton wrote: ‘My uncle Sir Edward Osbourne died at Kiverton of a surfeit of eating melons, being too cold for him’. See Sara Read, *Menstruation and the Female Body in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 54-55, and Alice Thornton, ‘Alice Thornton: From *A Book Of Remembrance*, c. 1668’, in *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, ed. Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox (London: Routledge, 1989), 152.

⁸⁴ Richard Boulton, *An Examination of Mr John Colbatch His Books* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1698), 153.

⁸⁵ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack*, A2r.

⁸⁶ Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 1.

⁸⁷ Green sickness, the disease of virgins, chlorosis and the white fever are thought to be the same ‘illness’ insofar as they were expressions of the same anxieties about female puberty. See Helen King, *The Disease of Virgins: Green Sickness, Chlorosis, and the Problems of Puberty* (London: Routledge, 2004), 135.

text, and by discriminating against some crops rather than others, Patridge indicates her knowledge of worldly goods and demonstrates her editorial integrity.

But how are we to understand the relationship between Patridge's almanac and Evelyn's? If this were done in the twenty-first century, it would be deemed plagiarism outright. But the lines that defined borrowing, sharing, and reproducing work in the early modern world were much more blurred. In his study of seventeenth-century translations and editorial practices of astronomical and mathematical textbooks, Arjen Dijkstra argues that 'copying and reworking texts was not necessarily seen as a problem, as long as it was done with expertise and wit'. He suggests that '[r]eproducing other people's work only became problematic when it was nothing more than blatant parroting, simply mimicking someone else's words'.⁸⁸ Dijkstra's argument resonates here. Seventeenth-century women readers expected various pleasures from their almanacs, in addition to acquiring the hard facts of horticulture from the same source. As discussed in my Introduction, learning did not necessarily rely on physical or first-hand experience of the subject matter conveyed, and we can begin to more fully comprehend women's understanding of a greater range of topics by exploring their wide-ranging forms of written interpretation.

Amid the passages copied from Evelyn's almanac are passages written by Patridge that possess a notable lightness of tone. In January, within the miscellaneous list of seasonal chores and pears 'in their prime', the author advises her readers that a 'lusty squab fat Bedfellow [is] very good Physick at this Season'. Similarly, alongside February's advice for what to sow in a hotbed, Patridge coyly remarks how this month is a 'good Season to get Children in'.⁸⁹ Intent on parodying the overly-sincere approach to disseminating information that was typically present in the genre, as Marion Barber Stowell and Palmeri argue, satirical

⁸⁸ Arjen Dijkstra, 'Translating Astronomy in Dutch, Latin and Frisia. Adriaan Metius's Textbooks on Mathematics in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (Berlin: LIT, 2012), 270.

⁸⁹ Both Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack*, A1v.

almanacs were popular and still useful during this time.⁹⁰ Not only were they ‘a convenient, and highly in-demand niche’, but satirical almanacs also created the potential for ‘a more quotable style’, as Stowell suggests.⁹¹ Lacing her writing with humour could have therefore been a tactic used by Patridge to make her almanac more memorable than Evelyn’s earlier publication.

With tongue firmly placed in cheek, Patridge suggests that in April, ‘*Venus* is very rampant’ and readers should ‘get a lusty Husband, least worse befal ye’, a line which is often taken in contemporary almanacs (Walter Gray, for instance, recommends that ‘Without excesse, let Venus be embraste’ in his entry for May 1581), albeit in a less bawdy fashion.⁹² Yet in August, Patridge advises her readers to ‘Abstane from the Feats of *Venus*’, advice that is in-keeping with the popular consensus that the summer months were considered to be sexually risky, as well as the statistical surge in autumn baptisms.⁹³ The green sickness, a disorder predominantly affecting maids, was thought to have been caused by sexual abstinence and cured by marriage. Yet in her passage on palm reading, Patridge jokes about whether this cure is in fact desirable:

Lines reaching from the Mount of the Thumb, over the Mount, (towards the Line of Life) shew the Number of Husbands; therefore observe how many there be; and she shall have so many Husbands, or at least a *Bolus* to keep her from the *Green-Sickness*; I mean, a Friend in the corner.⁹⁴

The passage can be interpreted as an example of how, as Ann Hughes claims, the almanac genre was transformed by female ‘intervention’ from one that was ‘overwhelmingly

⁹⁰ Marion Barber Stowell, ‘American Almanacs and Feuds’, *Early American Literature* 9, no. 3 (1975): 276-285, and Frank Palmeri, *Satire, History, Novel: Narrative Forms, 1665-1815* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2003).

⁹¹ Madeleine Hudson, “‘Future Events we unto thee impart’”: A Transatlantic Examination of Almanacs in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’ (Doctoral thesis, Tufts University, 2015), 89, and Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible* (New York, NY: B. Franklin, 1977), 82.

⁹² Walter Gray, *An almanacke and prognostication, made for the yeere of our Lorde* (London: Richarde Watkins and James Robertes, 1589), A5r.

⁹³ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 120-121.

⁹⁴ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack*, A1v-B2r.

misogynist'.⁹⁵ The author humorously creates a degree of ambiguity by casting doubt on whether a husband, or a bout of the green sickness, is a better companion for a woman.

To consider Patridge's almanac as simply an abridgement of Evelyn's would be to impose an unjust limitation upon her text. Certainly, the author appears to lift sections from *Kalendarium Hortense* for her own, but she is not reliant on Evelyn's wit or his knowledge of worldly foodstuffs. In the final section of her text – after a short guide to palm reading that helps to detect a woman's riches, number of husbands, length of life, and her 'Buck-somness and Lust' – Patridge offers solutions to social and physical ailments, none of which feature in Evelyn's work.⁹⁶ She begins with a remedy comprising lead, sulfur, quick lime and water that she claims will 'make Hair as red as a Fox, a lovely Brown' when applied, a reaction creating lead sulfide that darkens hair follicles. She then suggests a cure to 'a Lady's Red Face' by using four ounces of boiled and strained lily roots. Next, Patridge offers an unorthodox concoction for 'Philtre, or Love-powder', recommending that a swallow's nest, 'young ones and all', should be dried to a powder before, presumably, being consumed or applied to the body.⁹⁷ These procedures use a mixture of edible and inedible plants, animals, and chemicals – all of which were native to England – to provide a guide for her female readers that can easily be put into practice.

The same cannot be said of Patridge's methods 'To make an old Woman's Teeth white, recover a new Set, beautifie the Face, and take out the furrow'd Rinkles as smooth as a Girl of Sixteen'. Here, the author directs her readers to

Take Loaf-sugar 1 Pound, Allom 3 Ounces, the flower Of Beans, Fumitory, and Water-lillies, a handful of each, 4 Limons sliced, the Crumb of 2 white Loaves, Goats-milk and White-wine, of each 2 Pints ; bruise what is to be bruised ; then mix them together in a Glas Alembick, distil them in *Balneo Marie* : Keep the water as most excellent of the abovementioned uses.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ann Hughes, 'Jinner (or Ginner), Sarah (fl.1658-64)', in *A Historical Dictionary of British Women*, ed. Cathy Hartley (London: Europa Publications, 2003), 245.

⁹⁶ Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack*, B1v-B2r.

⁹⁷ Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack*, B2r-B2v.

⁹⁸ Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack*, B2r.

Alongside produce commonly found in England, such as ‘Allom’ (a variety of mineral salt), beans, water lilies, bread, and goat’s milk, Patridge’s age-reversal formula includes ingredients that were relatively new to English soil. Wine was, according to Charles C. Luddington, ‘often early modern England’s costliest import’, and was widely considered to be a symbol of the nation’s aristocracy, so much so that by the middle of the seventeenth century it was explicitly linked to the Royalist cause during the Civil War.⁹⁹ Similarly, the culinary techniques required might have been unusual. Patridge calls for her readers to ‘distil them in *Balneo Marie*’, or bain-marie, predating the *OED*’s earliest entry of the word by 128 years¹⁰⁰ – although using EBO reveals examples from as early as 1527¹⁰¹ – and confounds Annette Hope’s claim that the bain-marie was ‘invented’ by the nineteenth-century French writer and chef Alexis Soyer.¹⁰²

The lemons Patridge mentions in her teeth-whitening tonic were similarly expensive and never touched the lips of most English mouths. Displaying lemons on a banquet table was an obvious flaunting of a necessarily substantial wealth, and the fruits’ status as luxury goods need only be confirmed by their frequent appearance as the centre piece in still-life paintings from the period.¹⁰³ As Toby Sonneman summarises, the lemon was ‘poised [...] between the decorative and essential, between savoury and sweet, between the kitchens of the wealthy and those of everyone else. European cooks were just beginning to recognize lemon as a vital ingredient, a treasure’.¹⁰⁴ Even owning a painting of the yellow fruit offered an honourable substitute, allowing its owner to lay claim to possessing a lifelike, albeit less than tangible,

⁹⁹ Charles C. Luddington, “‘Be sometimes to your country true’: The Politics of Wine in England, 1660-1714”, 89-108, qtd. page 89; Angela McShane Jones, ‘Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689’, 69-88, and Marika Keblusek, ‘Wine for Comfort: Drinking and the Royalist Exile Experience, 1642-1660’, 55-68. All from the same collection by Adam Smyth, ed., *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Trowbridge, UK: Cromwell Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁰ ‘Bain-marie, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2015, accessed 20 June 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/14724>.

¹⁰¹ *Early English Books Online* list the publication as being from 1527 while the *English Short Title Catalogue* dates the same book as printed in the next year. Hieronymus Brunschwig, *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of herbes* (London: Laurens Andrewe, 1527/8).

¹⁰² Hope, *Londoner’s Larder*, 192.

¹⁰³ Giovanni Reboria, *Culture of the Fork: A Brief History of Everyday Food and Haute Cuisine in Europe* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), 94.

¹⁰⁴ Toby Sonneman, *Lemon: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 42.

lemon. But to be able to touch and taste a real lemon was out of reach for most English people in seventeenth-century England.

Patridge does, however, use one imported ingredient in her formula to ‘beautifie the Face’ that was becoming more accessible to ordinary citizens. Loaf sugar, or sugar that was refined, moulded, and sold as a solid mass, had been introduced to English cooks by the end of the fourteenth century but was too expensive for the majority of medieval households to purchase. It was ‘widely regarded as a spice’, Clarissa Dickson Wright notes, which indicates sugar’s luxury status, and cost ‘anywhere between one shilling and two shillings a pound in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (a kitchen servant at that time might hope to earn four shillings a year)’.¹⁰⁵ But the situation had drastically changed in England by the seventeenth century. Annette Hope argues that the clown’s shopping list in William Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale* containing ‘[t]hree pound of sugar’, indicates its widespread popularity (and decline in cost); similarly, she suggests that the playwright’s frequent references to sugar (citing *Henry IV, Part I* and *Richard II* for example) signal its widespread cultural consumption.¹⁰⁶ In the almanac’s only surviving copy, in the Bodleian, a reader has circled the word ‘Loaf-sugar’ in pencil, which is the only mark of readership in the almanac (Figure 53). While it is hard to say how literally Patridge’s guidance was put into practice by her readers, their emphasis of loaf sugar, made by a reader who may or may not have been a woman, shows at the very least that someone noticed the inclusion of imported goods.

It becomes clear that while Patridge sometimes makes global goods more accessible for her readers, as is shown in her instructions about what to grow in a hot bed, there are other instances in which she places more accessible foodstuffs alongside inaccessible exotic elements. When doing the latter, she optimistically implies that following the text’s advice could help achieve the impossible. Although referencing goods from across the globe, Patridge

¹⁰⁵ Clarissa Dickson Wright, *A History of English Food* (London: Random House, 2011), 50.

¹⁰⁶ Annette Hope, *Londoner’s Larder: English Cuisine from Chaucer to the Present* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2005), 48.

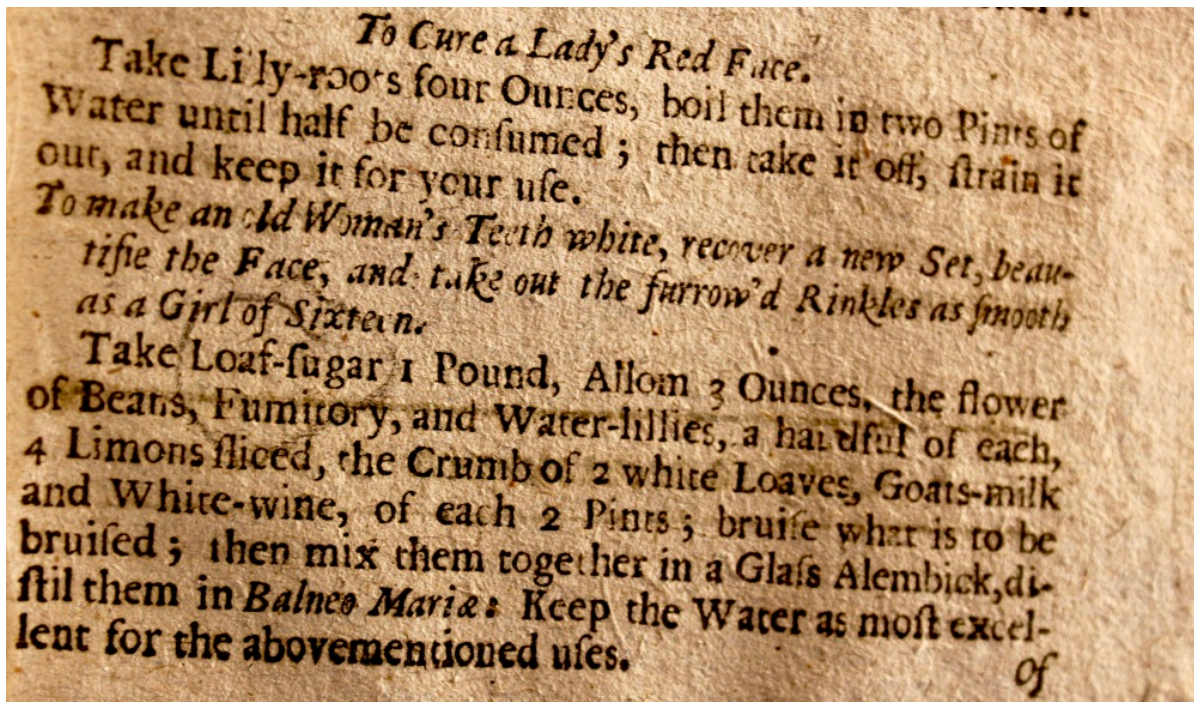


Figure 53. Loaf-sugar, circled, Dorothy Patridge, *The Woman's Almanack, for the Year 1694* (London: Printed for J. S., 1694), B2r.

contributes to what V. G. Kiernan famously calls 'Europe's collective day-dream of the Orient', speculating on foreign matter's transformative properties.¹⁰⁷ Patridge's incorporation of imported ingredients could have meant that these new goods and methods acquired mystical properties for ordinary readers – properties that could hardly be disputed because her readership was not necessarily wealthy enough (few were, after all) to purchase the ingredients needed to test some of her formulas. This premise ties in with Edward Said's assertion that a key feature of fetishising the Orient was a need to 'overrid[e] the possibility that a more independent, or more sceptical, thinker might have had different views on the matter'.¹⁰⁸ Patridge's text can be seen to perpetuate the myth of the exotic unknown derived from not only the Orient but also European imports whilst maintaining her and her English reader's authority.

¹⁰⁷ V. G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man, Yellow Man, and White Man in an Age of Empire* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1969), 55.

¹⁰⁸ Edward Said, *The Edward Said Reader*, ed. Moustafa Dayoumi and Andrew Rubin (London: Granta, 2001), 73.

The fact that some of the foreign produce Patridge references would have been unaffordable to most English people does not render the almanac pointless to her readers. Crucially, the volume could still function as a source of information for ordinary women, offering advice that could, in turn, help to protect their integrity. The formula to reveal ‘whether a Woman be a Maid or no’ is a prime example of this:

Take a spoonful of the Spirit of Seagreen, House-leek, the Powder of Crabs-teeth, one dram ; half an Ounce of *Jamaica* Pepper beaten very small, and mixt together, and presented in a Glass of Wine, Beer or roasted Apple ; if the party do not sneeze in half an Hour after you may suspect her Virginitie ; if she do, be confident she is virtuous.¹⁰⁹

Once again, Patridge includes unusual and exotic goods such as Jamaica pepper (allspice), which had only become increasingly available in England since the colonisation of Jamaica in 1655 and was still too expensive for most of the population to buy.¹¹⁰ This means that most of her readers would have been exempt from taking the virginity test. But her use of the ingredient serves a dual function, as it also warns women by informing them of the desired side effects of consuming the concoction. By revealing that not sneezing proves sexual experience, while sneezing supposedly verifies virginity, Patridge prepares her readers for potential encounters with the substance. She allows each woman to perform the results they require, giving autonomy to readers over their own bodies when faced with virginity tests.

The passage above functions in a similar way to other almanacs by women from the same period, which contain information on women’s health and midwifery. Jinner’s 1659 almanac provides information about how to avoid miscarriage and abortion, and in doing so offered ways of inducing both.¹¹¹ She gives a recipe to ‘provoke’ or ‘stay the immoderate Flux of the Terms’ that should be taken by women to track, regulate, and induce their menstrual flow. The prescriptions of pennyroyal and mugwort syrup – herbs that ‘had been listed since

¹⁰⁹ Patridge, *The Woman’s Almanack*, B2v.

¹¹⁰ Albala, *Food*, 48.

¹¹¹ See for further information Robert Jütte, *Contraception: A History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 75.

classical times as abortion-causing drugs’, as Weber notes¹¹² – are listed by Jinner to ‘move’ and ‘remov[e] Obstructions of Terms’, potentially supplied her reader with abortifacients.¹¹³ Angus McLaren argues that the majority of early modern abortions were self-induced, and that women turned to abortionists only if their own remedies failed (and if they could afford the fees).¹¹⁴ It was therefore paramount that reliable information could be readily available in everyday books such as almanacs.

A key feature of early printed almanacs by women was to provide essential medical information, to take one example, and that this information was inseparable from providing an education for women about the world around them. The knowledge imparted in almanacs by female authors intended for female readers was often unavailable in other printed forms during the period, thus setting these almanacs apart from those written by and aimed at men. Yet it is equally clear that Patridge’s almanac is not simply solemn in tone and academic in its intentions. Some of her recipes serve a serious and practical purpose, such as the virginity test or horticultural advice, while others (such as the love powder of crushed swallows nests) are themselves intended to be entertaining rather than necessarily carried out by readers. While Patridge’s almanac appears to have multiple uses, a strong undercurrent throughout her text is its engagement with inaccessible ingredients, creating something of an imagined world to enjoy but not to always literally enact. This, in turn, suggests that women’s textual engagement with unattainable physical travel can function on either a practical level that seeks to intervene in and shape global expeditions – as I will explore in Chapters 4 and 5 – or it can remain a fantasy.

¹¹² Alan S. Weber, ‘Sarah Jinner, *An Almanack and Prognostication for the year of our Lord 1659* (1659)’, in *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (London: Routledge, 2004), 119.

¹¹³ Sarah Jinner, *An Almanack and Prognostication for the year of our Lord in 1659* (London: Printed by J[ohn] S[treater], 1659), B6r.

¹¹⁴ Angus McLaren, *A History of Contraception: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 159-162.

Wolfreton's almanac

Although the number of almanac publications by women grew during the seventeenth century thanks to, as Patricia Crawford suggests, their increased involvement in public debate during these politically turbulent times, women readers did not only use almanacs aimed at their sex. Far from it, in fact, as female authors were not 'numerous enough to constitute an alternative literary society' that would entirely replace almanacs by men.¹¹⁵ Women are known to have read 'burlesque almanacs' rife with 'proverbial misogyny', Miegion argues, such as the popular series *Poor Robin: An Almanack after a New Fashion*, that was launched in 1662 and ran annually until 1828.¹¹⁶ One example of such a reader is Frances Wolfreton, whose seventeenth-century almanacs are bound together in a single volume that is now held in the Bodleian.¹¹⁷ Measuring 9cm x 14.5cm, the volume was acquired by the library in 2010 after it was purchased from a private book dealer, Christopher Edwards.¹¹⁸ Wolfreton's annotations, I argue, reveal her understanding of the near and far by imagining her own domestic existence in relation to the travels of her neighbours, friends, and family, which she maps throughout her almanac collection.

The volume comprises nineteen issues of *Poor Robin* and one issue of *Dade: Prognostication* (1693), all of which were printed by the Company of Stationers, displaying a consistent personal taste for the same type of almanac that was fairly atypical for early modern readers (compared to Lady Twysden, for example, who switches from using John Booker's almanacs to those by George Wharton).¹¹⁹ While we don't know exactly when these individual items were bound together, they were each published between 1666 and 1705. The

¹¹⁵ Patricia Crawford, 'Women's Published Writings, 1600-1700', in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 213-144, 266.

¹¹⁶ Miegion, 'Emergence of the Almanac', 40. For more on the printing history of *Poor Robin* almanacs, see Cyprian Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958): 107-116. For more on *Poor Robin's* readership, see Perkins, *Visions of the Future*, 126.

¹¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Don. E. 246.

¹¹⁸ All provenance information taken from 'Manuscripts in Printed Books', *Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired Singly: Manuscripts in Printed Books*, Bodleian Library, creation date unknown, accessed 26 May 2017,

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/single-items/msprint/mss-in-printed-books.html>.

¹¹⁹ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 65.

first twelve in the volume belonged to Wolfreston; they are a complete set and appear in chronological order, with one almanac included from each year printed between 1666 and 1677. It is unsurprising that Wolfreston included only publications written by men, rather than ones by Jinner, Holden and Patridge, as none of these women published almanacs during these dates.

The volume as a whole could not have been ordered to be bound by Wolfreston herself, as she died in the same year as her final almanac, writing her last entry in January 1677. The seven other almanacs in the volume date from after her death – 1678, 1679, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705 and 1690 – and they do not appear in chronological order, nor are they a complete set. These belonged to her son, Stanford, and the volume's front pasteboard reveals two more recent marks of ownership: a printed, glued book label belonging to Robert Logan from Highgate and a blue biro inscription of E. Vimont and his address in Croydon. While Wolfreston's almanacs from 1666 and 1679 are missing their title pages (and the first few pages besides), all others are complete. To date – and to the best of my knowledge – the bound book has received no scholarly attention, despite each individual item in the volume containing unique marginalia.¹²⁰ For the remainder of this chapter I focus on the first twelve almanacs, considering how Wolfreston marked her texts.

Frances Wolfreston (*née* Middlemore) was baptised on 13 September 1607 in King's Norton, Worcestershire. The eldest child of George and Frances Middlemore (*née* Stanford), she had twenty-one siblings. In the same church as her baptism she married Francis Wolfreston (1612-1666), of Statfold in Staffordshire. The couple had ten or eleven children, with three sons and three daughters outliving Frances and Francis. The Wolfrestons were wealthy, but not members of the aristocracy, offering a rare glimpse into the writings of non-

¹²⁰ Sarah Lindenbaum has created a crowd-sourcing website dedicated to identifying Wolfreston's books that have not yet been catalogued in existing scholarly publications, although the almanacs are not listed. See Sarah Lindenbaum, 'About', *Frances Wolfreston Hor Bouks*, 24 Jan. 2017, accessed 24 March 2018, <https://franceswolfrestonhorbouks.com>.

elite women from the period, since contemporary almanacs most commonly belonged to ‘gentry or professional men’.¹²¹ The extant almanacs of Frances Wolfreston (hereafter Wolfreston) begin in the year of her husband’s death, 1666, when she moved from Statfold Hall to a new house nearer Tamworth, and her final almanac dates from 1677 when she died at Tamworth and was buried in nearby Statfold. Wolfreston’s habit of book collecting has been brought to light thanks to Paul Morgan’s research.¹²² Her books, according to Jason McElligott, are ‘invariably inscribed’ with ‘frances wolfreston hor [or her] bouk’ – although this phrase doesn’t appear in any of her almanacs – and while many of her books contain annotations, much like the marginalia in her almanac her handwriting is ‘cramped and difficult to read’.¹²³ According to her will, dated 4 July 1676, Wolfreston’s large library was bequeathed to her son, Stanford, and the majority of her books remained at Statfold Hall until they were sold through Sotheby’s in 1856. Nowadays, they are scattered across archives in Europe and the United States.¹²⁴

The person responsible for binding this collection of almanacs together did so without any apparent concern for their marginal marks. The volume’s pages are severely trimmed to neatly fit its current octavo form. As a result, almost every instance of marginalia printed on the outer edges of paper, those furthest from the binding, is incomplete. This affects almost every instance of marginalia in Wolfreston’s volume, in-keeping with the early modern habit whereby almanac ‘[a]nnotations rarely intrude onto the printed text’, as Smyth asserts.¹²⁵ The tantalising tips of typographic ascenders now only decorate the page, the words having long since been cropped (see, for example, Figure 54). Deciphering meaning from the

¹²¹ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 60.

¹²² Paul Morgan, ‘Frances Wolfreston and “Hor Bouks”: A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector’, *The Library* 6, no. 11 (1989): 197–219, and ‘Frances Wolfreston’, *The Library* 6, no. 12 (1990), 56.

¹²³ Jason McElligott, ‘Wolfreston, Frances (bap.1607, d.1677)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 7 April 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68912>.

¹²⁴ All bibliographic information from McElligott, ‘Wolfreston, Frances (bap.1607, d.1677)’.

¹²⁵ Smyth, ‘Almanacs, Annotators’, 232.

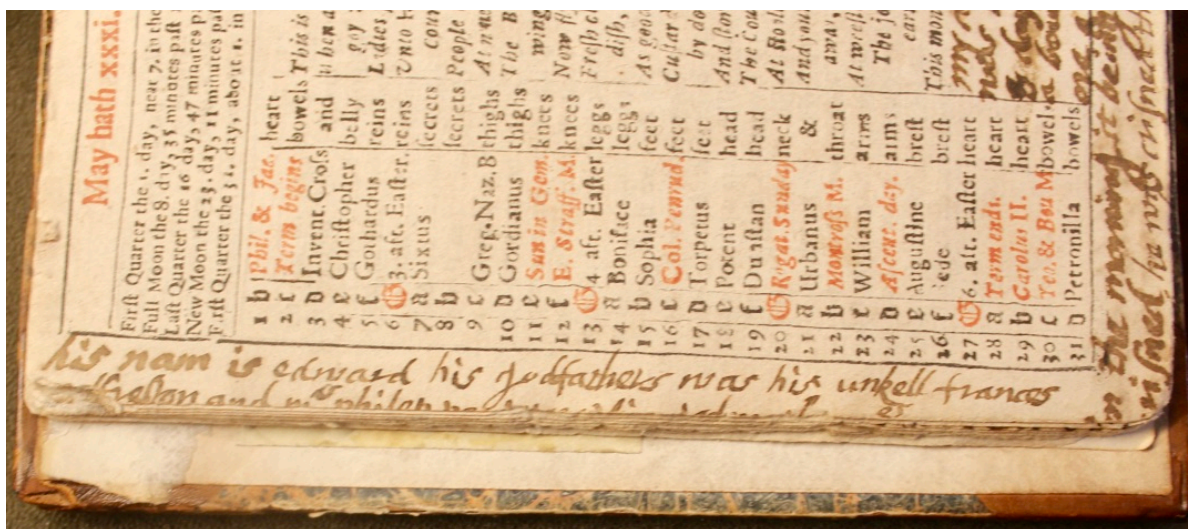


Figure 54. Cropped margin, Poor Robin, *Poor Robin*. 1666. *An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1666), 9v.

marginalia is therefore considerably more difficult than it might have once been, as is true of many cases of book annotation's afterlife, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The first nineteen items in the bound volume come in pairs of almanacs and printed prognostications for each year, except for the final item in the book which is a lone prognostication for 1693. But in her twelve almanacs, Wolfreston seldom marks the prognostication sections and when she does, it is almost always briefly and in the same place. In fact, four of her prognostications are completely void of marks (1667, 1673, 1674, and 1675) and seven others only contain writing on the final page (1666, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1676, and 1677). The content of the marks on the final pages range broadly but is rarely directly commenting on the printed text, as we shall now see.

Wolfreston's only marginalia in the first prognostication records a debt that is due to be paid to her. A ripped corner obscures the debtor's first name but 'basly says he oth me 3d 8s', she writes in the bottom margin, a comment that appears to be unrelated to the page's printed text for an 'Advertisement of Books'.¹²⁶ In the next prognostication with user marks,

¹²⁶ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin*. 1666. *An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1666), 25v. All page numbers I use for Bodl. MS. Don. E. 246 refer to those handwritten on each page that run continuously throughout the volume, rather than the printed page numbers that restart for each individual almanac.

from 1668, ‘Aug’ is written in the upper margin above a list of ‘Rules to be observed’, although these rules are not month-specific in print.¹²⁷ The fourth prognostication in the volume, from 1669, notes where her sister ‘Madlen’ lives and details some money William Ham repaid to her, appearing in the bottom margin, but is thematically disconnected to the astrological poem printed above.¹²⁸ Wolfreston lists ‘boucks I lend ^{ofen} to robart comarford’ in her fifth almanac’s prognostication, a discovery which extends the list of titles examined by Morgan in his study of Wolfreston’s library.¹²⁹ Here she notes Ben Jonson’s 1641 play *The Sad Shepard*; James Shirley’s 1633 play *A Contention for Honour and Riches*; ‘a sister corombona’, referring to Vittoria Corombona, a character from John Webster’s c.1612 play *The White Devi*; George Chapman’s ‘the tragidy of charls’ from 1608; ‘the two trogins’, or, *Troilus and Cressida* by Shakespeare from 1602; and ‘the foxe’ (that is, *Volpone* – meaning sly fox – by Jonson, from 1605). Next appears ‘the tragidy of king iohn’, which is probably referring either to George Peele’s c.1589 play *The Troublesome Reign of King John* or Shakespeare’s play of a similar title, and the final play listed is ‘the inglish intelligenser’, or, Richard Brathwaite’s *Mercurius Britanicus* from 1641 (Figure 55).¹³⁰ The author of the sixth almanac’s prognostication concludes with a printed nonsense poem in rhyming couplets about the purposes of almanacs (‘If here and there I’ve given a little rub, / Some men may wince, and where it itches, scrub’), and in the space below, Wolfreston mentions her brothers and sisters, although this entry is blurred to the point of illegibility in places.¹³¹ The final two prognostications annotated by Wolfreston, dating from 1676 and 1677, appear either unrelated to the printed content (in the 1676 version she notes the address of Lilly Wilkeson) or are illegible (as in the 1677 publication).¹³²

¹²⁷ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1668. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1668), 74v.

¹²⁸ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1669. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1669), 98v.

¹²⁹ Morgan, ‘Frances Wolfreston’, 197-219.

¹³⁰ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1670. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1670), 122v.

¹³¹ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1671. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1671), 145v.

¹³² Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1676. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1676), 264v, and Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1677. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1677), 288v.

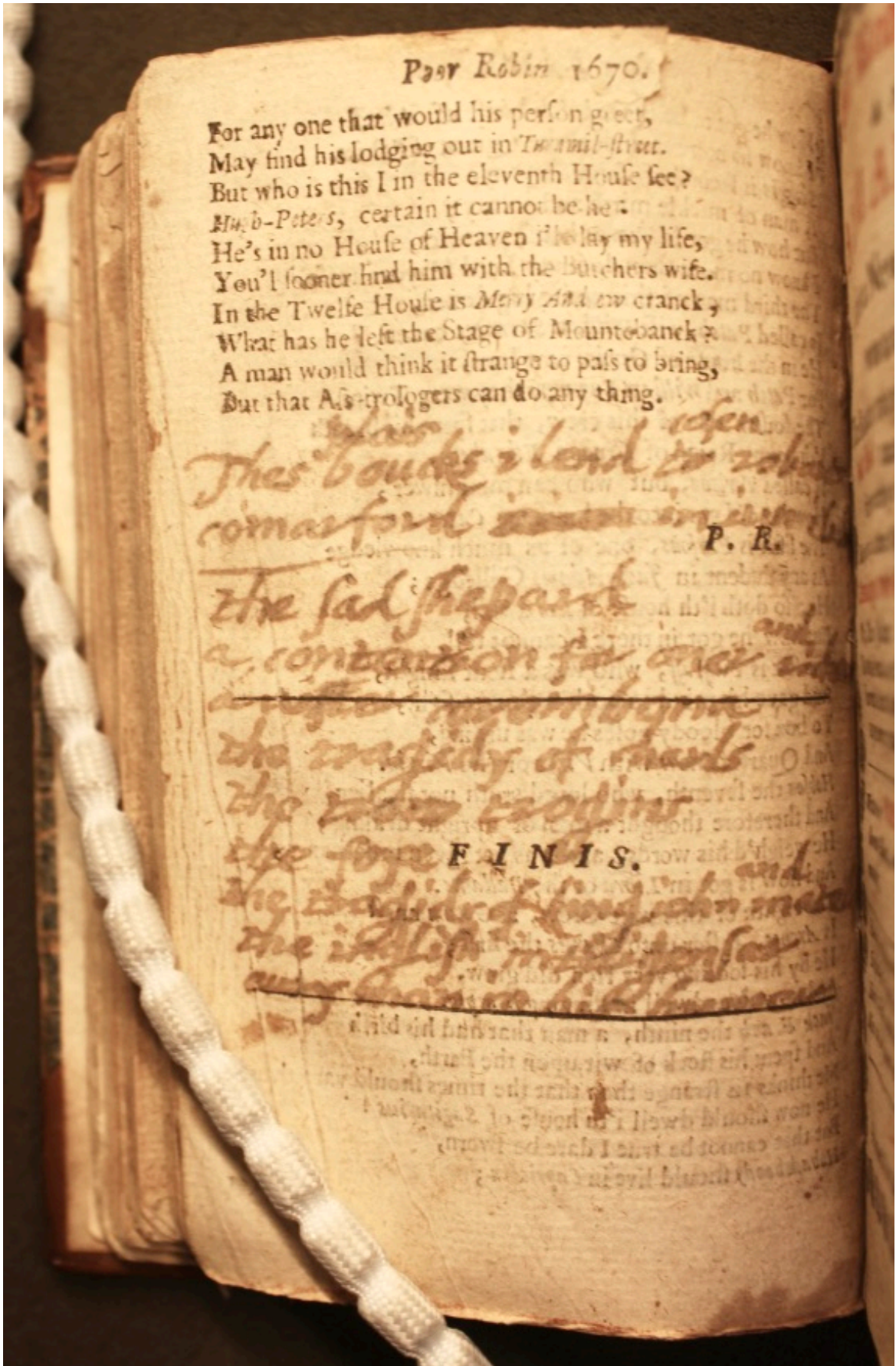


Figure 55. List of plays, Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1670. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1670), 122v.

As Smyth points out, almanacs ‘creat[e] expectations for what might be written’ in their empty spaces, conditioning the kinds of notations made; but, equally, the reader’s command over the text and cultivation of their own independent habits must not go unnoticed.¹³³ Wolfreston returns to the same location within the prognostication year upon year, and so her material habits are clearly deeply influenced by the page. Yet in terms of the content of her personal notes, it is always unrelated to the surrounding printed text. Although scholars often think of readers’ notes as being a direct response to the nearby printed text, as William Sherman argues in his study of used books, ‘a large percentage of the notes produced by readers had no obvious connection with the text they accompanied’.¹³⁴ Wolfreston’s ways of marking the prognostication section of her almanacs appears to tussle with conformity about how the printed page was supposed to be used.

It is within the almanac’s seventh prognostication, from 1672, that Wolfreston writes her most extensive handwritten note of all – although the page is cropped in the left margin, making the passage difficult to comprehend. Rather than writing on the prognostication’s final page, which is the norm for this annotator, Wolfreston’s handwriting in this instance appears on the reverse of the title page. Her notes are, on some level, a response to the page being void of printed text, atypical when compared to the other reverses of prognostication title pages in this collection. Wolfreston divides the page into four sections separated by inked horizontal lines stretching across the width of the page. In the first section, she talks of how ‘[H]ompry medelmor cam to ^{live with} me [t]he 4 of march 1667 [a]nd went a way the i5 of desember^{ber} [1]669’; in the second, she records a debt of ‘2L 4s 10d’ that he accumulated during his stay; in the third, she writes of how ‘[g]org medellmor cam to me [th]e 18 of desember 1669, for [cropped] was with me 2 [y]ears and [5] months, and went from me the 17 of may

¹³³ Smyth, ‘Almanacs, Annotators’, 214.

¹³⁴ See for example Heather Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), and Sherman, *Used Books*, xiii.

1672'; and in the final section, Wolfreston records the money she lent the visitor and her total expenditures, '[b]esids what he hath lost brok[e] and spoild' during his stay (Figure 56).¹³⁵

The end of the second visitor's lengthy stay coincides with the printing of the publication, both of which happen in 1672. Her noting of George's departure perhaps prompted Wolfreston to record the dates of her previous visitor, Hompry, who arrived some years earlier. Wolfreston's first entry on this page isn't chronologically linked to the prognostication, considering the marginalia is referring to a visit between 1667 and 1669, and the prognostication was not published until three years later. Nor is the arrival of Hompry in March 1667 recorded in the almanac of that year (although she does record how 'm^{es} pherly had it' – whatever 'it' is – on 'the 18^{day} of this month').¹³⁶ She does note his departure in her 1669 almanac: 'hompry medelmor went from me to lond the 15 day of this month [of November]'.¹³⁷ Wolfreston's handwritten entry reveals the complex exercises in recollection that the almanac could provoke. Not only does the almanac provide information about what is to come during the year ahead and encourage readers to recount the recent past as the year progresses – becoming 'practical guides', as Margaret Spufford claims – but it also provokes its readers to record occurrences from years earlier.¹³⁸ The idea that an almanac was useful for one particular year reduces its potential to achieve a far broader scope, the consequences of reading its information about space and time stretching infinitely beyond and behind the year to which it was supposedly tailored.

Homphry is witness to many notable social events during his two and a half year stay. Wolfreston records seven marriages that happened in her social circle and local community during his visit, plus one christening, a pregnancy, two dog whelpings (including her own dog in April 1669), as well as twenty-two deaths and burials (counting one of her cats). The brisk

¹³⁵ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1672. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1672), 162v.

¹³⁶ *Poor Robin. 1667*, 32x.

¹³⁷ *Poor Robin. 1669*, 89v.

¹³⁸ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), 146, 219.



Figure 56. Hompry and Gorg Medelmor's visit, Poor Robin, *Poor Robin. 1672. An Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1672), 162v.

style that almanac writers tended to adopt, one that prioritises the quick delivery of facts over languishing in descriptive or emotional prose, might evoke a similar response from users of the same publication. The information Wolfreston handwrites is stylistically matter of fact: ‘william adams was married the last day of this month’, she writes in August 1667, a typical example of how local weddings are phrased in her almanacs – that is, with no indication of her relationship with those involved or of how she feels about the affair.¹³⁹ Deaths are recorded in a similarly detached manner. Her remarks that ‘old m^{rs} chatwin di[e]d the 18 day of this month was bered of Saint geordes day’ in 1669 is comparable in tone to the death of her own mother in January of the same year: ‘frances wolfreston the dauter of frances and ester dide twelve eve at 9 oclok at nit was beried of twelve day at Statffold chorth this month’.¹⁴⁰ Considering the family deaths and her son Stanford’s absence from home during Homphry’s visit, the guest’s presence could have brought Wolfreston comfort and support. But it is only by cross-referencing the occurrences listed in different almanacs and prognostications that we know Homphry was present during this tumultuous time. While Chapman argues that the calendar ‘governs behaviour by synchronizing various forms of practical observance’, Wolfreston’s annotations show that she was not always at the mercy of printed instructions.¹⁴¹ By observing her spontaneous notes that are chronologically independent from the printed texts upon which they are written, a more complete picture of the intimacies of Wolfreston’s life can be established.

Wolfreston appears to use printed prognostications as one might use scrap paper, to note down thoughts that do not necessarily directly respond to any printed text in the vicinity. It is, as Smyth remarks, typical in a series of almanacs owned by the same person that their texts ‘demonstrate a consistent methodology of annotation’, although Wolfreston’s

¹³⁹ *Poor Robin*. 1667, 85v.

¹⁴⁰ *Poor Robin*. 1669, 81v, 79r.

¹⁴¹ Alison A. Chapman, ‘The Politics of Time in Edmund Spenser’s English Calendar’, *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 42, no. 1 (2002): 1-24.

consistent, albeit often textually unrelated, use of the printed prognostications is somewhat unusual.¹⁴² Contrary to this is her use of the almanacs themselves, particularly their calendar sections, where Wolfreston is strongly influenced by the information available on the printed page. Her comment that old Mrs Chatwin's burial occurred on Saint George's Day, using the calendar of saints and feast days as well as numerical dates to mark the occasion, is far from unusual. She makes use of printed calendars to record all manner of daily occurrences. '[M]y pig went to staff on Mathews day', she writes, and by comparing her marginal notes to the printed calendar which they surround, it becomes clear that this happened on the 21 September 1668.¹⁴³ Similarly, in 1666 Wolfreston remarks: 'I haue bine married this ~~next~~ next thorty 5 yeare of mele[t]us day' which, by using the printed text on the opposite page, fell on the 24 April.¹⁴⁴ Considering the movable nature of saint day celebrations, Wolfreston is likely to have been entirely dependent on her annual publication to know exactly when these fell. The range of ways in which the almanac assists its readers in locating their personal lives into the larger cultural structures of space and time becomes clear.

Wolfreston rarely travels away from home, if the notes in her almanac are to be taken as an all-encompassing summary of her routine. The journeys that preoccupy her almanacs are instead those taken by her son, Stanford. Foremost, she records his travels to and from Cambridge, where he was presumably studying, and his stays at home in the meantime. In July 1669, she notes that 'Stanford wolfrestn went to cambrig the seckond day of this month the forth tim', and did not return again until November of the same year, when she writes that 'Stanford cam from cambrig the 10 day of this month he was their 19 weeks this [il] him'.¹⁴⁵ In a similarly formal manner, Wolfreston meticulously chronicles the exact dates of his repeated trips throughout her series of almanacs: from 6 May until the 8 September

¹⁴² Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators', 233.

¹⁴³ *Poor Robin. 1668*, 62v.

¹⁴⁴ *Poor Robin. 1666*, 9r.

¹⁴⁵ *Poor Robin. 1669*, 85r, 89r.

1670;¹⁴⁶ from 22 March until 2 June 1671;¹⁴⁷ and from 29 March until 27 August 1672, to name a few.¹⁴⁸ After this date it appears as though Stanford's Cambridge days were over and he took a position in the church; Wolfreston marks the occasion in May 1676 when, for 'the forst tim Stanford preched at his pl[e]as-nt woten was the first Sunday in this month [o]f may'.¹⁴⁹ Later that year, Wolfreston writes an uncharacteristically emotional entry: 'this month Stanford sent to woten a horslode [of] boocks, and went himselue to continew thear 26 day of this month being wensday, 1676; pray god bles and speed him'.¹⁵⁰

It is thanks to Wolfreston's almanacs that Stanford's travels are elucidated, and the control women could have over men's travels around England is a theme I discuss further in Chapter 5. But it is worth hypothesising why Wolfreston would meticulously detail someone else's travels in her almanacs – as well as the myriad of local births, marriages, deaths and monetary loans – but not recount her own routine. This type of record-making is distinctly different to other almanacs from the period, such as Henry Marten's, who would write himself reminders of tasks he had to carry out then strike through them when he'd completed them.¹⁵¹ Is Wolfreston's focus on other people's journeys because she did not regard this textual genre as the appropriate place for self-reflexive or emotional writing? Was she fascinated with the goings on in her local society – the ultimate nosey neighbour, perhaps – recording the events she deemed most noteworthy? Or was Wolfreston inspired by the formula of the printed calendar upon which she so often chose to annotate, where the almanac's concise textual approach to recording major events in the social calendar subconsciously encouraged her to do the same thing on a more local level? Chapman argues that almanacs increasingly became highly specific towards locations, and that the astrological

¹⁴⁶ *Poor Robin. 1670*, 106v-107r.

¹⁴⁷ *Poor Robin. 1671*, 129r, 132r.

¹⁴⁸ *Poor Robin. 1672*, 151v, 157r.

¹⁴⁹ *Poor Robin. 1676*, 248v.

¹⁵⁰ *Poor Robin. 1676*, 251r.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Gallen, *A New Almanack* (London: Company of Stationers, 1655), Berkshire Record Office, D/Els/F18, n.p.; qtd. in Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators', 233.

data was customised for this ‘spatial pinpointing’ to give a larger meaning to people’s relationships with the stars and planets, revealing the maker’s ‘keen awareness of the significance of place’.¹⁵² But as the case of Wolfreton shows, the almanac user does not necessarily align her own life with the publication’s astrological information. Rather, places are significant because of their relation to her own position, revealing a sense of spatial pinpointing that makes the global local to her.

Wolfreton offers a potent example of the reader as an active figure, as Michel de Certeau argues, rather than one who is rendered passive thanks to the inertia of consumption. Almanacs such as hers show that ‘not only do readers improve with an apparently imposed culture, but that imposed culture [...] is materially reworked as a result of the consumers’ creative responses to the book’.¹⁵³ Wolfreton’s notes reveal that space and time, on both a global and local scale, were highly significant and deeply personal components of her daily life and literary expression. All previous work on Wolfreton focuses on her book collection, as the owner of a copy of Chaucer’s works or a first quarto of Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* (1593), meaning that she is largely defined by the printed *fiction* she possessed.¹⁵⁴ In other words, Wolfreton confirms an already-known narrative that maps the rise of a vernacular literary tradition. But I have looked at Wolfreton through a new framework, studying her almanacs and her extensive annotations for the first time to consider how her notes reference or are seemingly detached in content from the printed text which they surround. As a result, I hope to have offered a different and more balanced perspective on such an important female figure associated with early modern writing.

¹⁵² Chapman, ‘Marking Time’, 1257-1260.

¹⁵³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), and Smyth, ‘Almanacs and Ideas’, 131.

¹⁵⁴ See for example Morgan, ‘Frances Wolfreton’, 197-219, and Sasha Roberts, ‘Engendering the Female Reader: Women’s Recreational Reading of Shakespeare in Early Modern England’, in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Heidi Brayman Hackel (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 36-54.

Conclusion

English almanacs are often considered to be a vehicle for an increased sense of nationalism during the seventeenth century. Capp, for example, writes that '[o]ne of the most pronounced features of astrological propaganda was the blending of political and religious issues with racial hatred', while the 'combination of apocalyptic with astrological themes helps to explain the extravagant nationalism and xenophobia of the almanac-makers'.¹⁵⁵ But such feelings of hostility are not a dominant theme of *The Woman's Almanack*; rather, Patridge's references to the near and the far allow her to reach into the globe without the traces of scepticism towards the exotic that are present in Evelyn's text. She asserts a firm understanding of the wide range of substances available in England that originated from both home and abroad. Her publication promotes more of a seamless integration of global and local, much like Claesz's painting. If Patridge's almanac was to display a sense of nationalism it would be one with an ever-evolving English identity, representing the seventeenth century's increased access to global markets.

Chapman argues that calendars were 'crucial to forming the contemporary sense of nationhood, for it synchronized collective experience, giving a shared pattern to the disparateness and multiplicity of human lives'.¹⁵⁶ As both Wolfreton and Patridge's almanacs show, women readers and writers marked their agency by composing new, and contesting existing, discourses. Almanacs perpetuated an interest in and provided information about the world on both a global and local scale, representing, as Smyth suggests, 'that Renaissance interest in epitomizing vastness into as small a form as possible – that interest, to use Barabas's words [from *The Jew of Malta*], in conveying "Infinite riches in a little room"'.¹⁵⁷ One intention of Patridge's almanac was to bring global goods, knowledge, and techniques into the

¹⁵⁵ Capp, *English Almanacs*, 77-80.

¹⁵⁶ Chapman, 'The Politics of Time', 3-4. See also David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), xi.

¹⁵⁷ Smyth, 'Almanacs and Ideas', 126.

lives of women. As Wolfreton's marks of readership make clear, female almanac users responded to this personalisation of space and time. By studying Patridge and Wolfreton's texts together, we can begin to build an idea of the supply and demand in seventeenth-century England for highly personalised yet globally rich information to be available for women in cheap and accessible printed forms such as almanacs. Publications such as this, as well as their authors and readers, offer new ways of considering women's imagined engagement with travel; they allow for alternative connections between the local and the global to be drawn, and encourage us to question how we interpret the evidence available.

Chapter 4. All Hands on Deck: Maritime Women's Textual Journeys

Glancing out of the window on Tuesday 10 July 1666, Samuel Pepys observed that the yard behind his house had suddenly become 'very full of women (I believe above three hundred) [...] clamouring and swearing and cursing'.¹ This was an unexpected turn of events considering that the day had otherwise begun in a routine fashion, having awoken and gone to the office, the diarist recalled, where he was 'busy all the morning, sitting'. He left work at noon and returned home for lunch – a journey that was typical considering the proximity of the two buildings, as part of the same navy complex – before settling down to his paperwork once more.² It is then that he caught sight of the concourse. The women had 'com[e] to get money for their husbands and friends' who had been taken prisoner in Holland while fighting in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, yet Pepys's initial concern appears to be the protection of his evening meal rather than the welfare of his visitors. '[M]y wife and I were afeard', he wrote, 'to send a venison-pasty that we have for supper to-night to the cook's to be baked, for fear of [the women] offering violence to it'.³ Pepys would recall at a later point in his diary entry that this eagerly-anticipated baked good was successfully moved to safety, with 'no hurt done', and later that night he, his wife Elizabeth Pepys, and their dinner guests enjoyed the 'good venison-pasty and other good things, and [we] had a good supper, and [were] very merry'. The same positivity was not felt by the begging women, however, who continued to ambush the 'tormented' naval administrator with 'cries [that] were so sad'.⁴

They began to circle Pepys's property in an attempt to catch his attention, shifting from the back yard to the front. During this window of time, the opportunistic naval

¹ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols., (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972), vol. 7, 199-200 (Tuesday 10 July 1666).

² Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys – The Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin, 2002), 408.

³ Pepys comments on the consumption and quality of venison pasties throughout his diary. See Taissa Csáky, 'Samuel Pepys Venison Pasties', in *Wrapped & Stuffed Foods: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2012*, ed. Mark McWilliams (Oxford: Prospect Books, 2013), 105-110.

⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 7, 199-200 (Tuesday 10 July 1666).

administrator made a break for it as he ‘slipt into the office and there [was] busy all afternoon’. But he was eventually outwitted when, ‘by and by the women got into the garden, and come all to my closett window’. Pepys’s repeated, albeit fruitless, effort to avoid the women was not due to a lack of compassion but, rather, a feeling of helplessness. ‘Their cries’, he mourned,

were so sad for money, and laying down the condition of their families and their husbands, and what they have done and suffered for the King, and how ill they are used by us, and how well the Dutch are used here by the allowance of their masters, and what their husbands are offered to serve the Dutch abroad, that I do most heartily pity them, and was ready to cry to hear them, but cannot helpe them.⁵

Pepys’s account offers a snapshot of the difficulties maritime women faced throughout the seventeenth century, when England and the Netherlands were at war in the North Sea on three occasions. The second of these occurred between 1665 and 1667 (with Pepys writing this particular diary entry in 1666), when rival forces fought to gain control over trade routes in a conflict lost by the English.⁶ As the surveyor-general of victualling for the Royal Navy, an appointment that was made during the first year of the second war, Pepys was the self-confessed ‘right hand of the Navy’ during what was, as J. D. Davies remarks, ‘one of the most important periods of transition’ in its history.⁷ Pepys was used to dealing with the demands of war in his professional life, with much of his time spent organising naval operations against the Dutch during the mid-1660s, although the surprise invasion of 300 maritime women on his own property was unprecedented.⁸

The women’s ‘cries’ proclaimed that they had heard ‘how well the Dutch [we]re used’ during the conflict, which they compared to how their own seamen ‘suffered for the King’

⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 7, 199–200 (Tuesday 10 July 1666).

⁶ For a general history of the Anglo-Dutch War, consult James Rees Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longman, 1996); Gijs Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667): Raison D’état, Mercantilism and Maritime Strife* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), and David Roger Hainsworth, *The Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars, 1652–1674* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1998).

⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 6, 88 (Monday 24 April 1665), and J. D. Davies, *Pepys’s Navy: Ships, Men and Warfare 1649–1689* (Barnsley, UK: Seaforth Publishing, 2008), 10.

⁸ Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering and Sociability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 9.

whilst abroad, interpreting tales of sea voyages to form their argument. Pepys was persuaded.

‘When the rest were gone’, he remarked,

I did call one to me that I heard complaine only and pity her husband and did give her some money, and she blessed me and went away. Anon my business at the office being done I to the Tower to speak with Sir John Robinson [Lieutenant of the Tower of London] about business, principally the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes, so it is represented from the fleete, and so to provide them shirts and stockings and drawers.

Pepys was familiar with the dangers of maritime travel and its negative domestic impact.⁹ But the anecdote exemplifies how women’s decisive actions and persuasive rhetoric directed at a tactically chosen audience could result in action: their protest meant that the sailors received new clothes, as well as one woman being given money to improve her family’s living conditions, and it helped raise awareness of their problems with other navy officials.

Anecdotal history has been critiqued by Roland Barthes for giving only the ‘*realistic effect*’ (his italics), and should be discarded as a way of organising analysis because, as Joel Fineman contends, it is reliant on contextualisation from larger histories.¹⁰ Yet its merits include having a ‘strong emphasis on experience [and] social consciousness’, Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt persuasively argue.¹¹ Pepys’s anecdote therefore encourages us to ask how women adapted accounts of maritime expeditions to cater to their own experiences and retold these sea tales for their own purposes.¹²

Pepys’s diary entry about the protesting women introduces themes that are central to my chapter. His anecdote taps into an area of history that considers early modern women’s relationships – however brief or mediated the remaining textual evidence might seem – with maritime travel. The 300 campaigners represent a larger body of maritime women who

⁹ For more on the social and financial pressures felt by the Navy during 1666, see Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War*, 153-156.

¹⁰ Roland Barthes, ‘The Discourse of History’, trans. Stephen Bann, in *Comparative Criticism: A Yearbook: Volume 3*, ed. E. S. Shaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 17, and Joel Fineman, ‘The History of the Anecdote’, in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veesser (London: Routledge, 1989), 61.

¹¹ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 54.

¹² Pepys, *Diary*, vii, 199-200 (Tuesday 10 July 1666).

suffered profound hardship when their male relatives were detained, captured, shipwrecked, or lost (temporarily or permanently) at sea. Cast in a liminal place, being neither widows nor maids, these wives without husbands, mothers without sons, sisters without brothers, and kin without kin were forced to live on a reduced income and often with many mouths to feed.¹³ Granted an anomalous cultural position defined by absence, each woman was ‘operating at her most independent’, as Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner argue in their study of the social position held by widows. When coverture was uncertain – if a wife’s legal status did not appear to be fully subsumed by her husband’s authority – this could make women ‘both vulnerable and resourceful’, Cavallo and Warner suggest.¹⁴ Pepys’s encounter encourages us to consider the nuances of, and motivations behind, the connections women formulated with seamen. But the situation prompts us to dig deeper to explore how these ‘independent’ naval women shaped maritime expeditions around the world – even when they did not physically travel abroad themselves. It asks us to consider how women armed themselves against the impact naval voyages had on their lives in England, returning to a central theme of my thesis that explores how the home intersects with travel in complex ways.

My thesis proposes new ways for feminist literary history to think about its sources and the extant traces of women’s agencies. In Chapter 4, I study texts that were not necessarily put to paper by women’s hands, recognising how a variety of literary and historical genres mediate women’s maritime experiences nonetheless. I consider the pre-emptive steps men and women collaboratively took to ensure pay would be released if sailors were detained at sea, looking first at wage tickets, then wills, and powers of attorney. I map how these formal manuscripts and printed legal documents were commonly used by women in the cycle of maritime intervention. Then, I consider the texts women produced to pressure Navy

¹³ For more on the cultural views of women without men, particularly as widows, see Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner, ed., *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 1999), and Jennifer Panek, *Widows and Suitors in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁴ Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner, ‘Introduction’, in *Widowhood in Medieval*, ed. Cavallo and Warner, 3.

officials into upholding sailors' wage contracts, looking at letters of petition available on the MarineLives website and building upon the preliminary analysis provided through this database.¹⁵ As a whole, Chapter 4 focuses on women's knowledge of different rhetorical forms and how such documents were used persuasively during maritime interventions.

These women were engaging with the material consequences of the 'rise of the "paper state" in the early modern period', as it has been called by Peter Burke, when increasing information was created to govern the population that resulted in a proliferation of paper documentation.¹⁶ Paperwork, Ben Kafka argues, is an important resource from which the 'raw materials of power' can be investigated; although it is often seen as something that confined people within institutional systems of power, power was also gained by the users of documents such as the maritime women I discuss.¹⁷ By considering petitions and the catalyst behind them, I suggest that maritime women's understanding, production, and use of different textual genres exposes their steadfast commitment to the persuasive powers of writing. Attending to the literary nature of these formal legal documents reveals women's astute textual resourcefulness, I argue, irrespective of whether it was their own hands directly putting pen to paper. In doing so we can begin to focus on non-elite women, who might not have had either the education or opportunity to write, and whose maritime experiences and rhetoric of discovery would not otherwise be known to us.

Studies of gender and seafaring

Turbulent international relations in the seventeenth century meant that English naval forces were in high demand. Not only was there a continued rivalry with the Dutch, as Pepys's diary entry documents, but there were tensions with the French, an ongoing war with Spain, as well

¹⁵ Colin Greenstreet, 'Tools: Cannibal tales: HCA 15/5 f. 99', *MarineLives*, 18 May 2013, accessed 2 Dec. 2015, http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/Tools:_Cannibal_tales.

¹⁶ Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), 117-119.

¹⁷ Ben Kafka, 'Paperwork: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 12 (2009): 340-353.

as increasing interests in Africa, North America, and Asia.¹⁸ In an era defined by conflict and territorial expansion overseas, the employment of large numbers of seamen was required. The Navy dramatically expanded throughout the century: from 8,346 men and forty-one ships in 1603, to 19,551 men and 156 ships in 1660, which became 41,940 men and 173 ships in 1688.¹⁹ It has been estimated that around 12,000 of these employees were based in London in 1700, although this figure varies depending on the definition of ‘seaman’.²⁰ Numbers had ‘accordion-like’ fluctuations in times of war and peace, Patricia Fumerton argues, whereby ‘three peripatetic types – seaman, soldier, and vagrant – were immediately intertwined’.²¹ Inevitably, many of these men had wives who were permanently living in England, as well as lovers, sisters, mothers, grandmothers, aunts and female friends – although these women have only recently attracted scholarly attention.

The burgeoning field of gender and seafaring seeks to counteract the ‘current voluminous [nautical] literature [...] where women are – to use a phrase that has now become hackneyed – simply invisible’, Pamela Sharpe argues.²² While most scholarship is ‘devoted to the association of maritime pursuits with rugged masculinity’, some recent work argues that exploring how life at sea affected women on the shore is ‘vital in shaping seafaring experience’, as Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling contend.²³ Influential eighteenth- and

¹⁸ See Peter Gaunt, *The British Wars, 1637-1651* (London: Routledge, 1997); Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth-Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), and James Scott Wheeler, *The Making of a World Power: War and the Military Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1999).

¹⁹ Christopher Lloyd, *The British Seaman, 1200-1860: A Social Survey* (London: Collins, 1968), 59-61.

²⁰ Margaret R. Hunt, ‘The Sailor’s Wife, War Finance, and Coverture in Late Seventeenth-Century London’, in *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World*, ed. Tim Stretton and Krista J. Kesselring (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2013), 140. N. A. M. Rodger estimates that more than 35,000 seamen and marines were entered into the Royal Navy’s books in 1691, in *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (New York, NY: Norton, 2004), 206.

²¹ Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 84-85.

²² Pamela Sharpe, ‘Gender at Sea: Women and the East India Company in Seventeenth-Century London’, in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850*, ed. Penelope Lane, Neil Raven, and K. D. M. Snell (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2004), 48.

²³ Sharpe, ‘Gender at Sea’, 48, and Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, ‘Introduction’, in *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920*, ed. Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), vii.

nineteenth-century studies focus on North America, including Norling's investigation into women and the whaling industry between 1820 and 1870; the impact of seafaring on community life in Rhode Island a century earlier is discussed by Ruth Wallis Herndon; Elaine Forman Crane looks at social change in New England during the long eighteenth century.²⁴ Miles Ogborn presents residential statistics for eighteenth-century American port towns, stating that one fifth of households in Boston, New England, Salem, Newport, and Portsmouth were headed by women, compared to the one to three percent of inland towns.²⁵ Rather than directly addressing these later studies, which focus on economic and social history to build systematic maritime narratives, I hope to complement these fields of research by building upon the small body of existing scholarship that focuses on early modern English maritime women who remained ashore. Throughout my chapter, I draw upon Sharpe's exploration of women's connections to the East India Company in seventeenth-century London, and Margaret R. Hunt's approach to domestic finance in maritime communities during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁶

The vast majority of scholarship about nautical women concentrates instead on seafarers who spent time on the ocean. Marcus Rediker, John C. Appleby, and Kris Lane, among others, investigate women pirates, and while this was indeed a subcategory of female maritime experience, it was a lifestyle embarked on by very few.²⁷ Transvestite women sailors have attracted the attention of Dianne Dugaw, Julie Wheelwright, Suzanne Stark, Rudolf

²⁴ Lisa Norling, 'Ahab's Wife: Women and the American Whaling Industry, 1820-1870', in *Iron Men*, 70-91; Ruth Wallis Herndon, 'The Domestic Cost of Seafaring: Town Leaders and Seamen's Families in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island', in *Iron Men*, 55-69, and Elaine Forman Crane, *Ebb Tide in New England: Women, Seaports, and Social Change, 1630-1800* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

²⁵ Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 160-161.

²⁶ Sharpe, 'Gender at Sea', 47-66; Hunt, 'Sailor's Wife', 139-163, and 'Women and the Fiscal-Imperial State in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29-37.

²⁷ For studies on women pirates, see Marcus Rediker, 'Liberty beneath the Jolly Roger: The Lives of Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Pirate', in *Iron Men*, 1-33; John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013); Jo Stanley, ed., *Bold in her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages* (London: Pandora, 1995); Kris Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Global Piracy on the High Seas, 1500-1750* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016), and Ulricke Klausmann, Marion Meinzerin and Gabriel Kuhn, ed., *Women Pirates and the Politics of the Jolly Roger* (London: Black Rose, 1997).

Dekker, and Lotte van de Pol, yet comprised a smaller minority still.²⁸ Investigations into sailors' wives joining their husbands on board have been carried out by Haskell Springer and Joanna Druett, and the journeys of ambassadors' wives are studied by Katie Hickman.²⁹ The thousands of women felons who were shipped to the colonies have been the focus of a number of academic studies, including those by A. Roger Ekirch, Walter Hart Blumenthal, and Deborah Oxley.³⁰ But by exaggerating female direct involvement in sailing, as Denver Alexander Brunsman warns, this has 'overshadowed the hard-scrabble efforts of actual impressment widows to make do on land'.³¹ There is a need to produce more literary and historical scholarship exploring seafaring's impact on land-based peoples in the seventeenth century, that is both quantitative and qualitative in its analysis; a need to further understand the array of different written documents women used to gain maritime authority.

Pepys's emotional response to the 'clamouring and swearing and cursing' women, in which he did 'most heartily pity them, and was ready to cry', is perhaps unsurprising considering the parallels that can be drawn with his frequent journeying abroad and the impact it had upon his own domestic situation.³² His wife, Elizabeth Pepys, was notably engaged with the naval world; but rather than her accompanying Samuel on his work excursions abroad, she was typically left behind like the women in the yard. Before setting sail to the Netherlands on business matters in March 1660, Samuel decided to 'dispose of [his] wife' by arranging for her to lodge with an acquaintance called Mr Bowyer in

²⁸ Studies on women transvestite sailors include Dianne Dugaw, 'Female Sailors Bold: Transvestite Heroines and the Markers of Gender and Class', in *Iron Men*, 34-54; Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness* (London: Pandora Press, 1989); Suzanne Stark, *Female Tars: Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail* (London: Constable, 1996), and Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1989).

²⁹ Haskell Springer, 'The Captain's Wife at Sea', in *Iron Men*, 92-117; Joanna Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820-1920* (Auckland, NZ: Collins, 1991), and Katie Hickman, *Daughters of Britannia: The Lives of Diplomatic Wives* (London: HarperCollins, 1999), esp. Chapter 1.

³⁰ A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Walter Hart Blumenthal, *Brides from Bridewell: Female Felons Sent to Colonial America* (Rutland, VT: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1962), and Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

³¹ Denver Alexander Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 158.

³² Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 7, 199-200 (Tuesday 10 July 1666).

Buckinghamshire, England. The plans did not go down well with Elizabeth: when Samuel ‘took occasion to tell [his] wife of [his] going to sea’, Elizabeth was ‘much troubled thereat’ and after ‘some dispute’ she was ‘at last willing’ to stay.³³ Her reluctance was perhaps because she feared Samuel would be injured, killed, detained, or taken prisoner – and that she would become helpless and husbandless like the women begging at her house six years later.

Pepys’s diary entry encourages us to look at how women’s engagement with maritime travel is documented and, more broadly, invites questions into how different written genres can record gendered historical moments. For Elizabeth Pepys is a largely unknown figure, and without a word in her own hand surviving the test of time, little can be ascertained about her life other than what is immortalised in the diary of her husband.³⁴ Elizabeth’s actions, encounters, and feelings are made known through second-hand reference; similarly, the protesting women’s opinions on travel and maritime matters are only glimpsed within Samuel’s anecdote. Studying incomplete, dictated, or co-authored sources – such as sailors’ tickets, wills, powers, and letters of petition – allows the individual experiences of some seventeenth-century maritime women from across society to be considered, who sought, and indeed achieved, change.

Sailors’ wages

High mortality rates at sea and the frequent delays of voyages meant that it was essential for seamen’s wages to be accessed by the women left behind. After all, the mariners themselves had little need for cash during their time on board since their work included free food and lodging – ‘albeit with no extravagance’, as Miles Ogborn concedes.³⁵ Many maritime women

³³ Elizabeth Pepys’s lodging at Mr Bowyer’s during Samuel’s sea voyage is commented upon in Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 1, 84-85 (entries for Saturday 10 March 1660 and Monday 12 March 1660).

³⁴ There was also a portrait, now-destroyed, by John Hayls. This was copied by the engraver James Thomson. See ‘Elizabeth Pepys (1640-1669), Wife of Samuel Pepys’, *People & Portraits*, National Portrait Gallery, creation date unknown, accessed 7 Dec. 2017, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp03509/elizabeth-pepys>. No correspondence by Elizabeth Pepys survives – see Philip Carter, ‘Pepys [*née* de St Michel], Elizabeth (1640-1669)’, *ODNB*, 1 Sep. 2017, accessed 14 Dec. 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/77209>.

³⁵ Ogborn, *Global Lives*, 144.

were also earners: while some accounts of English military kin present them as being reliant on charitable relief from the parish for survival, recent studies have increasingly emphasised the entrepreneurial endeavours undertaken by women.³⁶ Sharpe explores the multitude of ways that women worked for and with the East India Company, as makers of ship equipment, suppliers of consumable provisions, as dryers, calenderers, dressers, packers, cloth pressers, and even how some wealthier women rented land and lent money to the Company.³⁷ Similarly, Jennine Hurl-Eamon argues that eighteenth-century wives of armed servicemen practiced an ‘economy of makeshift’ – taking odd jobs, pawning possessions, or embarking upon prostitution and theft to make ends meet.³⁸ Despite some women earning their own income, many were still reliant on supplementing them with men’s wages to provide for their families. For labourers, sailors were fairly well paid: ordinary seamen in the Navy earned nineteen shillings per month; ‘able’ seamen received twenty-four during active service; and officers’ salaries were more still, although dependent on the rating of the ship that they were serving.³⁹

But as Peter Earle wryly notes: ‘[u]npaid wages might be the sailor’s most valuable asset but they were of course unpaid’.⁴⁰ Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, Royal Navy seamen were rarely paid during the voyage itself, waiting months if not years after they returned home to receive their wages.⁴¹ This is because the Navy

³⁶ The following scholarship focuses on soldiers’ wives as being dependent on their husbands’ wage or on the parish, rather than women’s earnings. See Ruth Wallis Herndon, ‘The Domestic Cost of Seafaring: Town Leaders and Seamen’s Families in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island’, in *Iron Men*, 55-69; Veronica Bamfield, *On the Strength: The Story of the British Army Wife* (London: Charles Knight, 1974), 46; J. M. Brereton, *The British Soldier: A Social History. From 1661 to the Present Day* (London: The Bodley Head, 1986), 38; Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), 292-307, and Victor Neuberg, *Gone for a Soldier: A History of Life in the British Ranks from 1642* (London: Cassell, 1985), 85.

³⁷ Sharpe, ‘Gender at Sea’, 47-66. P. G. M. Dickson discusses women as shareholders in the East India Company, who comprised nearly eleven per cent of total holders of the Company’s stock in 1709, in *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688-1756* (Aldershot, UK: Gregg Revivals, 1993), 268-269.

³⁸ Jennine Hurl-Eamon, ‘The Fiction of Female Dependence and the Makeshift Economy of Soldiers, Sailors, and their Wives in Eighteenth-Century London’, *Labor History* 49, no. 4 (2008): 481-501.

³⁹ Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*, 61.

⁴⁰ Peter Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen 1650-1775* (London: Random House, 1998), 57.

⁴¹ R. Pares, ‘The Manning of the Navy in the West Indies, 1702-63’, *Transactions of the Royal History Society* 4, no. 20 (1937), 38, and Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 142.

predominantly operated in credit and was often seriously in debt during wartime, when shipbuilding and victualling were prioritised over paying seamen.⁴² Each sailor was entered into a register and their employment details were written on a ticket but, crucially, these functioned ‘essentially as an IOU from the English government’, as Brunsman points out.⁴³ Tickets could then be exchanged for cash at a recognised port, usually in England. This system was enforced, in part, because it would have been impractical for seamen to be paid in cash during their time on the ocean, and because payment prior to embarking might have encouraged desertion. The personal information provided on tickets enabled the authorities to track men down if they decided to do so.⁴⁴ But tickets could only be claimed for cash once the ship’s books were balanced and paperwork had been processed, meaning that getting hold of wages was a slow and often arduous task.⁴⁵

Sailors of all ranks filed lawsuits over their pending wages, with an estimated 6,900 warrants purchased to initiate wage actions during the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ The average Admiralty suit cost £8, which was equivalent to roughly half a year’s pay for an ordinary mariner (if he had in fact been paid), meaning that it was common for several members of a ship’s company to collaborate in order to share the fees and seek the aggregate pay owed, George F. Steckley argues.⁴⁷ Some clerks, officers, and female discounters took advantage of desperate sailors and their wives who were looking for quick access to cash in the interim period by offering to buy the tickets, sometimes with ruinous effect, at a discount rate.⁴⁸ Despite the difficulties employees faced, the British state continued to use various ticketing

⁴² J. Ross Dancy, *The Myth of the Press Gang: Volunteers, Impressment and the Naval Manpower* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015), 75.

⁴³ Brunsman, *Evil Necessity*, 156.

⁴⁴ Alessandro Stanziani, ‘Runaways: A Global History’, in *Desertion in the Early Modern World: A Comparative History*, ed. Matthias van Rossum and Jeanette Kamp (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 19.

⁴⁵ Brunsman, *Evil Necessity*, 156.

⁴⁶ George F. Steckley, ‘Litigious Mariners: Wage Cases in the Seventeenth-Century Admiralty Court’, *The Historical Journal* 42, no. 2 (1999), 319.

⁴⁷ Steckley, ‘Litigious Mariners’, 319.

⁴⁸ Brian Lavery, *Royal Tars: The Lower Deck of the Royal Navy, 875-1850* (New York, NY: Naval Institute Press, 2011), 89. Hunt focuses on cases of women’s illicit ticket dealings, namely Jane Smith, Mary Herring, and Margaret Stewart, in ‘Women and the Fiscal-Imperial State’, 32-39.

systems through the Napoleonic Wars, although the regularity of pay, and the ability to acquire this easily, improved dramatically with the Navy Acts of 1728 and 1758.⁴⁹

In her study of the many types of tickets used in the eighteenth-century, such as those offering admittance into regulated events and spaces, Sarah Lloyd argues that although they were often considered ‘ephemeral flotsam’, tickets also ‘materialized knowledge and experience; they [...] had effects that could not happen without them’.⁵⁰ A ticket’s representational value meant that the token itself must clearly indicate whether its contractual obligation had been fulfilled.⁵¹ Tickets were typically exchanged for cash, then destroyed, defaced, or confiscated during the official exchange so as to avoid forgeries and the fraudulent reuse of tickets.⁵² Extant sailors’ tickets are therefore very hard to find, despite thousands of men having worked for the Navy during the seventeenth century. This has created ‘emptiness at the centre of a lot of discourse’, as Hunt laments and, nowadays, tickets mostly exist in secondary reference through mentions in letters and court records.⁵³ Two previously unknown extant examples can be found in the National Archives in the Navy Board’s records from 1674 (Figures 57 and 58), although the fact that they still exist casts doubt on whether the tickets were ever successfully traded in for cash, and the genuineness of the sailors’ – and indeed all extant tickets – claims.

These two tickets are nearly identical, measuring 20.3cm x 19.5cm. They display the same printed text and have a similar inimitable pattern across the top that has been cut in a wavy formation, presumably attempting to discourage the production of fraudulent copies. Interspersed within the passages of printed text are spaces to customise with the ticketer’s

⁴⁹ Brunsmann, *Evil Necessity*, 157, and Peter Kemp, *The British Sailor: A Social History of the Lower Deck* (London: J. M. Dent, 1970), 63.

⁵⁰ Sarah Lloyd, ‘Ticketing the British Eighteenth Century: “A thing... never heard of before”’, *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 4 (2013), 844.

⁵¹ Sailors’ pay operated differently to soldiers’, whose ticket was a means of accounting rather than a paper exchange, as Lloyd explains in ‘Ticketing the British’, 855.

⁵² In miscellaneous documents and papers, 1681-1690, NA ADM 106/3540, the tickets have large manuscript inked crosses over them. Thanks to David Fictum for bringing this to my attention.

⁵³ Margaret R. Hunt, personal email message, 8 June 2017.

personal details – becoming ‘meta-microgenres’, as Lisa Gitelman argues of nineteenth-century blank books designed for ‘fillability’, in which documents established ‘the parameters or the rules for entries to be made individually in pencil or ink’.⁵⁴ These appear in the same hand, probably that of the ship’s purser Andrew Gardiner rather than the sailors themselves, whose name is signed on both forms. Tickets demand specification of the sailor’s name (Christopher Beckford and Henery Anderson, both ‘able’ rank of seamen); their ship book numbers (ninety-one and 175); ages (thirty-six and thirty-four); name of vessel (both the *Mermaid*); date of entering on board (20 January and 27 February 1671); the end date of their voyage (both 21 June 1672); name of ship discharged onto (both the *Briston*); value of clothes given on board (£1, 14s, and 6d for Beckford and £1, 9s, and 4d for Anderson); and the day’s date (5 May 1674 for both).⁵⁵ The next of kin was not typically identified on tickets, despite often being responsible for collecting sailors’ cash wages.⁵⁶ Rather than displaying a named written affiliation, the value of tickets for women was ‘made and experienced through the eye, touch, imagination, and memory’, as Lloyd suggests.⁵⁷ Tickets were therefore a type of document that many maritime women understood and regularly used during essential economic interactions, even though their presence cannot be traced on the document itself.

Lloyd argues that eighteenth-century tickets had ‘capacities to express contractual obligation, affection, or allegiance’, but while this paperwork developed during the seventeenth-century, it was still reliant on the information provided in other documents for validation.⁵⁸ Many early modern women were directly involved in the ticketing process through pre-selection, so they could use tickets to obtain sailors’ wages if the men were detained at sea. This position as an ‘agent on shore’ was usually granted to female kin,

⁵⁴ Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 21–23.

⁵⁵ Two printed tickets, 5 May 1674, NA ADM 106/306, fols. 9–10.

⁵⁶ See also Hunt’s example in ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 142.

⁵⁷ Lloyd, ‘Ticketing the British’, 847.

⁵⁸ Lloyd, ‘Ticketing the British’, 844.

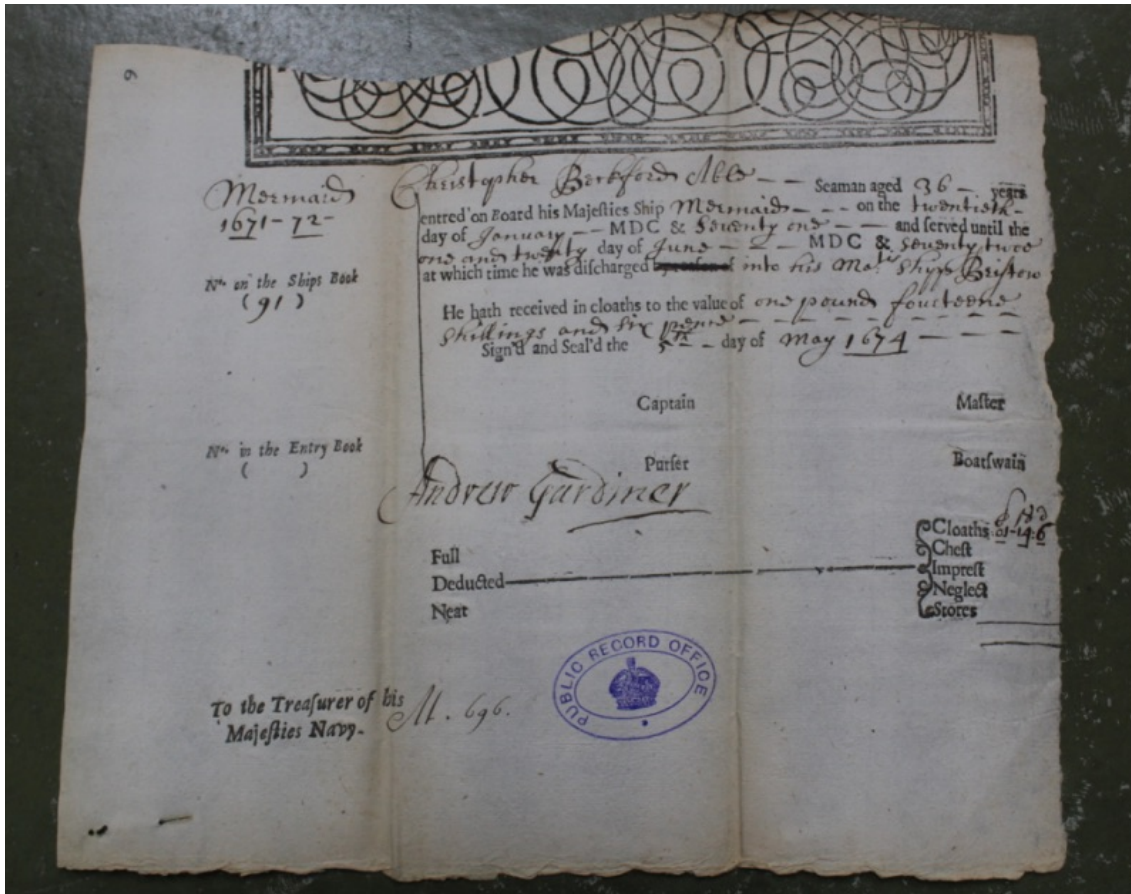


Figure 57. NA ADM 106/306, fol. 9.

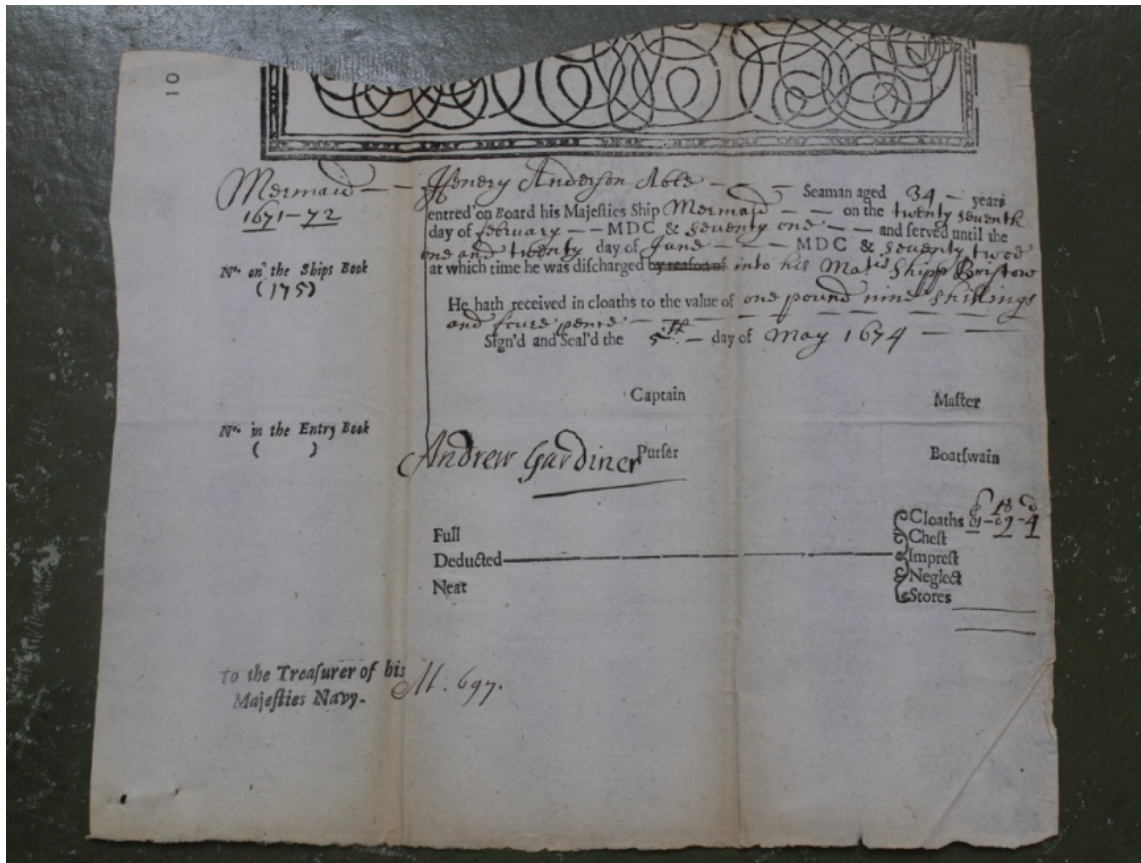


Figure 58. NA ADM 106/306, fol. 10.

including wives, mistresses, mothers, sisters, friends and neighbours.⁵⁹ It was typically formalised in sailors' wills and stipulated in powers of attorney (rather than on the ticket itself), which I now explore.

Redirecting financial authority

Tickets granted seamen the specified cash wage, as well as rights to sue, transfer property, and demand the repayment of debts.⁶⁰ But a voyage might be delayed or redirected, sailors might die, be taken as prisoners abroad, or immediately be put to work on another ship, meaning that sailors were not always able to retrieve the money by personally visiting the pay-out point.⁶¹ One way to avoid this problem was to confer the right as a power of attorney – known simply as ‘the power’ in prominent shipping communities such as London’s East End – upon their female kin before setting sail.⁶² Put simply, this document granted one person various rights to conduct business on behalf of another. Anyone could be granted the power, but in early modern sailing communities the next of kin was selected, most commonly a wife. Although some wives made demands for their husband’s credit without having been pledged a power, and were occasionally successful, the possession of this document enhanced their credibility and made it more likely that their plea would be granted.⁶³ Delegating financial authority reduced the risk of kin having to wait months or sometimes years before the ticket could be turned to cash, and so powers were popular in England’s maritime communities.

In her landmark study of early modern sailors’ wives, Hunt investigates powers of attorney and their uses, although the example she explores in detail is something of an

⁵⁹ Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 143.

⁶⁰ Brunsmann, *Evil Necessity*, 158.

⁶¹ Hunt asserts that pay-out points were usually where the man’s ship reached its home port in ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 143.

⁶² Sharpe, ‘Gender at Sea’, 56.

⁶³ Margot Finn discusses women’s common law rights to claim their husbands’ money as their own in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See ‘Women, Consumption and Coverture in England, c.1760-1860’, *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 3 (1996): 703-722.

anomaly.⁶⁴ Control is transferred by George Knowles to his ‘well beloved Brother John Sherwit’, meaning no women were involved, and it is a pre-printed rather than manuscript document which, as Hunt concedes, is more of an eighteenth-century format.⁶⁵ Additionally, her example only grants the attorney partial control of a single ticket, despite it being ‘more common for it to be quite broad’ in granting total financial control, as Hunt admits.⁶⁶ A more typical example is from Essex County Records Office, dating from 1689, which helps us to further understand the authority women gained from being granted the power (Figure 59).⁶⁷ Written upon a white piece of paper measuring 62.4cm x 38.8cm that has been folded in half, the prose takes up one side while on the reverse it reads ‘Rich: Riecee his Lett^{re} of Attorney & Deeds of gift to his wife: 1689’ (Figure 60). The power begins with a declaration of the writer’s personal details:

I Richard Riece of Barking in y^e County of Essex: Seaman; [...] intendes on a voyage in y^e goode Shipp, called y^e Bangall, Merchantman, of London: Bound for – Virginia[.]

Next, the writer names the attorney:

[I] doe appoint constitute ordaine & make & in my Stead & place putt my derely Beloved wife Judith Riece of y^e same place aforesaid, to be my true^{ly} Lawfull Attorney Irrevocable, for me & in my name for my use[.]

Richard then goes on to detail Judith’s exact role, affirming that she is hereby able to:

demand, sue for Levie, require, recover, receive, & take all such wages: debt, or debts[,] summe or su^mmes of money, or, moneys, which now are or hereafter shall grow due or payable to me, from y^e said Shipp by any – waies, or meanes whatsoever or howsoever, or from any person or persons – whatsoever or howsoever, Likewise, all such wages, prize money debtor debts[,] Somme or somes of money or moneys which at any time or times hereafter Shall grow due or payable to me from their Majesties pay office for my Service done in any of their Majesties Shipp, or Shippes, [...] or any other vessell or vessels, by any waies or meanes whatsoever or howsoever[.]

⁶⁴ Power of attorney from George Knowles, 28 Dec. 1691, NA HCA 24/127; qtd. in Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 144-146.

⁶⁵ Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 144.

⁶⁶ Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 145.

⁶⁷ Letter [power] of attorney of Richard Riece of Barking, 1690/1, ERO D/AEW 28/123.

In all men by these presents that Richard Riord of Barking in the County
of Essex Seaman being by Gods permission intended on a voyage in
the Ship called the Beane all Merchantman of London bound for
Virginia Capt. Daniell Bradley Commander for Divers good Causes &
considerations and hereunto movinge doe appoint constitute ordaine
make & in my stead & place putt my lawfully bound wife Judith Riord of the same
place of the said County of Essex my lawfull Attorney heretofore for me or in my Name
for my use to assesse demand sue for receive require recover retaine take all
just wages Debt or other summe or summes of money or moneys which now
are or hereafter shall grow due or payable to me from the said Ship by any
waies or meanes whatsover or hereafter or from any person or persons
whatsover or hereafter, likewise all just wages price money Debt or other
summe or summes of money or moneys which at any time or times hereafter
shall grow due or payable to me from their Majesties pay officers for my service
done in any of their Majesties Ships or Shippes Smarcks Lighters Lugges or
or any other vessell or vessells by any waies or meanes whatsover or
hereafter givinge or granting to my said Attorney my full power strength
authoritie & vertue to doe say & execute or performe any manner of Act or
Acts things or things, duties or duties which in law shall be needfull or
necessary for the recovery of the premises: to Impson or free from Impsonment
to agree make agreement in my name or for my use to Seal & deliver
one or more to substitute in the same againe to receive at her pleasure Ratifying
allowing & holding me for guilty of the same all that my said Attorney shall lawfully
doe or cause to be done in or about the execution of the premises as fully & amply
to all intents & conclusions & purposes as if I might or should be there personally
present my self by vertue of these presents: & if it should happen that I should
die or depart this life then I absolutely & freely give unto my lawfull wife
of the said County of Essex all my whole Estate both Real & personall which in law or
equity ought to be mine from any person or persons by any waies or meanes
whatsover or hereafter to her owne proper use to keepe for ever in with
wherof I have heretofore sett my hand & Seal this fourth day of October
1689 in the 13th year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord & Lady
King William & Queene Mary of England Scotland France & Ireland etc

Sealed & Delivered
in the presence of
his mark
William W R Riord
his mark
Nicholas Stiles
Thomas Austin

his mark
Richard R Riord

Figure 59. ERO D/AEW 28/123.

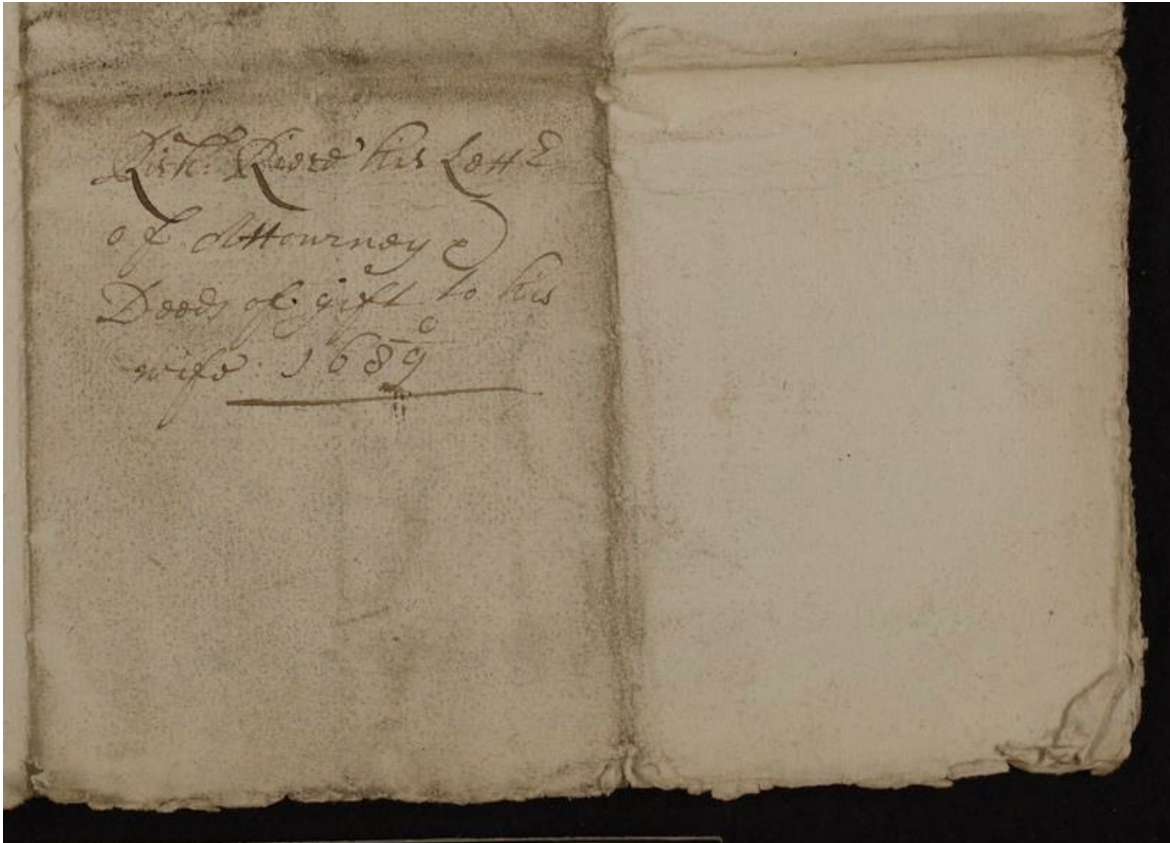


Figure 60. ERO D/AEW 28/123.

This document, in no uncertain terms ‘whatsoever or howsoever’, transfers full and exhaustive financial control to Judith, granting her the rights to all money awarded to or earned by Richard henceforth.

Richard Riece’s hand-written sentiments can be contrasted to the rhetoric of the pre-printed version discussed by Hunt. This later publication highlights the sailor’s responsibility in making a respectable choice of attorney, who must promise that the nominee will ‘Ratifie, Confirm, Establish and Allow, and to hold for Firm and Stable, as effectually as if I my self were then and there present’.⁶⁸ It is implied that control is only lent, and only at the lender’s risk. Comparatively, Richard Riece recognises an indisputable transfer of his supremacy through the creation of this document, commenting that he is ‘giveing & granting’ his ‘full power[,] Strength & Authoritie & vertue to doe[,] say[,] execute & performe any manner of Act or Acts, thinge or things, devise or devises, which in y^e Law shall be needful & nessessary

⁶⁸ NA HCA 24/127; qtd. in Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 145.

for'. His wife becomes his equal; Judith acts 'as fully & amply to all intents constructions, & purposes, as if I might or should be there personally p^{re}sent my selfe'.⁶⁹ Compared to the pre-printed version, Richard Riece's handover of power to his wife is humble and obliging, his earnest repetition of phrases attempts to avoid loopholes that may leave her authority questioned in the future. This manuscript power of attorney's rhetoric is instead more closely aligned with sailors' pre-printed wills from the period, in which the testator was 'granting [... his] full and whole power in the premises [...] as [he] might or could do if [he] were personally present', meaning that Riece's rhetoric complies with an increasingly standardised legal formula – albeit from a different genre – rather than uniquely expressing his emotions towards his wife and her control of their assets.⁷⁰

Finally, Richard Riece's power declares that it was 'Sealed & delivered in y^e p^{re}sence' of three male witnesses, William W. R. Rece, Nicholas N. Stiles, and Thomas Austine, all of whom seem to have signed their own names. Despite the document being entirely dedicated to her new financial status, Judith Riece's signature is not present, as is typical.⁷¹ Although powers appear to be the result of male decision making and could be revoked at any time by the original executor, they granted women like Judith Riece total fiscal command of family assets, even if the final document does not make evident the role she might have had in its creation. Not only did powers give women comprehensive rights over their husbands' finances, but it also granted them legal autonomy over their own earnings, which coverture typically forbade in early modern society.⁷²

Despite Richard Riece mentioning that if he were to 'dye or depart this life' then he would 'absolutely & ffreely give unto my Loveing wife aforesaid, all my whole estate [...] to her owne proper use', his power of attorney does not dwell on matters associated with death,

⁶⁹ ERO D/AEW 28/123.

⁷⁰ Thomas Dibbell, will and testament, 1 Dec. 1690, LMA, O.W. MS 9172; qtd. in Hunt, 'Sailor's Wife', 159.

⁷¹ LMA, O.W. MS 9172; qtd. in Hunt, 'Sailor's Wife', 159.

⁷² Coverture is explored more in Hunt, 'Sailor's Wife', 152 and other chapters in that volume. See Wilson, ed., *New Imperial History*.

making it distinctly different to the content of a will.⁷³ Contemporary sailors' wills often assigned female kin fixed assets rather than granting them more general authority to 'performe any manner of Act or Acts', as Riece's power does. Henry Lewis, the nautical surgeon on board the *Resolution*, specifies in his will that his share in 183 pounds of tea was to be left for his wife and eldest son, along with a 'tubb of China tea cupps'.⁷⁴ Edward Barlow, commander of the *Liampo*, who has received much critical attention due to his extensive diary, states in his will from 1708: 'First I make and ordain my lawful and loving wife Mary Barlow my true and lawful Attorney for the term of her life', appearing to combine the rhetoric of wills and powers of attorney.⁷⁵ Yet when Edward specifies particular possessions that his wife should receive upon his death, including 'all goods and furniture and all manner of utensils for us[e] and ware as household goods', his will is set apart from a power.⁷⁶ Although differing in their intended distribution of money and goods, wills and powers do share some characteristics in regards to their pre-emptive natures, and would often merge in print during the eighteenth century.⁷⁷ Wendy Wall comments that a will 'is written in the present tense and includes its imagined enactment in the future but it is authorized by a past voice' and, much like a power, 'the erasure of the subject [occurs] at the very moment of powerful self-assertion'.⁷⁸ Wall argues that, paradoxically, death creates a space for women to legitimate their writing for print and its wider readership.⁷⁹ Similarly, I suggest that the

⁷³ ERO D/AEW 28/123.

⁷⁴ Earle, *Sailors*, 61-62.

⁷⁵ See Basil Lubbock, ed., *Barlow's Journal of his Life at Sea in King's Ships, East & West Indiamen & Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1934).

⁷⁶ Will of Edward Barlow, 1708, NA PROB 11/500; transcribed in Fumerton, *Unsettled*, 174-176.

⁷⁷ For the merging of wills and powers, see Hunt, 'Sailor's Wife', 148. Bernard Jennings discusses how the dates of wills and sailors' deaths could be years apart. The same could also be said for powers. See 'Beyond the Probate Line: Probate Evidence and Related Sources in Early Modern Yorkshire', in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans, and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000), 345.

⁷⁸ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 285-286.

⁷⁹ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 286-287.

moment a power needed to be acted upon offered women the opportunity to assert their textual agency.

There was probably foul play, however. Women are known to have forged wills; Mary Freeman of Aldgate, London, was bound over in 1653 ‘for attesting herselfe to be the wife of a Souldier lately slaine at sea and produceing a counterfeite certificate under ye hands of a pretended Ministers Clerke in Gloucestershire to iustifye her said false attestation’.⁸⁰ On the other hand, despite the creation of many authentic wills and powers of attorney, the authorities did not make it easy to exchange sailor’s tickets for cash. Although I am not aware of any cases involving fraudulent powers of attorney, their existence is probable considering the highly desirable prize of financial control. Women, Hunt argues, were often refused custom despite having the necessary legal documentation.⁸¹ In the case of the women ‘clamouring and swearing and cursing’ at Pepys, they may well have been granted the power of attorney or had successfully obtained tickets; yet when their ‘husbands and friends’ were detained abroad these documents were not enough to release the men’s wages.⁸² When pay was detained, it was unlikely that families could afford to wait for the sailor to return home and rectify the situation himself. Sailors were therefore dependent on those who were willing to persuade officials. While some women sought face-to-face confrontation with naval administrators like Pepys, others sought change by sending letters of petition.

Letters of petition

Producing letters of petition was popular across early modern society. ‘[V]irtually every part of the kingdom was affected by such campaigns’, Mark Knights argues, which helped shape a

⁸⁰ Recognisances of Mary Freeman of Aldgate, widow, 1653, LMA, MJ/SR/1115/70; qtd. in Tobias B. Hug, *Impostures in Early Modern England: Representations and Perceptions of Fraudulent Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 43.

⁸¹ Hunt, ‘Sailor’s Wife’, 154-155.

⁸² Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 7, 199-200 (Tuesday 10 July 1666).

‘national political culture’.⁸³ It was a key way in which women gained a political role through writing. James Daybell calculates that ‘[l]etters of petition, suitors’ letters, or letters of request (that is, requests of favour), account for almost one-third of women’s letters written during the sixteenth century’, with more than 1,000 letters of petition by more than 350 English women existing from between 1540 and 1603.⁸⁴ Put simply, petitions sought to persuade the receiver of the writer’s demands. They were sometimes produced by women, stating their own demands or those of friends and relatives. Nowadays petitions often appear one-sided, as it is not always possible to form paper trails that would reveal their outcomes. Tantalisingly, this means that a petition’s overall success, whether it was persuasive enough to have its requests granted, often remains unknown.

Letters of petition are a subcategory of letters and share many of the same practical characteristics. Both usually address an individual or organisational body, and sending them typically sought to provoke responses from their recipients. While they each contain formally written requests, this is often the sole purpose of a petition whereas letters could serve countless functions. Unlike letters, petitions were often written on behalf of more than one person with multiple signatures at the end.⁸⁵ Some maritime women sent petitions while others chose to send letters when demanding the exchange of their husbands’ tickets for cash; but because it is not always possible to know whether the demands were met, it is hard to establish which genre had a higher success rate. One typical example of a letter is from Jane Critchet, ‘praying payment of a Tickett’ from the Royal Navy on 27 May 1674 (Figure 61). The ticket, she asserts, had originally belonged to her husband, ‘being Ma[st]r^{er} of the ship’,

⁸³ For more on the public nature of petitions through printing and their political effects, see Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. Chapter 3, qtd. page 110.

⁸⁴ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, 229, and ‘Scripting a Female Voice: Women’s Epistolary Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Letters of Petition’, *Women’s Writing* 13, no. 1 (2006), 3.

⁸⁵ For more on how petitions – particularly those in print – invoked a sense of public opinion, see David Zaret, ‘Petitions and the “Invention” of Public Opinion in the English Revolution’, *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 6 (1996): 497-555, and *The Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

and despite all other men on board having been paid, she must ‘humbly therefore begg yo^{re} hands to order my speedy payment being his Attorney in regard all’.⁸⁶ The letter was signed, sealed with wax, and sent, just like a petition. ‘Petitions afforded subjects limited immunity to norms that otherwise restricted public commentary on political matters’, David Zaret argues, meaning that women petitioners entered a ‘privileged communicative space’.⁸⁷ Some women petitioners even requested that Parliament should not ‘with-hold from us our undoubted right of petitioning, since God is ever willing and ready to receive the Petitions of all [... and t]he ancient Laws of *England* are not contrary to the will of God’.⁸⁸ But while surviving letters by seventeenth-century English women were almost entirely written by elite women or those of

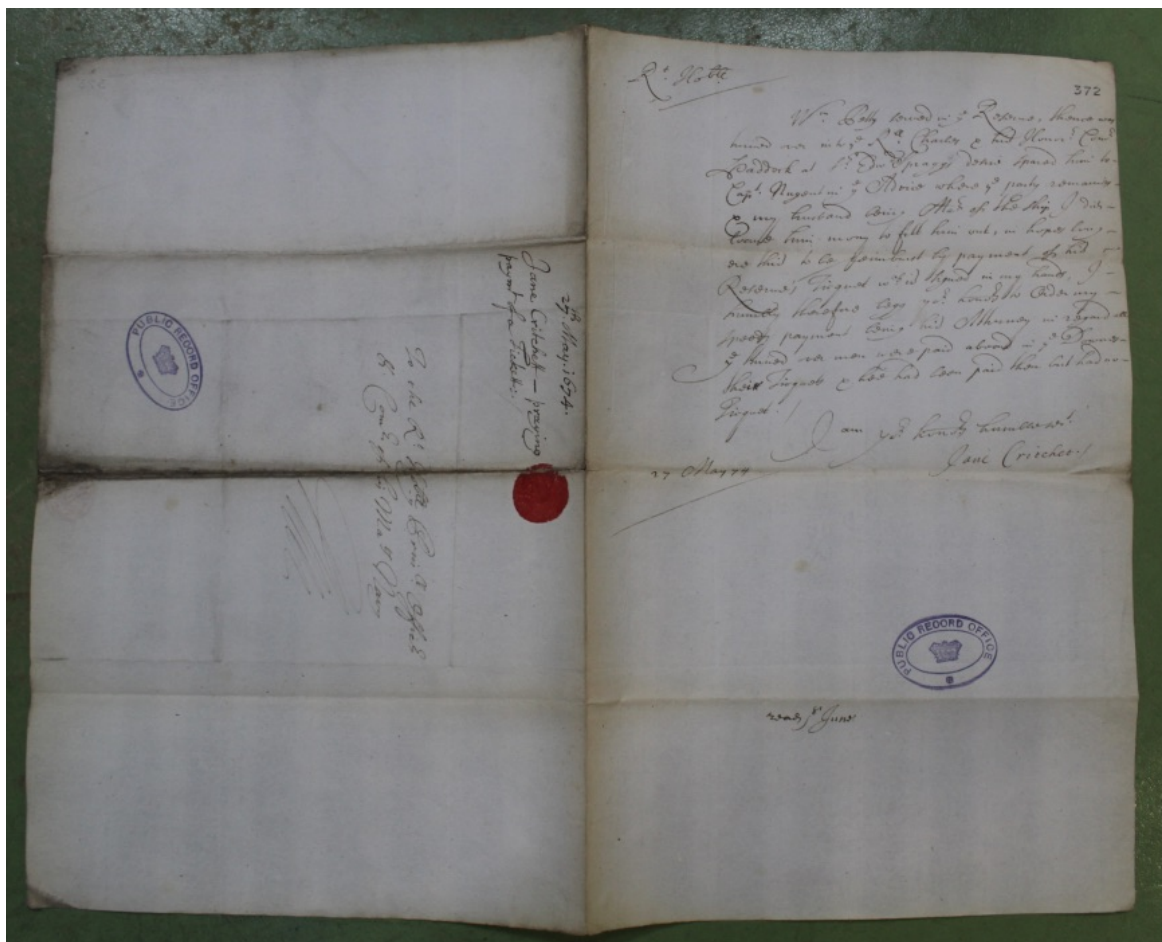


Figure 61. NA ADM 106/297, fols. 372-373.

⁸⁶ Letter from Jane Critchet, 27 May 1674, NA ADM 106/297, fols. 372-373.

⁸⁷ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 88.

⁸⁸ Anon., *The humble Representation of divers afflicted Women-Petitioners to the Parliament* (London: S. N., 1653); qtd. in Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 90.

middling sorts, much like the shipmaster's wife Jane Critchet, petitions were commissioned by women of all ranks.

Early modern petitions were 'practical letters' that 'convey[ed] expected content in a standard form', Peter Mack argues.⁸⁹ They typically comprise five main rhetorical parts, Daybell asserts: '*exordium* (introduction), *narration* or *proposition* (declaration of the substance of the letter, which often included a request or *petitio*), *confirmatio* (amplification), *confutatio* (refutation of objections) and *peroratio* (conclusion)', framed with an initial salutation and closing subscription.⁹⁰ Commissioned scribes would have known the typical features of petitions. But, thanks to the abundance of vernacular letter-writing manuals that appeared from the late sixteenth century onwards that were aimed at a popular audience, non-gentry women who were employing these scribes might have also been familiar with the genre's structural and rhetorical conventions. Although manuals typically figure the petition writer to be male, some women owned them, as Daybell notes: Frances Wolfreston's handwritten name appears in Nicholas Breton's *Poste with a packet of mad letters*, and *Erasmus de conscribendis epistolis* was included in Alice Edward's inventory from 18 July 1564.⁹¹

Desiderius Erasmus believed that persuasive letters such as petitions are 'by far the most useful and most important of all', because it is essential to 'incite the will' of the reader and cause 'changes [to] a way of thinking' for 'those who are in error or are uncertain'.⁹² A letter must 'be adapted as far as possible to the immediate occasion', meaning that a persuasive letter must simultaneously 'bring together all the advantages inherent in it and enlarge upon them', whilst also 'de-emphasiz[ing] or ignor[ing] any disadvantages that might

⁸⁹ Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 115-116.

⁹⁰ Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', 5. For the structure of eighteenth-century British petitions, see Sharon Howard '“And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray etc”': How an 18th-century petition works', *Early Modern Notes* (blog), 24 Jan. 2016, accessed 1 Feb. 2016, <https://earlymodernnotes.wordpress.com/2016/01/24/and-your-petitioner-as-in-duty-bound-shall-ever-pray-etc-how-an-18th-century-petition-works/>.

⁹¹ Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', 5.

⁹² Desiderius Erasmus, *De Conscribendis Epistolis* [On the Writing of Letters], translated and annotated by Charles Fantazzi, in *Literary and Educational Writings* 3, edited by J. K. Sowards, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 89 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), vol. 25, 145, 73.

seem capable of discouraging' the receiver.⁹³ The manipulation of events that Erasmus remarks upon is a central concern of maritime letters of petition. '[A] letter will work itself up into a tragic outburst', he poses and, quoting Horace, remarks that correspondents should 'make use of "bombast and sesquipedalian words" when the topic so requires'.⁹⁴ Erasmus deems it necessary for letters to engage in the dramatic, 'draw[ing] the hearer or reader outside himself as in the theatre'.⁹⁵ This prompts questions about how the events described in petitions were adapted both for the particular reader and for the particular literary genre, and how writers used dramatic language to persuade.

Notable scholarship on early modern women's petitions includes studies by Patricia Higgins and Daybell. Higgins explores how women 'asserted [...] their] political rights, not excluding the right to express their views and influence important decisions by means of petitions' to Parliament and the Commons during the Civil War.⁹⁶ Higgins notes that women petitioners 'felt obliged to explain themselves, and their justifications of their novel activity are a noteworthy feature [...] of the petitioning', briefly mentioning phrases that were popularly deployed, the rhetorical features of this genre are somewhat overlooked.⁹⁷ She concedes that the 'authorship of the petitions [...] is unknown' and that they were perhaps 'penned by men', but does not go into detail about the role of scribes and their building of genre tropes.⁹⁸ Contrary to this, Daybell's recent study proposes that petitions should be 'read as texts', asserting that they 'highlight female mastery of the literary and formal conventions of the epistolary genre'.⁹⁹ Daybell analyses the extent to which female letter writers conformed to epistolary conventions outlined in contemporary letter-writing manuals, as well

⁹³ Erasmus, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, 14, 145.

⁹⁴ Erasmus, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, 15.

⁹⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *On Copia of Words and Ideas (De utraque verborem [sic] ac rerum copia)*, trans. Donald B. King and Herbert David Rix (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1963), 47.

⁹⁶ Patricia Higgins, 'The Reactions of Women, with Special Reference to Women Petitioners', in *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, ed. Brian Manning (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 209.

⁹⁷ Higgins, 'Reactions of Women', 210-211.

⁹⁸ Higgins, 'Reactions of Women', 210.

⁹⁹ Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', 4.

as developing their own distinctly feminine rhetorical styles that supported these existing conventions. He does this by comparing women's letters of petition to those written by other men and women, as well as to letter writing manuals from the time, focusing solely on sixteenth-century aristocratic women petitioners who compose the letters to fulfil their personal needs.

I build upon Daybell's study by extending my search into the seventeenth century, to petitions signed by multiple women, and those from a broader social spectrum. The resources available through the MarineLives project encourages further studies in this area by providing transcription, photography and commentary about primary manuscripts from the English High Court of Admiralty from between 1627 and 1677.¹⁰⁰ As well as cataloguing more than 160 women in its archive, it provides rich source material for social, economic, and naval history that includes petitions by women addressed to the High Court. Although petitions were bound by the 'rigidity and formality of epistolary rules and models', as Daybell asserts, I argue that women petitioners' theatrical manipulation of the narrative they relay, despite being set within these prescribed structures, is a creative process that must not go unnoticed.¹⁰¹

For the rest of Chapter 4 I consider how maritime women used petitions to tell their own necessarily dramatic versions of events, aligning with and inverting typical rhetorical devices of the petition genre, as well as incorporating narratological discrepancies and persuasive language to coerce their reader. I use two versions of the same sea narrative to exemplify the different rhetorical techniques deployed: first, a petition written by Prescilla Lockier and Sara Spurgeon, then a pamphlet by Colonel Henry Norwood. The similarities between these sources are noted on the MarineLives database, but the website's focus on transcription means that a detailed scholarly study exploring the two publications and their

¹⁰⁰ Many entries about women can be found in this database, including 168 women's names in lists of horses. See 'Index of Women in Horse Lists', *Category: Indexes*, MarineLives, 17 July 2015, accessed 25 Jan. 2018, http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/Index_of_women_in_horse_lists.

¹⁰¹ Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', 18.

impact is still wanting.¹⁰² While letters of petition are typically more prescriptive in their content and structure than the freer approach taken in familial letters of correspondence, discussed in Chapter 5, I argue that Lockier and Spurgeon customise the events at sea to their own advantage. I show how the authors employ distinct story-telling tropes to help their readers vividly imagine the events at sea and use dramatic language to persuasively present their case. I suggest that analysis of this kind helps to further our understanding of how maritime women used appropriate rhetoric according to different literary genres in order to gain financial control.

NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99 and *A Voyage to Virginia*

On the 28 September 1650, a manuscript petition was presented to ‘the right worshipfull the Judges of the high Court of the Admiraltie’, a civil law-based institution that dealt with sea crimes.¹⁰³ The document was signed by two non-elite women living in England, Lockier and Spurgeon, who were ‘wives’ of ‘two of the Marriners’ that manned the decks on board the *Virginia Merchant*, which set sail from Gravesend in Kent a year prior, in September 1649.¹⁰⁴ The petitioners claim that their husbands were hired by the ship’s captain ‘at severall monethly wages [...] for a voyage to be made from this port of London to Virginia and from thense hither backe againe, which service they performed’ – although the spouses and their salaries remain absent.¹⁰⁵ When their husbands ‘come not home as they expected’, the women ‘demanded their wages of the Captaine for the time they served him, but he denied to pay’.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, the ship had ‘become unserviceable at Virginia’ and the stranded mariners had

¹⁰² Greenstreet, ‘Tools: Cannibal tales: HCA 15/5 f. 99’.

¹⁰³ Petition of Priscilla Lockier and Sara Spurgeon, 28 Sept. 1650, NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99. The court resolved issues including ‘piracy[...], treason, murder, mutiny, desertion, sodomy, insurance frauds and abetting’ at sea. Consult ‘Records of Admiralty Sessions’, *HCA – Records of the High Court of Admiralty and Colonial Vice-Admiralty Courts*, National Archives, creation date unknown, accessed 28 Jan. 2016, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C1102>.

¹⁰⁴ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹⁰⁵ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹⁰⁶ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

been 'left behind to shift for themselves'.¹⁰⁷ The petition appears on a large, white piece of paper measuring 42cm x 27cm that has been folded in half, with the petition itself taking up one full side while on the opposite page it reads 'Petitio Prescilla Lockyer / presentat. 28th Septem / 1650' (Figure 62). It is currently in the National Archives in Kew, London.¹⁰⁸ No other documents by either Lockier or Spurgeon have survived, meaning that all known biographical details about these women appear in this source alone.

The same 1649 voyage described in the women's petition is retold in a second contemporary account: Colonel Henry Norwood's pamphlet *A Voyage to Virginia*.¹⁰⁹ Born in 1614 to a barrister of the same name and his wife Elizabeth Rodney, Norwood was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1637 and joined the King's forces during the Civil War. He went into exile in Holland after the Worcester garrison surrendered, returning to England in June 1649



Figure 62. NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99. Image from MarineLives collection. <http://www.marinelives.org>.

¹⁰⁷ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹⁰⁸ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 118-132.

¹⁰⁹ The similarity in content of Norwood's text and that of Lockier and Spurgeon's was first drawn to my attention by the MarineLives project. See 'Tools: Cannibal tales: HCA 15/5 f. 99'.

and paying a £15 fee for his delinquency. Later that year he set sail for North America on board the *Virginia Merchant* alongside Lockier and Spurgeon's husbands. On his return to England, Norwood was involved in Royalist uprisings and later became a member of Parliament, before dying in 1689.¹¹⁰

The *Virginia Merchant's* journey is recounted in his pamphlet, although its publication history is patchy. The MarineLives website records 1649 as the date of Norwood's publication; similarly, the English Short Title Catalogue states '1649?', and lists a lone extant copy in New York Public Library – but it is a nineteenth-century reprint.¹¹¹ Considering the text's opening line declares that the voyage began in August 1649, and Norwood recounts how his transatlantic adventures dragged on for over nine months, it is not surprising that the ESTC's catalogue entry contains a question mark. There is, in fact, no extant evidence to suggest that the pamphlet was published during the seventeenth century, first appearing in an edited collection of voyages from 1704.¹¹² The confusion surrounding this small chronological and bibliographic error, which is repeated in subsequent editions and scholarly commentary, is of some significance as it gives the impression that Norwood's was the first written account of the *Virginia Merchant's* voyage.¹¹³ This was, however, not necessarily the case, and the women's petition from 1650 could very likely be the first, meaning that Norwood's can no longer be read as the 'true story' of the ship's journey, as Karen Schramm confidently

¹¹⁰ All bibliographic details from Basil Duke Henning, 'NORWOOD, Henry [c.1614-89], of Leckhampton, Glos.', *History of Parliament Online*, creation date unknown, accessed 19 Dec. 2017, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/norwood-henry-1614-89>.

¹¹¹ Greenstreet, 'Tools: Cannibal tales: HCA 15/5 f. 99'. See, 'A Voyage to Virginia', *Catalog Search Results*, New York Public Library, creation date unknown, accessed 15 Dec. 2017, <http://catalog.nypl.org/record=b12699305>; 'A Voyage to Virginia', *English Short Title Catalogue*, British Library, creation date unknown, accessed 15 Dec. 2017, <http://estc.bl.uk/R474102>, and Henry Norwood, *A Voyage to Virginia [in 1649]* (Washington: W. Q. Force, 1844).

¹¹² This predates Patrick O'Brian claim that Norwood's text was first printed in 1752 by R. Goadby in Unknown, *An Entertaining Account of all the Countries of the known world* ([Sherborne, UK]: Printed for R. Goadby, 1752). See Patrick O'Brian, *A Book of Voyages* (London: HarperCollins, 2014), 216.

¹¹³ Some imply, with round or square brackets, that the publication dates from 1649. See T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *Myne Owne Ground: Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and Bernard Bailyn, 'Politics and Social Structure in Virginia', in *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. James Morton Smith (Williamsburg, VA: North Carolina Press, 1959), 101.

supposes.¹¹⁴ Anecdotes by European voyagers to the Americas were often made by ‘frequent and cunning liars’, Greenblatt warns, ‘whose position virtually required the strategic manipulation and distortion and outright suppression of the truth’.¹¹⁵ By unpicking the details of these two accounts, we are able to see how the story was presented, manipulated, and dramatised to suit different authorial agendas.

Lockier and Spurgeon’s petition encourages us to explore women’s access to travel writing from a different perspective. Norwood’s pamphlet does not mention Lockier and Spurgeon (or their husbands), nor do Lockier and Spurgeon refer to Norwood in their petition. Exactly how the women came to know the details of the voyage is unclear: perhaps the petitioners heard rumours through the maritime community, or correspondence delivered news from their husbands, or perhaps Norwood’s text was circulated in manuscript. By drawing attention to their petition and placing it alongside Norwood’s pamphlet account, it is possible to question how different written interpretations of the same historical events are tied into the conventions of their respective genres, as well as their links to typical gender roles. I uncover how these authors presented themselves as dexterous writers of creative rhetoric during their recounting of transatlantic travel.

To understand Lockier and Spurgeon’s engagement with maritime travel, we need to understand the women’s use of a genre that had been selected out of necessity. The two accounts differ despite recounting the same maritime expedition, with discrepancies occurring in part thanks to their contrasting textual genres. Lockier and Spurgeon’s petition is around 900 words long and fits on half a page, being necessarily brief (in comparison to Norwood’s fifty-page pamphlet) to sustain the reader’s attention and effectively convey their plea. Much like filling out a form, the women’s petition follows Daybell’s five key structural and linguistic

¹¹⁴ Karen Schramm, ‘The Literary Culture of Jamestown’, in *A History of Virginia Literature*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 22.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 7.

characteristics that I mentioned above, proving their literary integrity rather than demonstrating creative flexibility regarding linguistic choice.¹¹⁶ It contains, first, an address to the ‘right honourable’ reader; then a declaration of the ‘humble’ petition’s author; next, an explanation of what their petition ‘sheweth’; followed by an appeal for that which the ‘petitioners therefore humbly pray’; and closes with prayers – mirroring the typical phrases and order Daybell outlines.¹¹⁷ The document was, most probably, penned by a professional scribe who would have been familiar with these conventions, following a polite, concise, and formulaic approach. Although Lockier and Spurgeon’s voices are framed by these rhetorical customs, and are to some extent mediated by the scribe’s in the act of documentation, the petition is necessarily based on their rendition and so their authorial autonomy should not be dismissed. Instead, a collective compositional environment might have been created, providing a more complex picture of authorship than might at first be assumed. It is likely that the surviving copy of the women’s petition was the only one produced, since they appear to have had one reader in mind.

Norwood’s account, on the other hand, was posthumously published as a pamphlet, a popular and lowly genre renowned for its transience in early modern England. As Joad Raymond notes, describing someone’s work as a pamphlet was often interpreted as an insult; cheap to buy, the genre was seen as being ‘unashamedly commercial’ to such an extent that in the sixteenth century, ‘pamphlet’ meant prostitute. ‘Pamphlets were small, insignificant, ephemeral, disposable, untrustworthy, unruly, noisy, deceitful, poorly printed, addictive, a waste of time’, Raymond summarises. Norwood does not self-consciously describe his account as being printed in pamphlet form during his text, suggesting that he might not have

¹¹⁶ Daybell, ‘Scripting a Female Voice’, 5.

¹¹⁷ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

intended it to be published in this format. Yet the publication's size and number of pages does little to disguise itself as being anything more prestigious.¹¹⁸

These two accounts contrast in most paratextual and peritextual respects thanks to their respective genres: a long account versus a shorter text; a large intended readership versus a small one; a general readership versus elite High Court judges; and print versus manuscript. Yet genre alone cannot account for discrepancies of events that are provided. As Jonathan Healey writes in his study of poor relief in early modern Lancashire, 'the true interest of the petitions is really qualitative, even perhaps narrative [... a]nd even if the language of the petitions will have been influenced by the scribe, the tales they told [...] will have come from the petitioners themselves'.¹¹⁹ By extracting the traditional rhetorical phrases from their petition, it is possible to examine how the narrative composed by Lockier and Spurgeon plays upon gendered cultural expectations to make their argument more persuasive. Ultimately, the reader knows that Norwood survives the voyage because he has lived to recount it, the publication's curiosity stemming from how the events unfold rather than what the outcome is. This is not the case for Lockier and Spurgeon. Although record of the verdict has not survived, as the petition's intended readers, the 'Judges of the high Court of the Admiraltie' had a chance to write the ending to the women's narrative. Lockier and Spurgeon, as perhaps illiterate English women, were therefore responsible for producing documents that commented on and sought to change transatlantic travel, as well as seeking control over their own fate and the fate of others.

¹¹⁸ As Raymond notes, 'a pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight or ninety-six pages in quarto', and Norwood's fifty-page text fits within this range. Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), all quotes 5-11.

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Healey, *The First Century of Welfare: Poverty and Poor Relief in Lancashire, 1620-1730* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2014), 96.

Retelling the ‘true story’

English emigration to North America in the seventeenth century was, by premodern standards, colossal. In May 1607 three ships, the *Godspeed*, the *Discovery*, and the *Susan Constant* arrived in Chesapeake Bay, marking a moment that has since been acknowledged as the start of permanent English presence on the North American continent.¹²⁰ Desperate to escape England’s high prices and low wages, around 40,000 people left for New England between 1630 and 1650.¹²¹ Numbers continued to increase as the century progressed, with an average of 25,000 people per decade relocating between 1650 and 1690¹²² – a considerable proportion of the English population, which was only five million in 1670.¹²³ As well as boats containing emigres, cargo ships and naval fleets frequently crossed the Atlantic. In the second half of the seventeenth century, British shipping tonnage tripled due to a number of factors: the conquering of Dutch colonies; creation of slave and tobacco economies; evolution of Navigation Acts; formation of the Board of Trade; and the success of expanding colonial populations and territories.¹²⁴ Despite the voyage’s popularity, crossing the Atlantic was hazardous. There was a high risk of bad weather, attacks from pirates, and mutiny among sailors, and the tumultuous trip usually took between five and ten weeks.¹²⁵ Both accounts agree that the *Virginia Merchant’s* passage was particularly perilous and suffered lengthy delays, its passengers becoming stranded on an island fifty miles from their destination of Virginia.

But narratological discrepancies appear from the outset. According to the petitioners, on 6 September 1649 Hugh Lockier and George Spurgeon began to ‘serve in the said

¹²⁰ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

¹²¹ Allan Kulkoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 190.

¹²² Kulkoff, *Agrarian Origins*, 190.

¹²³ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹²⁴ Jonathan Eacott, ‘The Cultural History of Commerce in the Atlantic World’, in *The Atlantic World*, ed. D’Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and William O’Reilly (London: Routledge, 2015), 550.

¹²⁵ Armstrong, *Writing North America*, 47.

shipp'.¹²⁶ The team of thirty-five seamen were joined by around 130 passengers, Colonel Henry Norwood presumably being among them, before setting sail from Gravesend in Kent '[a]bout the fifteenth day' of September.¹²⁷ Gradually, the ship ran low on supplies, for which Lockier and Spurgeon blame the boat's inattentive captain; Norwood agrees, in part, although he believes that bad weather spoiled some of the food.¹²⁸ Many men and women died of famine: Lockier and Spurgeon count '62 passengers and 4 Seamen [who] by reason of the want of provisions were starved to death', while Norwood dramatically generalises that there were 'many dead and fallen over board [...] dying every day'.¹²⁹ As soon as 'the famine came soe violently upon them', both accounts explain how some passengers and crew ventured onto a nearby island to scavenge for food. The ship's captain leapt at the chance to set sail, abandoning nineteen people according to the pamphlet, or twenty-three according to the petition.¹³⁰ While Norwood declares that he was part of the stranded party, Lockier and Spurgeon do not clarify whether their husbands stayed on the ship with the captain, or if they were also marooned.

Until this point, these renditions of the *Virginia Merchant's* voyage differ slightly on figures, such as the numbers of abandoned passengers and overall death tolls. These textual inconsistencies could be dismissed as being the inevitable consequence of misremembering if writing occurs long after the events originally took place.¹³¹ Lockier and Spurgeon, after all, did not experience the *Virginia Merchant's* perils first-hand, and so they were necessarily reliant on obtaining delayed news from others. Similarly, Norwood only began writing once he had

¹²⁶ NA HCA 15/5, f.99. The ship was captained by a John Lockier, although the shared surname with petition-writer Prescilla and her husband appears to be coincidence as there is no mention of them being related in the petition (and so for this reason I will refer to him throughout this chapter as simply 'the captain').

¹²⁷ Norwood, *Virginia*, 4.

¹²⁸ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99; Norwood, *Virginia*, 12.

¹²⁹ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99; Norwood, *Virginia*, 19.

¹³⁰ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99; Norwood, *Virginia*, 22.

¹³¹ For more on what historians can learn about 'unreliable' sources and voices, particularly when giving testimony, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987). For more on the creative processes of misremembering, see Susan Wiseman, "'Popular Culture": A Category for Analysis?', in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Matthew Dimmock (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

reached Virginia – although he claims to only include anecdotes as he had ‘been able to call to a clear remembrance’.¹³² And yet, as their stories unfold, crucial narratological discrepancies appear within the petition and pamphlet’s perspectives that seem to be consciously rather than carelessly formulated to suit their authorial agendas.

This is particularly clear when the voyage further spirals out of control and the stranded island community resort to eating each other. Although Lockier and Spurgeon recount supposedly real events, there is a strong sense of the theatrical in their rendition of the cannibalistic episode. Of the surviving passengers marooned on the island, they write that:

the rage and violence of their famine soe much increasing and being not able to eate those leaves any longer they cast lotts which of them should be shott the next day to serve for food for the rest[.]¹³³

The proposed method of casting lots adds a certain drama and roulette-style suspense. It is something of a superfluous detail, not only because the petition was intended to release their husbands’ wages, but because the stranded party did not actually follow through with this system of death by selection. The petitioners reveal how murders were ‘miraculously prevented’ thanks to a

suddaine and unexpected fall of a great tree that night which killed 2 men and a woman of their Company: which the rest of the Company left alive were forced to eate and live upon[.]¹³⁴

Letters should be embellished with dramatic language that encourages readers to form imagined pictures, writes Erasmus: ‘[w]e shall enrich speech by description of a thing when we do not relate what is done, or has been done, [...] but place it before the eyes painted with all the colors of rhetoric, so that at length it draws the hearer or reader outside himself as in the theatre’.¹³⁵ The women petitioners add suspense of this kind through their use of emotionally-charged adjectives and unnecessarily gratuitous, roulette-style lotteries. This, in

¹³² Norwood, *Virginia*, 50.

¹³³ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹³⁴ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹³⁵ Erasmus, *On Copia*, 47.

turn, emphasises the women's desperate plight and highlights the colourful rhetorical flourishes they were keen to deploy to get their text noticed. The petition's readers are transported into the heart of the action, where the lottery cruelly shows that every man is as vulnerable as the next in order to evoke sympathy from the admiral judges.

In his study of the printed Royalist petitions of Roger L'Estrange, Knights warns that if petitioners acquire a particular rhetorical style for polemical ends, 'how can we infer intention? We could say that the author was deliberately using a language that he believed would sway readers', but does this tell us 'more about the discourse and audience of 1659-60'?¹³⁶ It might at first seem strange that Lockier and Spurgeon include the account of cannibalism, especially considering that they don't clarify whether their husbands were part of the marooned party who went on to eat each other, or if they escaped on the *Virginia Merchant*. In the women's theatrical build up to their Erasmein 'tragic outburst', when they state their petition's demands, sincerely clarifying the facts was a lesser priority when the need to sway their readers was felt so urgently.

At this point the women petitioners' tale contrasts abruptly with Norwood's account, which makes no mention of this morbid selection process. Instead he records that the deaths were the result of natural causes – bodily faults, that is, rather than forest-induced fatalities – and only once this had occurred were the carcasses consumed:

Of the three weak women before-mentioned, one had the envied happiness to die about this time; and it was my advice to the survivors, who were following her apace, to endeavour their own preservation by converting her dead carcas into food, as they did to good effect. The same counsel was embrac'd by those of our sex: the living fed upon the dead; four of our company having the happiness to end their miserable lives on *Sunday*[.]¹³⁷

The order of Norwood's narrative emphasises that the idea of eating each other only occurred after some people had already died naturally, that cannibalism was a consequence of

¹³⁶ Mark Knights, 'Roger L'Estrange, Printed Petitions and the Problem of Intentionality', in *Liberty, Authority, Formality. Political Ideas and Culture, 1600-1900: Essays in Honour of Colin Davis*, ed. J. C. Davis, John Morrow, and Jonathan Scott (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008), 146.

¹³⁷ Norwood, *Voyage*, 24-25.

death and not a cause. A similar distinction is drawn by Michel de Montaigne in his famous essay ‘Of Cannibals’:

there is more barbarity in eating a man alive than in eating him dead; and in tearing by tortures and the rack a body still full of feeling, in roasting a man bit by bit, in having him bitten and mangled by dogs and swine [...], than in roasting and eating him after he is dead.¹³⁸

Lockier and Spurgeon’s account can be set against this theory, as the women describe that not only were the stranded persons planning on committing cannibalism, but that they would have done so even if the human prey had not died of natural causes – enacting the animalistic carnage Montaigne describes. It cannot be known whether Norwood, or Lockier and Spurgeon, were telling the truth. Yet the women’s efforts to mention the islanders’ plans of committing gratuitous violence helps to captivate the reader as they approach their persuasive letter’s ‘tragic outburst’, as Erasmus’s theory supports.¹³⁹ Their inclusion of this theatrical detail, and by using the ‘colors of rhetoric’, emphasises the ordeal suffered by their husbands and seeks to evoke sympathy from their intended readers in the build up to the women’s financial request.¹⁴⁰

While consuming a human before their natural death might strip humanity from the eater, causing them to become as barbaric and cruel as Montaigne suggests, it is important to note how the writers of both the petition and pamphlet still emphasise the humanity of those eaten. Although there is a discrepancy in the numbers of people eaten – three for Lockier and Spurgeon, compared to Norwood’s five – the sex of the diner is noted by all. This detail takes on a particular significance when it comes to who eats whom. For Lockier and Spurgeon, although ‘2 men and a woman’ die, the survivors appear to devour all flesh irrespective of its sex. But in Norwood’s account the food and feeder are gender-aligned, the two remaining

¹³⁸ Michel de Montaigne, ‘Of Cannibals (1578-80)’, in *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, ed. and trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965), 155.

¹³⁹ Erasmus, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, 15.

¹⁴⁰ Erasmus, *On Copia*, 47.

women feasted only on the one dead woman, and '[t]he same counsel was embrac'd by those of our sex', meaning that the living men exclusively ate the four dead men.

The possibility that women could gain power, physically and metaphorically, from men by traversing the social boundaries that separated the sexes is something that Norwood takes care to quell in his monitoring of the stranded group's approach to cannibalism. David B. Goldstein argues that '[i]n any act of eating, one organism is destroyed or sapped to serve another, and the resulting collapse of self and other may provide sustenance and regeneration for both, or at least for the transformation of one into the other'.¹⁴¹ Although mutual regeneration, or commensality, is impossible during the practice of meat-eating because the damage to the eaten is always far greater than to those eating, Goldstein's suggestion that communal bonds are developed through dissolving boundaries between self and other can be seen to bring both parties together in the practice of cannibalism. As Maggie Kilgour argues, '[t]he figure of the cannibal dramatizes the danger of drawing boundaries too absolutely',¹⁴² and Daniel Cottom reaches a similar conclusion by stating that cannibalism 'presupposes and yet denies the borderlines of the self and other'.¹⁴³

To eat your own sex, as happens in Norwood's account, can be interpreted as a way of maintaining some boundaries of the body even when the act of cannibalism threatens to break them down entirely. During the early modern period, as a time of profound global expansion and exploration, cannibalism was 'the ideal type of alien behavior' and the very 'sign of alterity' in Western culture, as Myra Jehlen explains, having become almost exclusively represented as the custom of savages.¹⁴⁴ Norwood, therefore, attempts to civilize a practice that was the epitome of uncivilised behaviour. By choosing to maintain some level of

¹⁴¹ David B. Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 34.

¹⁴² Maggie Kilgour, 'Foreword', in *Eating their Words: Cannibalism and the Boundaries of Cultural Identity*, ed. Kristen Guest (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), viii.

¹⁴³ Daniel Cottom, *Cannibals & Philosophers: Bodies of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 178.

¹⁴⁴ Myra Jehlen, 'History before Fact; or, Captain John Smith's Unfinished Symphony', *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 4 (1993), 684.

decorum in the least decorous situation of all, Norwood's command of the cannibalistic feasting and the gendered order he imposes on it allow him to assert another boundary, this time between himself as a decisive figure of authority and the rest of the marooned community as compliant voyagers. Lockier and Spurgeon, on the other hand, say nothing of enforcing boundaries between the eating of the same sex, and in doing so paint a scene of chaotic carnage as their letter works itself up to its Erasmian 'tragic outburst' when requesting money.

Compared to Norwood, who takes a further twenty-five pages to recount the events that took place after the cannibalism, Lockier and Spurgeon quickly summarise the voyage's closing events in half a sentence: the travellers were 'releived by the very heathen [indigenous persons] and by them in Canoes transported over the river to the other side and soe travelled to Virginia by land where divers of them dyed as soone as they came thense, and some dyed on that Island by famine'.¹⁴⁵ There is no mention of Norwood's heroism and self-proclaimed elevation from the rest of the stranded party when, in his account, an aggrandising self-portrait is painted of primitive masculinity: '[g]reat was the toil that lay on my hands', he remarks when hunting for food, building a shelter, and single-handedly saving his community.¹⁴⁶ Omitting the anecdote in which Norwood bravely negotiates with a native tribe, which takes centre stage in his pamphlet, means that Lockier and Spurgeon render the final impression of the voyagers as weak, passive, and dependent on the foreign 'other'. Readers of the petition might assume that some passengers were saved (particularly the petitioners' husbands, as no explicit information is provided about their deaths), but Lockier and Spurgeon do not clearly say as much. It becomes apparent that once the act of cannibalism had been committed, the stranded islanders were doomed; the boundaries between the living and those void of life blurred to such an extent that they were

¹⁴⁵ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹⁴⁶ Norwood, *Voyage*, 25.

indistinguishable. The women's decision to write a short and detail-free ending occurs despite including extraneous details earlier in their rendition of the events. This might be reflective of the information they had received about the voyage second-hand, or it might show an active selection of some facts over others. The petitioners do nothing to redeem the voyagers in the climactic final episode. The women appear to sacrifice their husbands' reputations, even their humanity, to save themselves and maintain their own estates.

The *Virginia Merchant's* voyage is constructed as a dramatic precursor for Lockier and Spurgeon's monetary pleas and appears to have been specifically tailored to evoke sympathy from their readers. While early modern people would have been familiar with tales of cannibalism from popular fiction or theatre, it would have been shocking to read about these acts being committed by normal English citizens.¹⁴⁷ Since their chosen genre is a petition that seeks aid, it is in their interest to recount their husbands' stories in the most tragic and irredeemable way possible, thus strengthening their own adversity. Therefore, despite the genre's formulaic structure, and Lockier and Spurgeon's use of second-hand information, the women's petition is shaped by their chosen language and rhetorical agency. Failure to receive their husbands' wages means that the women have

spent all they have [...] from under them in prosecution of this suite to gett their wages and are like to be utterly ruined and undone they having each of them a great Charge of Children to bring up and maintaine[.]¹⁴⁸

With no way to survive without the High Court's mercy, the women present the threat of more wasted lives – of the ruin of the next generation by starvation – as being a more pressing concern than their husbands stranded on the other side of the globe.¹⁴⁹ Considering

¹⁴⁷ Cannibalism appeared in many early modern plays, most famously including *Titus Andronicus* (where the queen Tamora eats her sons baked into a pie), and popular classical works, such as Ovid's narrative of Tereus, Procne and Philomela. It also in many narratives and commentaries about the New World that were available in England (and in English) from the sixteenth-century onwards: Michel de Montaigne, Christopher Columbus, Sebastian Münster, Amerigo Vespucci, Francisco López de Gómara, Peter Martyr, André Thevet, and translations by Richard Eden. This list, in a greater level of detail and with many more examples, is published in Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, 36-37.

¹⁴⁸ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

¹⁴⁹ NA HCA 15/5, fol. 99.

that Lockier and Spurgeon's petition is for the release of their husbands' wages, rather than demanding the retrieval of their stranded husbands from the New World, their line of argument here is hardly surprising. By emphasising their helplessness and their feminine responsibilities as wives and mothers, Lockier and Spurgeon align with a 'distinctly "feminine" mode of petitioning' that Daybell describes.¹⁵⁰ Conveying feelings of plight, duty, weakness, and fragility for strategic effect allows the women to assert their 'confidence and self-assurance' in using this kind of rhetoric.¹⁵¹ Certainly there is a sense of irony here, with women's weakness becoming a sign of their literary confidence. But this inversion occurs through carefully chosen textual devices; and 'enacted courtesy' can be a form of 'self-conscious artistry', as Frank Whigham observes of suitors' letters.¹⁵² In the instance of Lockier and Spurgeon, self-deprecation is strategically combined with dramatic rhetorical tropes to engage their reader. As Erasmus set out in his genre guidelines, the inclusion of shocking anecdotes and colourful language within a frame of the petition genre's linguistic and structural formalities would have helped Lockier and Spurgeon's letter persuade their readers. Its dramatic rhetoric could help it stand out, whilst still conforming to expected feminine petitioning modes.

Conclusion

Maritime women embarked upon complex and varied textual journeys to gain favour, money, and power in England during the seventeenth century, and these imagined voyages must be as meticulously mapped as is possible. Women 'rarely worked through one channel' when conveying their demands, as Daybell writes, and were more likely to succeed if they 'approached several "intermediaries" or patrons to exert influence on their behalf, who

¹⁵⁰ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, 231.

¹⁵¹ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, 231.

¹⁵² Frank Whigham, 'The Rhetoric of Elizabethan Suitors' Letters', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 96, no. 5 (1981): 864-882.

would then operate ‘in various ways by letter, bestowal of gifts, and payment of perquisites or bribes’.¹⁵³ It is important, therefore, to consider the range of written documents women produced or used for their demands to be met. By studying sailors’ tickets, powers of attorney, and letters of petition, it becomes clear that women understood formal legal documents and used them for their own gain, irrespective of whether they were ‘literate’ in the modern sense. Much like the desperate visitors that feature in Pepys’s 1666 diary entry, documents recording women’s maritime interventions were often written by male hands in the form of scribes, lawyers, or navy employees. Women might not have been able to read these documents themselves, their hands might not have put ink to paper, and their signatures are often absent, but recognising women’s engagement with these types of sources raises new perspectives on their global authority and agency.¹⁵⁴

In her study of late-sixteenth-century women’s writing in print, Wendy Wall encourages scholars to think about the ‘precarious freedom most female writers had when they sat down to compose their literary works’.¹⁵⁵ Wall argues that their restricted position in society was used to ‘fashion or adapt’ rhetorical codes and literary forms that attend to female concerns. Women, she argues, ‘might have been caught in legal, social, and economic nets, but some found a way to dance within them quite visibly, to piece together discursive forms that circumvented restrictions on their public appearances’.¹⁵⁶ As Ann Rosalind Jones notes, these moments were rarely overt challenges in which women chose to ‘speak freely’ but, rather, a conforming scaffolding was erected upon which counter-moves could be enacted, and ‘social dictates’ could be negotiated with to become compromised.¹⁵⁷ The space created in

¹⁵³ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, 230.

¹⁵⁴ For more on gender and the law, see Tim Stretton, ‘Contract and Conjuality in Early Modern England’, 410-430, and for more on the levels of legal knowledge across society, see James Sharpe, ‘Law Enforcement and the Local Community’, 221-238. Both chapters are from Lorna Hutson, *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹⁵⁵ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 283.

¹⁵⁶ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 283.

¹⁵⁷ Ann Rosalind Jones, ‘Surprising Fame: Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Women’s Lyric’, in *The Poetics of Gender*, ed. Nancy K. Miller (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), 80.

print culture for women's reworking of rhetoric can also be seen in the fashioning and adapting of maritime manuscript forms, revealing the lengths women went to intervene in, and shape, the nautical world. Whilst some women did not necessarily physically embark upon the international voyages themselves, they engaged in maritime affairs and changed the course of events through their textual interventions.

Chapter 5. Followed to the Letter: Re-Writing Domestic Travel in Life-Writing

Many people across society moved around England during the seventeenth century, for business and pleasure. Roads improved due to the implementation of a turnpike system, funding maintenance through tolls.¹ Coaches appeared from the 1630s and wagons with swivel axels from the 1650s, all of which facilitated quicker and easier transportation for a wide range of people.² Enhanced navigation systems made travelling simpler: whereas most early maps did not show roads, this began to change when John Ogilby published Britain's first road atlas in 1675, and smaller road map summaries appeared on broadsheets and in pocket books.³ An increased number of jobs could be found in cities, in part a result of the Civil Wars as well as widespread agricultural crises at the turn of the century, meaning that more people than ever left their rural homes for places new.⁴ Yet travel was dangerous: watermen and pedlars were frequently dismissed as dishonest and thieving, and the perception of common people as beggars and vagabonds thanks to their increased mobility was one of the century's 'most urgent social problems', Andrew McRae argues.⁵ Not only did travellers feel the effects of these changes while migrating for employment and exploring for leisure, but so did those who stayed at home. Reading printed narratives of domestic travel was an increasingly popular pastime, with a marked number of texts being produced during the century; most famously, John Taylor published fourteen popular accounts of his own

¹ See Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 5.

² Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 25.

³ John Ogilby, *Britannia, volume the first, or, An illustration of the Kingdom of England and dominion of Wales* (London: Printed by John Ogilby, 1675); Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 31, 78-81, and Robert J. Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2000), esp. Chapter 4.

⁴ For recent studies on migration, see Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England c.1550-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 92-95, and David Rollison, 'Exploding England: The Dialectics of Mobility and Settlement in Early Modern England', *Social History* 24, no. 1 (1999): 1-16.

⁵ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, 29, 104, qtd. page 91.

travels around England and Wales.⁶ Additionally, sending information around the country could be achieved for a minor expense: the postal system's expansion and upgraded courier service meant that a single sheet of paper could travel eighty miles for only 2d.⁷ English travel, and receiving travel news, was quicker and easier than ever before. Men and women alike improved their understanding of their own country, through personal journeying or by accessing information about these new places, paving the way for touristic infrastructures that would be implemented throughout the eighteenth century and urban mass migration during the subsequent Industrial Revolution.⁸

Increased domestic travel was formed and informed by women's writing – even when authors did not physically travel for either business or pleasure. The act of describing, retelling, and influencing other people's journeys is a trend in women's letters and diaries, as I will show in Chapter 5, and yet these two genres are considered to be 'more explicitly autobiographical' than other literature commonly produced by women during this time, as Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle argue.⁹ But must life-writing only recount the lived experiences of the writer? Considering how non-travelling writers' minds might be less constrained by first-hand knowledge of the realities of travel, as discussed in my Introduction, can their autobiographies be grounded in interpreting the experiences of others?¹⁰

⁶ For more on Taylor see Andrew McRae, 'The Literature of Domestic Travel in Early Modern England: The Journeys of John Taylor', *Studies in Travel Writing* 12, no. 1 (2008): 85-100. What can loosely be described as printed domestic travel accounts by women also appeared during the century, although these religious works focused on spiritual journeying. The prophetess Anna Trapnel journeyed from London to Cornwall in 1654, and the Quaker Barbara Blaugdone recounts of her travels around England and Ireland in 1691. See Anna Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's report and plea, or, A narrative of her journey into Cornwall* (London: Printed for Thomas Brewster, 1654) and Barbara Blaugdone, *An account of the travels, sufferings and persecutions of Barbara Blaugdone* (London: Printed by T. S., 1691). Celia Fiennes's famous domestic travel memoir written in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries was not published until 1812. See Robert Southey and S. T. Coleridge, *Omniana* (London: Printed for Longman *et al.*, 1812).

⁷ Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Stuart England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 224, and Susan E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 46-71.

⁸ For more on the eighteenth-century's provisions for internal tourism, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 3, and Malcom Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1989).

⁹ Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle, 'Introduction', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (London: Routledge, 2016), 1.

¹⁰ David McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 201, and Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 166-167.

First, I analyse correspondence between Elizabeth Wagstaff and her husband, John Wagstaff, comprising six letters written over the course of six years, between 1616 and 1622, that she wrote to him. This is followed by a study of Elizabeth Jekyll's spiritual diary – a genre of life-writing in which the author reflects upon personally significant religious moments throughout their existence – which she began to write during the first Civil War. I select Jekyll's diary and Wagstaff's letters because they clearly deliver measured instalments of personal mediation as well as a response to, and a retelling of, explorations around England. Scholars often place letters and diaries side by side because, as Sheila Ottway and Helen Wilcox argue, the genres were of 'special importance to the women of mid seventeenth-century England'; these forms, Ottway and Wilcox suggest, 'combin[ed] a personal voice with a topical response to events'.¹¹ By investigating the types of histories that Jekyll and Wagstaff reflect upon – including local and national, biographical and autobiographical – I analyse the ways in which women of middling sorts situated their own geographical experiences within the travels of their friends, families, and broader communities during frequent and often lengthy periods of separation. In doing so, I interrogate how the presence of a 'personal voice' mixes with a 'topical response to events' as Ottway and Wilcox contend.¹²

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of my thesis have explored how the women that remained at home in England textually responded to international information and intervened in expeditions by those who journeyed abroad. But focusing solely on international travel does not reflect the way distance was more commonly experienced during the period. Although early modern references to 'travel' often discuss 'leav[ing] the nation's shores', as McRae notes, increased travel around England played a crucial part in forming the 'Age of Discovery'.¹³ 'Local journeys', Laura A. Ambrose asserts, were 'the most frequent and

¹¹ Sheila Ottway and Helen Wilcox, 'Women's Histories', in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 149.

¹² Ottway and Wilcox, 'Women's Histories', 149.

¹³ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, 14, 176.

consistent ways by which the English came to know, represent, and understand travel in their everyday lives', although these have been largely overlooked by scholars in favour of international travel.¹⁴ I extend McRae and Ambrose's studies on domestic travel to include women who were highly localised, based predominantly in their households and residential communities, by considering their responses to events in English towns, cities, and counties other than their own. This addresses the central concern of my thesis: English women's textual explorations of the expanding globe during the seventeenth century, by questioning how women's own sense of place was affected by broader events that were occurring across England during this period of profound national upheaval.

Wagstaff's letters

To date, there has been no sustained study of Elizabeth Wagstaff or her writings, so it is worth outlining what scant biographical information exists. Probably born in London or Chamberhouse, Berkshire, she was one of seven known children born to the London merchant, puritan lawyer and politician Nicholas Fuller (1543-1620) and his wife Sarah Fuller (née Blackhouse, dates unknown). Wagstaff's parents married in 1574 so she was likely born after this.¹⁵ Elizabeth married Timothy Wagstaff (who matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford in 1595/6, and died in 1625) and their surviving correspondence begins in 1616, although the exact date of the union is unknown.¹⁶ Timothy worked as a lawyer at the Middle Temple in London's Inns of Court from 1605. When not spending time in the capital he joined his wife at their manor of Bishops Tachbrook near Warwick, for which Timothy took a £166 mortgage to secure the property in February of 1608/9, and was granted full ownership on 8

¹⁴ Laura A. Ambrose, 'Plotting Movement: Epistemologies of Local Travel in Early Modern England, 1600-1660' (Doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 2008), 3.

¹⁵ Biographical information from the pamphlet, Friends of the Bodleian, *Duke Humfrey's Night, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 12 October 2013, 4.30-7.30pm* (Oxford: Friends of the Bodleian, 2013), 8-9, and Stephen Wright, 'Fuller, Nicholas (1543-1620)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 3 Jan. 2008, accessed 18 Nov. 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62362>.

¹⁶ Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, S-Z* (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891-1892), 1552.

January 1615/6.¹⁷ Together they had at least one child, also called Timothy, who was born in 1616, the year the letters began; he matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford in 1634/5 and was a student of Middle Temple from 1632.¹⁸ I have not found any responses to Elizabeth's letters written by her husband in collections either at the Middle Temple or Warwickshire County Records Office.

Wagstaff's six letters remain unbound and are kept together in one box in the Bodleian, where they are catalogued in chronological order. The letters appear on large, white pieces of paper measuring 39.7cm x 30.3cm (Figure 63), 39.8cm x 31.3cm (Figure 64), 45cm x 30.6cm (Figure 65), 40.2cm x 30.8cm (Figure 66), 39.6cm x 31.4cm (Figure 67), and 41.1cm x 32.1cm (Figure 68). Each letter is folded in half, width-wise, to make a four-page booklet. The handwritten body of the letter always appears on the front recto and, in the case of 40v and 48v, sometimes continues onto the verso (Figures 69 and 70), followed by a blank page, with the receiver's address appearing centrally on the final verso. The correspondence is in a clear and consistent hand, although the paper's edges show slight signs of wear, and it is catalogued as part of a larger general collection of recently acquired English manuscript letters.

Wagstaff's collection comprises six letters sent between 1616 and 1622: the infrequent correspondence during this six-year period suggests that Wagstaff rarely communicated with her husband, or that he was seldom away from home, or that other sent letters have since been lost.¹⁹ As detailed in the Introduction, I helped transcribe Wagstaff's letters in a collaborative project with Early Modern Letters Online and the Bodleian in 2016,

¹⁷ Feoffment from Edward Ferrers to Timothy Wagstaffe of the manor of Bishops Tachbrook, 8 Jan. 1615/6, WCRO CR 1908/73/13, and Mortgage by bargain and sale to secure £166 of the moiety of the manor of (Bishops) Tachbrook, 11 Feb. 1608/9, WCRO CR 1908/75/1.

¹⁸ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1552.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Wagstaff, letters to Timothy Wagstaff, Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fols. 38r-49v.

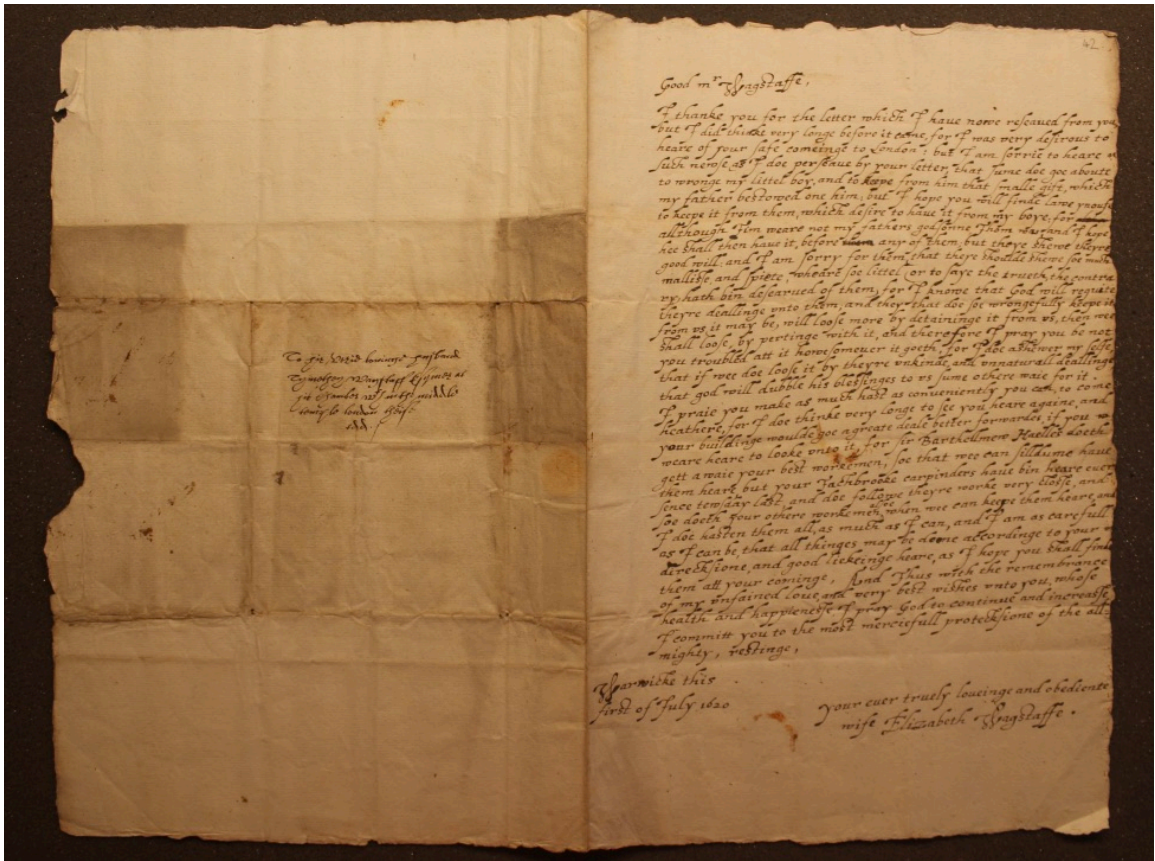


Figure 65. Unfolded Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903, fols. 42r-43v.

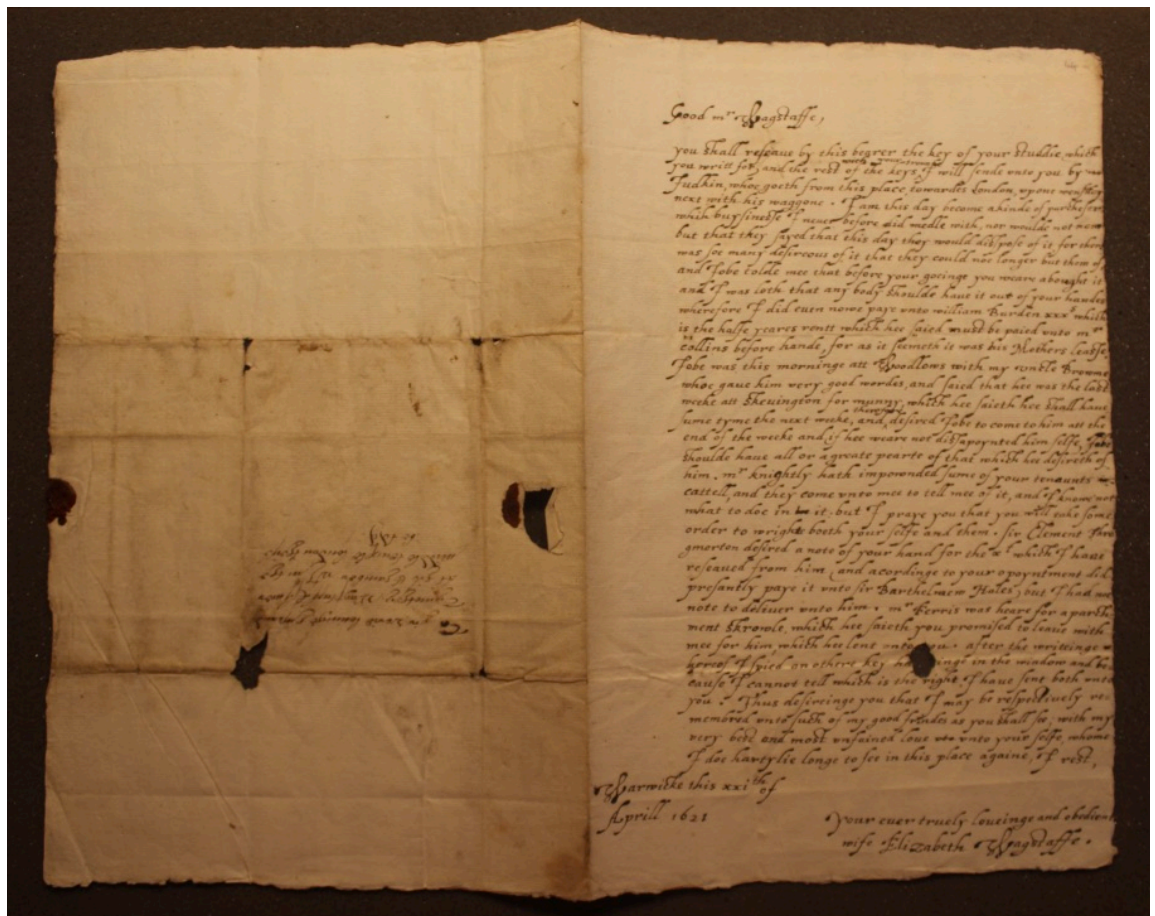


Figure 66. Unfolded Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903, fols. 44r-45v.

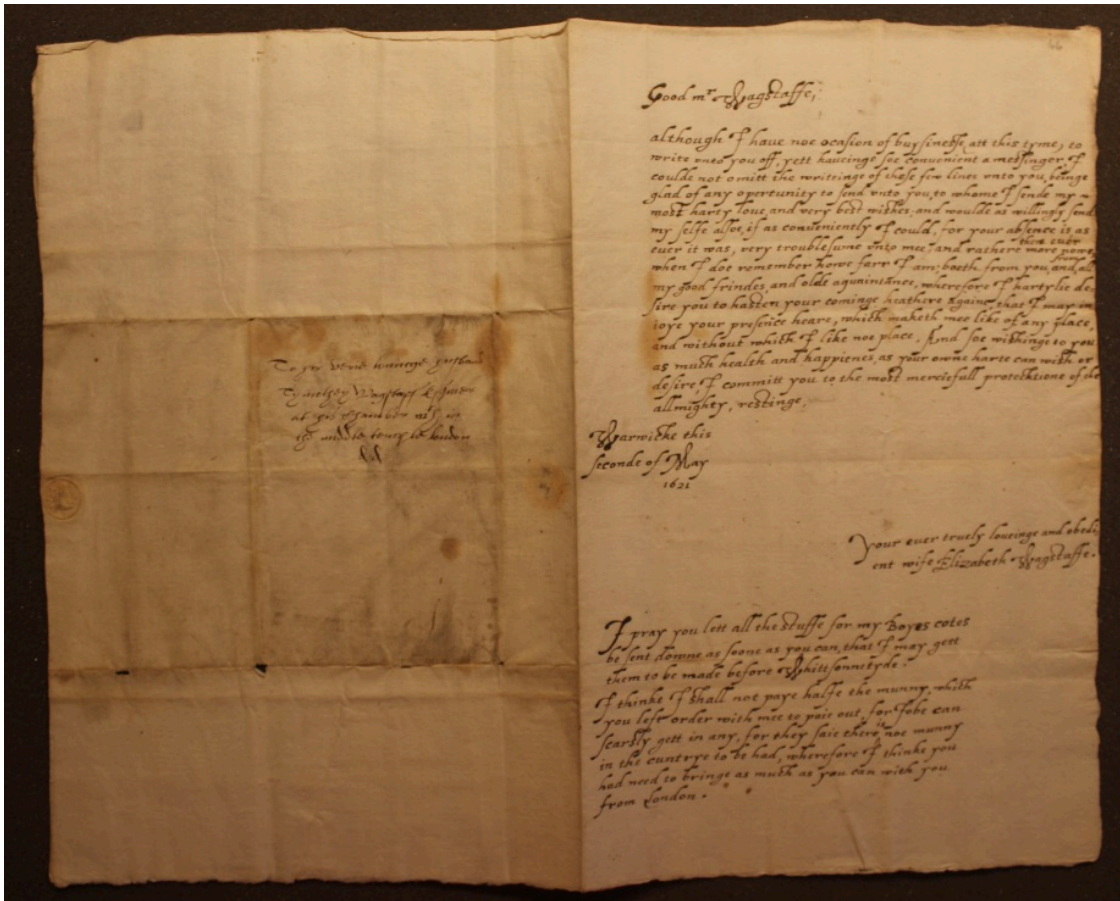


Figure 67. Unfolded Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fols. 46r-47v.

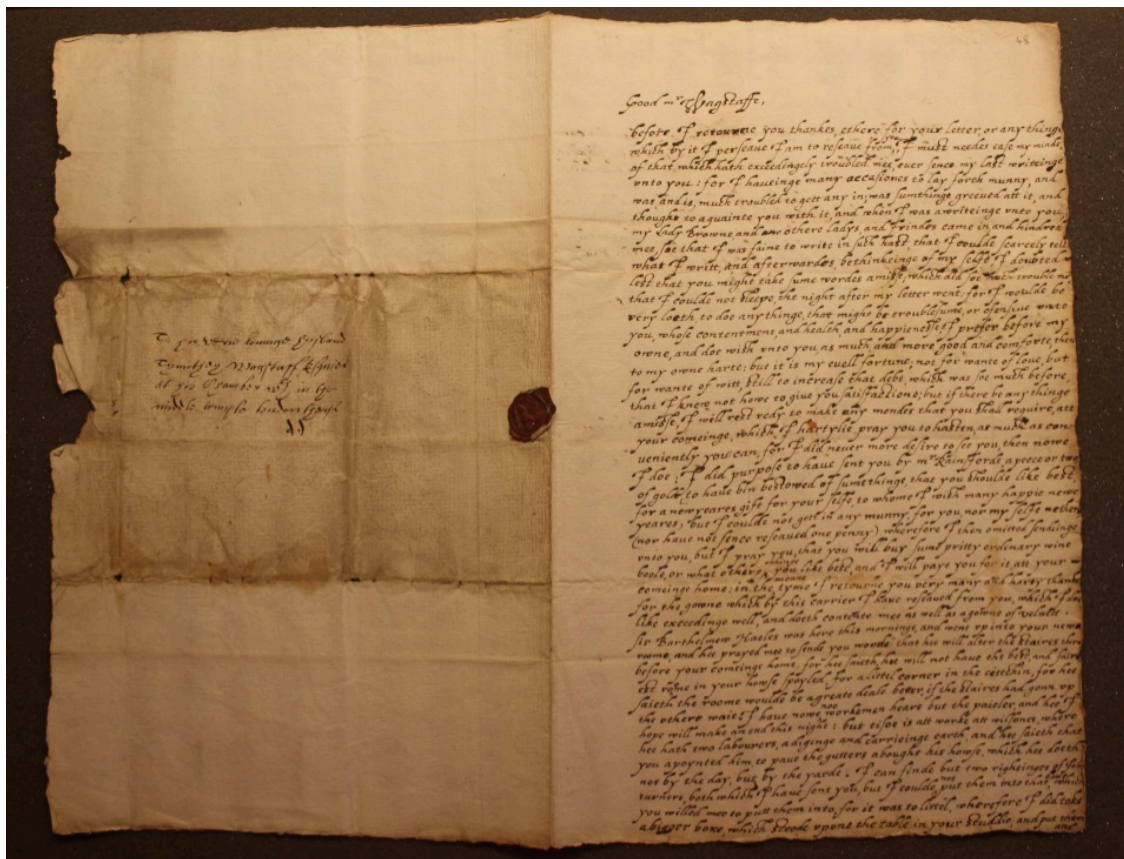


Figure 68. Unfolded Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fols. 48r-49v.



Figure 69. Unfolded Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903, fols. 40v-41r.

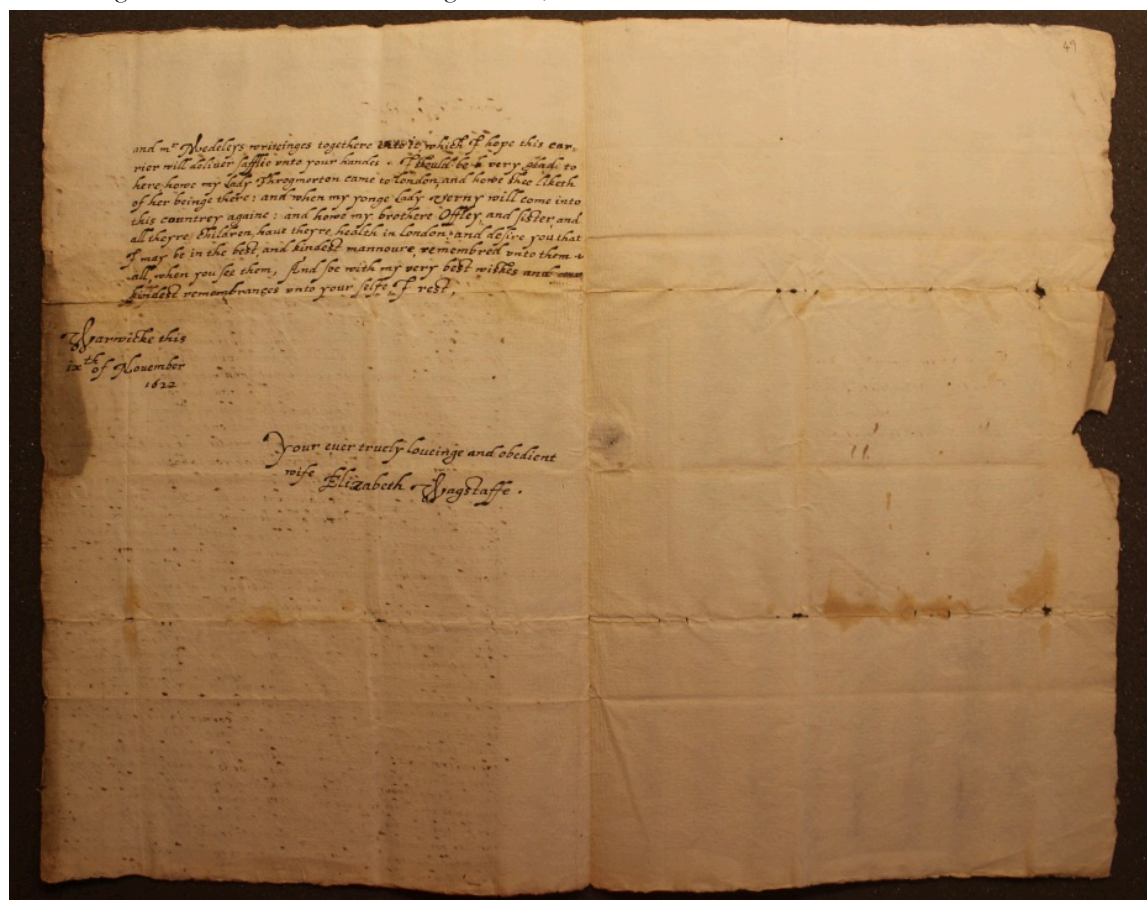


Figure 70. Unfolded Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903, fols. 48v-49r.

which are freely available to view online, along with photographs of the original sources.²⁰

The physical collection was acquired in 2011 by the Bodleian from the rare books and manuscripts dealers Samuel Gedge, but is yet to receive any sustained scholarly study.²¹

There are a great many extant letters by early modern English women, with an estimated 10,000 items of correspondence dating from before 1642,²² which are increasingly attracting academic attention.²³ ‘[U]ndoubtedly the most ubiquitous written form surviving from the pens of early modern women’, James Daybell argues, letters were ‘the chief written form through which women exerted power and influence’.²⁴ Some women wrote letters themselves while others dictated to scribes, clerks, secretaries, family, and friends acting as amanuenses.²⁵ Letter-books were often kept to record incoming and outgoing correspondence, although if Wagstaff owned one it has not since been found.²⁶ Similar to the letters of petition that I discuss in Chapter 4, familial letters have prescribed linguistic and structural conventions; but contrary to spiritual diaries, their content is predominantly secular. Usually, only one side of correspondence remains, as is the case with Wagstaff. Rather than considering Timothy’s letters to Elizabeth as he journeys from home, which he presumably

²⁰ Full transcriptions available: Christiano Amendola *et al.* ed., ‘The Correspondence of Wagstaffe, Elizabeth, d.1637’, *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge, 9 Nov. 2016, accessed 16 Nov. 2016, <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/profile/person/de1118a9-75cc-4c1d-ba2e-1bf25e46a009>. For photographs of the original sources, see ‘Six letters from Elizabeth Wagstaff of Warwickshire to her husband Timothy Wagstaff, lawyer of Middle Temple, MS Eng. c. 7903, fols. 38-49’, *Digital Bodleian*, Bodleian Library, creation date unknown, accessed 16 Nov. 2017, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/7249f67e-e51f-4478-b9f5-b14dde26f207>. For more information on the scheme, see Mike Webb, ‘Bodleian Student Editions: a successful first workshop’, *Bodleian Digital Library: A Bodleian Libraries blog*, 28 Oct. 2016, accessed 18 Nov. 2016, <https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digital/2016/10/28/bodleian-student-editions-first-workshop/>.

²¹ ‘Duke Humfrey’s Night’, *Guard-Book of Miscellaneous Items, Various Dates*, Bodleian Library, 13 Oct. 2014, accessed 12 Jan. 2018, <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/single-items/guardbooks/engc7903-DHN.html>.

²² James Daybell, ‘Introduction’, in *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001), 3.

²³ For an overview of scholarship prior to 2006 about seventeenth-century letters, see James Daybell, ‘Recent Studies in Seventeenth-Century Letters’, *English Literary Renaissance* 36, no. 1 (2006): 135-170.

²⁴ James Daybell, ‘Letters’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women’s Writing*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 181, 187.

²⁵ Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), esp. Chapter 5.

²⁶ For more on letter-books, see James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), esp. Chapter 7.

sent but did not survive, all six letters are from Elizabeth to her husband, sent while she was at Tachbrook and he was at the Middle Temple.

It is important to be wary of how this corpus's fragmented nature could prompt the making of conclusions that might not otherwise be drawn if Timothy's responses existed or if there were more of Elizabeth's letters. Nevertheless, as I argue throughout my thesis, smaller, incomplete collections such as this must not be discarded in favour of larger, more complete ones as scholarship has tended to do. This oversight means that aristocratic letters have received a great deal of attention since they are often prioritised for preservation.²⁷

Comprising 118 letters written between 1588 and 1611, Lady Arabella Stuart's collection 'offer[s] an opportunity to observe the intricate dynamics of power exercised at the highest social and political levels', writes Sara Jayne Steen.²⁸ Similarly, the 198 letters of Jane, Lady Cornwallis Bacon reveal 'her story', building 'a picture that is richly illuminating' and so '[c]umulatively they provide an unfolding narrative', Joanna Moody argues.²⁹ Studies of larger collections therefore prioritise retelling meticulously detailed life stories because the quantity of sources lends itself to this kind of identity mapping, whereas analysis of collections with a smaller sample size such as Wagstaff's cannot pretend to offer such comprehensive biographic conclusions.

Yet there are tens of thousands of extant early modern women's letters, many of which have little or no relation to each other, and are written by and to non-gentry women. Daybell seeks to correct this scholarly inclination by establishing a history of women's letter-writing practices, identifying material trends and common rhetorical tropes by surveying letters from aristocratic and non-aristocratic women alike, rather than prioritising the piecing

²⁷ See, for example, editions on the letter collections of Arabella Stuart, *The Letters of Lady Arabella Stuart*, ed. Sara Jayne Steen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Jane Cornwallis, *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis Bacon, 1613-1644*, ed. Joanna Moody (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), and Dorothy Osborne, *An Audience of One: Dorothy Osborne's Letters to Sir William Temple, 1652-1654*, ed. Carrie Hintz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2005).

²⁸ Steen, *Letters of Lady*, 4.

²⁹ Moody, *Private Correspondence*, 15-16.

together of a narrative history with the events described in individual collections.³⁰ Certainly, Daybell and Andrew Gordon revolutionise the field by surveying many different individual examples, sometimes quantitatively, in order to identify key stages within the compositional process and gain a greater understanding of the technologies used and communities created through letter writing.³¹ But there is still much to be learned about the individual experiences of non-elite women through looking at their letter collections, however small or incomplete they may be. Non-aristocratic, single author studies are of great significance, and by conducting research in this area I contribute to the growing body of work on non-gentry or titled families of letter writers, extending Susan E. Whyman's eighteenth-century investigation back into the previous century.³² Wagstaff's six letters offer valuable insight into some of the ways that women wrote, rewrote, and intervened in domestic travel through their life-writing.

Composing letters and commanding travel

Elizabeth's first letter, dated 14 November 1616, begins as all her extant letters do with the phrase 'Good M^r Wagstaffe'.³³ Polite and affectionate, this epistolary opening would have been considered a relaxed mode of address used by a wife to her husband – compared to the popular 'My Lord' or 'Sir' – although not as informally adoring as 'My best beloved Thomken', which Maria Audley called her husband Thomas in c.1606,³⁴ 'My dear love', as Anne D'Ewes referred to her husband in 1641,³⁵ Dorothy Gawdy's nickname for her spouse,

³⁰ Especially in Daybell, *Material Letter*, and 'Female Literacy and Social Conventions of Women's Letter-Writing in England, 1540-1603', in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001), 59-76.

³¹ See James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, ed., *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

³² Whyman, *Pen and the People*.

³³ Elizabeth Wagstaff, letter to Timothy Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903, fol. 38r.

³⁴ Joan Thynne and Maria Thynne, *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575-1611*, ed. Alison D. Wall (Trowbridge, UK: Wiltshire Record Society, 1983), 37.

³⁵ Anne D'Ewes, letter to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, [n.d.: 1641], BL Harl. 379, fol. 112v; qtd. in Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, ed., *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England: A Sourcebook* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2000), 193.

‘sweet Bas’,³⁶ or, as Lady Unton Dering called Sir Edward in 1640, ‘My Dearest Heart’.³⁷

Leaving a gap between the opening mode of address and the body of the letter was typical, yet Elizabeth’s correspondence from 1616 has no such break (Figure 63), and each of her subsequent five letters have but a small, one centimetre gap. Blank space contains a great deal of information about the writer and addressee’s relationship, Jonathan Gibson argues, and contemporary letter writing manuals support this claim.³⁸ In *The secretary in fashion*’s 1654 English edition, Jean-Puget de la Serre poses that the bigger the gap after the mode of address, ‘the greater respect they signifie’; similarly, in *The rules of civility*’s 1678 translation, Antoine de Courtin states that this ‘space is to be more or less according to the quality of the person, and the greater the person, the greater the blank’.³⁹ The distance was not necessarily larger for persons who were more distantly acquainted with each other. This paratextual feature was common in close family letters, as well as more professional epistolary correspondence; Richard Oxinden’s 5cm gap in a letter to his brother being just one contemporary example.⁴⁰ But, like Lady Anne Townshend’s writing that doesn’t feature a line break after addressing her sister (Figure 71), Elizabeth Wagstaff takes a more lackadaisical approach to her composition’s layout.⁴¹ On the same line as the mode of address, she graciously continues:

I thanke you for your kindenes, in that you would this buessie tyme, afforde soe much leasure as to write soe many lienes unto mee, which if you coulde see with what ioy I doe reseae them, and howe exceedinge wellcome they are unto mee, you would not thinke your labour ill bestowed in writinge.⁴²

³⁶ Dorothy Gawdy, letters to her husband, Sir B. Gawdy, 1601-1602, BL Add. MS 36989, fols. 14, 15, 17, 18; qtd. in Daybell, *Material Letter*, 72.

³⁷ Lady Unton Dering, letter to Sir Edward Dering, 1640, CKS U275 C1/11 (1640); qtd. in Daybell, *Material Letter*, 72.

³⁸ Jonathan Gibson, ‘Significant Space in Manuscript Letters’, *The Seventeenth Century* 12, no. 1 (1997): 1-9.

³⁹ Jean-Puget de la Serre, *The secretary in fashion* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654), b5v, and Antoine de Courtin, *The rules of civility, or, certain ways of deportment* (London: Printed for J. Martyn and J. Starkey, 1678), 171.

⁴⁰ Letter to Richard Oxinden [n.d.], BL Add. 27999, fol. 79r; qtd. in James Daybell, ‘Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England’, *Literature Compass* 6, no. 3 (2009), 657.

⁴¹ Folger, Bacon-Townshend L.d.385, Elizabeth Knyvett, letter to Lady Anne (Bacon) Townshend, 14 Sept. [1626].

⁴² Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, 38r. It becomes apparent that Timothy sends letters to his wife when away, although these have not survived.

L.d. 385

My Deare Sister, I thank you most kindly for all your Let^s, and many
 other kindnesse Multiplied vpon me; I must Confess, I cannot Deserue
 y^e least of them. yet will I promise, by all y^e offices of Loue and Ser-
 vice to y^e Uttermost of my Powar, to be as Frankfull as I can. Hoping
 you will accept y^e old Proverb, (where Ability wanteth, goodwill is sufficient)
 Indeede Sist, I feare I shall not give you Contentment, in y^e matter of
 Pearle; w^{ch} you Desire; although I do my best; you knowing I can go no
 further then my Mother please to permitt. She saith, y^e Pearle of her
 Necke cost 10—a pearle; only this Favour she had; som six Pearles
 ouer, w^{ch} went into y^e Bargaine: The pearle of her Chaine cost 3—a
 Pearle; she saith, you had one of each y^e last yeare: and this y^e you sent
 vpon y^e red^d silke is one of her Chaine; she is gone to look: and you shalbe
 well assured I will send you all, and y^e best I can gett. I haue sent you
 your peece of gould againe, for I know not what to do wth it. My Mot^h
 saith all her best Pearle of 10—is sett vpon a Dressing now against y^e Brean-
 gers Com, and she cannot take ofe any, for then it wilbe to shortt. My Cos-
 Sukin is much grieued y^e you had not your Baskett of Shesby-Grass w^{ch} she
 sent you a Fortnight ago: it was Deliuered to a Butcher of Saatsborn to
 be sent to you, also wth a Let^t of mine, at y^e same Instant. we heare nothing of
 Sir Roger, nor my Nephew Stans. w^{ch} I pray God well to Returne Hom. I
 Reioyce to heare my Niece Spelman is wth Child. I hope it will bring Com-
 fort to her, for y^e Loss of y^e other. As for my Eldest Son, I will beare his
 vnnaturall Courses towards me, wth as much Patience, and Silence as I
 Can. Now for my Daug. Groas I think she will send for me wth in less then
 a Fortnight, beseeching y^e Almighty, y^e I may Returne Hom wth ioy. Betty
 Kny. cannot haue her health: I do not expect to see Nath^s. this yeare. Sir
 Owens Hawk is spoiled in Mewing. The House of wighton, you and I are bebovi-
 ding vnto! for they aldoe to y^e Post y^e you and I, giue him less then any other do.
 They will neuer leaue Medling wth y^e they haue nothing to do. Thus Deare Sist
 Recomending my best Loue to your self, I pray God send you all Happines so
 His 14 of ^{resting euer} September. I protest, I haue but 250— for my daugh^s Portion.

Your most
 Sist. Elizab^e Knyvett

Figure 71. Folger Bacon-Townshend, L.d.385, correspondence from Elizabeth Knyvett to Lady Anne (Bacon) Townshend, [1626], 1r. Image from LUNA: Folger Digital Image Collection, <https://luna.folger.edu>.

Starting her letter in this way suggests, on the one hand, a relaxed and friendly couple who ‘wellcome’ each other’s letters, remark upon the ‘kindness’ of corresponding, and the ‘ioy’ this brings.⁴³ Her indecorous overspill from the opening address into the main body of her letter is, perhaps, seen as a continuation of her familiar mode. But by flouting typical epistolary conventions concerning material representation of space, Elizabeth risks undermining her husband’s greatness, as de la Serre and de Courtin suggest. Displaying a casual disregard for decorous epistolary restraint from the outset, Elizabeth pushes the boundaries of acceptability when it comes to the form and content of her letter writing.

Elizabeth continues to risk disrespecting her recipient as her first letter’s purpose becomes apparent. She relays a fraught encounter when Gertrude Wagstaff, Timothy’s mother, imposed herself upon the household of Sarah Fuller, Elizabeth’s mother, who

was soe unwilling to haue had her, that see woulde haue sent her backe againe [...].
Mother doeth yett seeme to keepe her, rather because shee was thrust upone her, then
for any desire that shee had to her.⁴⁴

The correspondence conveys how much of an imposition Timothy’s family had been on her own. To remedy the situation, Elizabeth suggests that her husband make amends by spending time with her mother, who is clearly not averse to socialising with all her extended family. ‘[M]y Mother desireth to be very kindly commended unto you’, Elizabeth writes, ‘whome she saieth shee doeth now thinke very longe to see heare againe’.⁴⁵ Although Elizabeth stipulates that Timothy’s trip is in accordance with her mother’s wishes, the supportive manner in which she conveys the invitation suggests that it is hers, too. Timothy must now prioritise visiting his in-law during his time away, atoning for the ‘very longe’ time since he last called, and make amends for the imposition of his own mother when the host had been

⁴³ Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, 38r.

⁴⁴ Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, 38r.

⁴⁵ Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, 38r.

‘soe unwilling’.⁴⁶ Elizabeth appears to manipulate her letter’s structure and deploy a persuasive rhetoric to remind her recipient of a social debt he must repay.

Visits were commonly arranged through epistolary exchange during the period, and it was not unusual for women across society to use letters to request others to perform tasks on their behalf, as I explored in Chapter 4. Nor was it unusual for requests to be repeatedly made in a way that ‘seems to have known no [...] limits’, unlike most modern-day situations, when repetition is considered ‘tedious, self-defeating, child-like and humiliating’, Lynne Magnusson argues.⁴⁷ Elizabeth’s correspondence is no exception, as she repeats her demands for Timothy to spend time with persons of her choosing. In a letter dated 1 November 1619, Elizabeth ‘desire[s] you to remember my humble duty unto my father, ^{and} my hearty loue unto all the rest of my good friendes with you’; the conveyance of her duty and love is enacted by Timothy’s duty and love for her.⁴⁸ The longing for her presence to be invoked in particular social situations is made clear on 21 April 1621, in which she ‘desire[s] you that I may be respectively remembred unto such of my good frindes as you shall see’,⁴⁹ and soon after, on 2 May 1621, she laments: ‘I doe remember howe farr I am; boeth from you and ^{from} all my good frindes, and olde acquaintance’.⁵⁰ Elizabeth mourns her physical distance from these social networks by writing to her husband, but she also seeks to prevent an emotional distance from developing by encouraging friends to go through the same processes of remembering her in order to feel nearer. ‘Letters provided an emotional lifeline, a cord of communication’, David Cressy argues, and the same demonstrative need is repeatedly made apparent in Elizabeth’s correspondence.⁵¹ In the final letter, dated 9 November 1622, she requests that Timothy ask

⁴⁶ Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, 38r.

⁴⁷ Lynne Magnusson, ‘A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women’s Suitors’ Letters’, in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 54-55.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Wagstaff, letter to Timothy Wagstaff, 1 Nov. 1619, Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fol. 40v.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Wagstaff, letter to Timothy Wagstaff, 21 April 1621, Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fol. 44r.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Wagstaff, letter to Timothy Wagstaff, 2 May 1621, Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fol. 46r.

⁵¹ David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 213.

‘howe my Lady Throgmorton came to London, and howe shee liketh of her beinge there: and when my yonge Lady Verney will come into this countrey againe [...] and desire you that I may be in the best, and kindest mannoure, remembred unto them all, when you see them’.⁵² In her study of women’s epistolary cultures and intellectual thought during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Leonie Hannan argues that exchanging letters ‘offered opportunities to deepen relationships with people who met in person infrequently’.⁵³ Elizabeth’s decision to use Timothy as a go-between, delivering messages and reminding distant friends and family of her, shows that relationships could be deepened beyond those of the letter’s sender and its immediate recipient. Her requests are made despite both Jane, Lady Throgmorton and Margaret, Lady Verney being frequent letter-writers, meaning that Elizabeth could have made the enquiries herself from afar using the same medium but chose not to.⁵⁴

Despite requests being a common feature of women’s letters, ‘[f]emale advice-giving [...] was widely discouraged, in the form of letters, print or even speech’, writes Gemma Allen.⁵⁵ Elizabeth’s choice of mode goes against the instruction provided in popular letter-writing manuals, such as William Fulwood’s *The enemy of idleness* from 1568, which encourage women to be complicit and discourage them from making demands of their husbands. Fulwood provides a model epistolary response for when an unruly wife expresses criticism of her husband’s actions. He includes a hypothetical wife’s letter which claims that her husband is too distracted by ‘great affairs of the Court’, complaining that he takes ‘no care’ of his family and has merely sent her ‘two short Letters’ that year, causing her to feel many ‘tribulations through [his] absence’.⁵⁶ She boldly demands: ‘I beseech and require you that you

⁵² Elizabeth Wagstaff, letter to Timothy Wagstaff, 9 Nov. 1622, Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7903 fol. 48v.

⁵³ Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 114.

⁵⁴ Jane, Lady Throgmorton’s correspondence is in WCRO and the Folger. See correspondence from Jane (Skipwith), Lady Throckmorton to Lewis Bagot, [1610], Folger Bagot Papers L. a. 852. For examples of Margaret, Lady Verney’s correspondence see John Bruce and Harry Verney, *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family Down to the End of the Year 1639* (London: Camden Society, 1853).

⁵⁵ Gemma Allen, ‘Women as Counsellors in Sixteenth-century England’, in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1690*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (London: Routledge, 2016), 81.

⁵⁶ William Fulwood, *The enemy of idleness* (London: Printed by Henry Bynneman, 1568), 110.

will come unto us' with immediate effect.⁵⁷ According to Fulwood, a husband's model response if under a similar siege should be to chide her for these 'verie lamentable Letters' in which she 'greatly complaine[s]' of him; he should then curtly remind her that when he selected her to be his wife, it was because he understood her to be 'the most virtuous, most chast, most honest, and most skilfull' – not someone who would attempt to take command of his actions.⁵⁸ And yet, as I discuss in Chapter 1, men's policing of women's journeying knew no bounds, even at home. As Anne Dormer complains in a letter to her sister, her husband 'can tell exactly how many [steps] will carry me from my chamber to the garden and if I happen to stop one minute I am sure to be askt the reason'.⁵⁹

Letter-writing manuals were models of conservative social values, Diana G. Barnes points out, and may not have been universally observed.⁶⁰ But self-deprecating tones were often adopted by women nevertheless. Elizabeth Cornwallis, for example, repeats her cries of being 'gretly bound' and is 'humly thank[ful]' with her 'humble duty', when asking her future mother in law to 'pardon my boldnes, in scryblyng of this rud letter'.⁶¹ Similarly, writing to the Privy Council, Lady Elizabeth Hatton pleads that 'your Lordships will pardon this long and taedious scribble',⁶² and Katherine Gell, corresponding with the nonconformist minister Richard Baxter in 1655, entreats him to 'excuse both style English and all other defects herein by considering it's a woman's'.⁶³ Wagstaff displays little of the unease with which women tended to write of their own literary abilities, regretfully expressed their impertinence at

⁵⁷ Fulwood, *Enemy of idleness*, 111.

⁵⁸ Fulwood, *Enemy of idleness*, 110.

⁵⁹ Anne Dormer, letter to Lady Trumbull, 3 Nov. [1668], BL Add. 72516, Trumbull Papers, D/ED C13, fol. 192; qtd. in Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 196.

⁶⁰ Diana G. Barnes, 'Editing Early Modern Women's Letters for Print Publication', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, ed. Sarah C. E. Ross and Paul Salzman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 122.

⁶¹ CUL, Hengrave MS 88/3/81, Elizabeth Cornwallis, letter to the Countess of Bath 25 Oct. [1650]; qtd. in James Daybell, 'The Materiality of Women's Letters', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1690*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (London: Routledge, 2016), 56.

⁶² John Holles, *Letters of John Holles, 1587-1637*, ed. P. R. Seddon, 3 vols. (Nottingham: Thoroton Society, 1975-1986), vol. 2, 192.

⁶³ Katherine Gell, letter to Richard Baxter, July 1655, Dr Williams' Library, London, Baxter V, fol. 216r-216v; qtd. in Crawford and Gowing, *Women's Worlds*, 51.

making contact, or profusely apologised for any demands they wished to make. Daybell suggests that this typical ‘manner of self-criticism’ was ‘governed less by gender than by social status or position’, and was often deployed as a persuasive epistolary strategy by women.⁶⁴ Contrary to this trend, only once in all her letters does Elizabeth admit fault, and this is not to apologise for her social requests. Rather, she blames ‘othere Ladys, and Frindes [who] came in, and hindred mee, soe that I was faine to write in such hast’,⁶⁵ which was not an unusual excuse in contemporary letters (haste being cited by Elizabeth Raleigh in a brief letter to Robert Cecil reporting the safety of her husband, or by Francis Withipole to her cousin John Hobart revealing her husband’s departure on a journey).⁶⁶ By not adhering to the customs of polite self-deprecation, Wagstaff once again runs the risk of offending her reader. If Daybell’s assertion that this prevalent mode of modesty typically indicated that the writer’s social status was lower than their recipient’s, Wagstaff’s adopting of a confident and unabashed rhetoric might show that she considered herself to be more of an equal to her husband.

Although Timothy appears to be spending time with his wife’s family in London, it is not possible to determine from Wagstaff’s letters alone whether Timothy carried out her requests, prompting us to remember Daybell’s warning that letters can represent ‘textual performances rather than enacted behaviors’.⁶⁷ Wagstaff is at least reminding him that he ought to be, and passing on her regards to them when he does. She doesn’t specify how these social enquiries should be made, be it by letter or in person, or whether Timothy is to conduct special trips to pass on her regards. Instead, it is clear that her husband’s routes around London, and the company that he keeps, should be in accordance with his wife’s wishes. Through the medium of correspondence, the space of the page, and use of a rhetoric

⁶⁴ Daybell, ‘Female Literacy’, 62.

⁶⁵ Wagstaff, 9 Nov. 1622, 48r.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Raleigh, letter to Robert Cecil, Aug. 1596, Cecil 172, fol. 71; Francis Withipole letter to John Hobart, [n.d.], BL Harleian 4713, fol. 296; both qtd. in James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 59.

⁶⁷ James Daybell, ‘Social Negotiations in Correspondence between Mothers and Daughters in Tudor and Early Stuart England’, *Women’s History Review* 24, no. 4 (2015), 5-4.

that is rife with social requests, Elizabeth seeks to prescribe her husband's journeys when he is away from home, using her spousal letters to manipulate Timothy's travels around London to accord with her social wishes. As Laura Gowing notes, 'spatial practices always involve an interplay between the concrete and the imaginary'.⁶⁸ Despite inhabiting disparate physical locations, the letters paint the picture of a shared social life between Elizabeth and her husband, highlighting women's more active and engaged roles than those of supposedly passive observers.

Elizabeth's direction of Timothy's journeying is both legitimised and enhanced by her domestic control. Her imagined geographies of London's people and places are shaped by her physical realities, and this is poignantly displayed in her requests for goods to be purchased by Timothy in London. 'I prairie you remember to buy good store of shewger', she begs on the 1 November 1619, 'for it is very deere heare and I haue almost none left' – an emotive yet forthright request that is humbly placed near the end of her letter.⁶⁹ So, too, is her plea for a postal delivery to Warwickshire on 2 May 1621, appearing as a postscript after she signs her name – a space for comments that are, as Roger Dalrymple writes, 'almost "asides", sentiments not yet ossified in convention, not wholly controlled by stylistic decorum'.⁷⁰ Here, Elizabeth requests more favours: 'I pray you lett all the stuffe for my Boyes cotes be sent downe as soone as you can', she writes, before asking Timothy to bring her money since she 'can scarsly gett in any, for they saie there^{is} noe munny in the cuntrye to be had, wherefore I think you had need to bringe us as much as you can with you from London'.⁷¹ Almost all early modern currency took the form of gold and silver coins, but because there was no central bank, and since 'the economy grew faster than the money supply', by the turn of the

⁶⁸ Laura Gowing, "'The Freedom of the Streets': Women and social space, 1560-1640", in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 147.

⁶⁹ Wagstaff, 1 Nov. 1619, 40v.

⁷⁰ Roger Dalrymple, 'Reaction, Consolation and Redress in the Letters of the Paston Women', *Early Modern*, ed. Daybell, 20.

⁷¹ Wagstaff, 2 May 1621, 46r.

seventeenth century ‘the demand for money had probably increased by something like 500 per cent’, while the supply had only expanded by sixty-three percent, Craig Muldrew explains.⁷² This resulted in a ‘continual shortage of cash throughout the period’, Muldrew argues, and its value at the end of the sixteenth century might have been as low as £1 and 15s for every household, as J. R. Wordie calculates.⁷³ The stilted cash-flow continued to affect Elizabeth at their country estate. On the 9 November 1622 she asks him to buy himself a small new year’s gift on her behalf:

I did purpose to haue sent you [...] but I coulede not gett in any munny, for you, nor my selfe nethere [...] wherefore I then omitted sendeinge unto you, but I pray you, that you will buy sume pritty ordinary wine boole, or what othere ^{thinge} you like best, and I will paye you for it, att your comeinge home.⁷⁴

Although her correspondence does not reveal whether Elizabeth has specific knowledge of London shops, she shows an awareness of the possibilities available to her husband within his geographic location and designs her requests accordingly.

It is not uncommon for wives to express their desires for London’s unique paraphernalia in their spousal letters. Dorothy Gamage’s near-weekly correspondence to John Gamage written between 1579 and 1580 frequently contains shopping lists for household provisions which, Daybell argues, ‘is itself suggestive of the existence of close bonds within this working partnership’.⁷⁵ But where these appeals are situated within the body of the letter is key. Jennifer C. Ward’s analysis of fifteenth-century noblewomen’s letter conventions reveals that when a writer is anxious to receive a particular response, it is essential for them to

⁷² Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1998), 99-100.

⁷³ J. R. Wordie, ‘Deflationary Factors in the Tudor Price Rise’, *Past & Present*, no. 154 (1997): 49-61. Wordie’s calculations are based on an average household estimated size of 4.75 and a national population of four million, as taken from Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, ed., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), and E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 531. See Craig Muldrew, ‘“Hard Food for Midas”: Cash and its Social Value in Early Modern England’, *Past & Present* 170, no. 1 (2001), 88.

⁷⁴ Wagstaff, 9 Nov. 1622, 48r.

⁷⁵ NA, SP 46/60, fols. 1-42d, the papers of John Gamage, 1573; qtd. in Daybell, ‘Materiality of Women’s Letters’, 63.

politely express their needs at an appropriate moment within the prose.⁷⁶ Elizabeth follows a similarly courteous yet affectionate mode of expression 200 years later, humbly placing consumer demands at the end of her letters if they are for her own benefit (Figures 67 and 69) or, such as the new year's gift, politely placing requests near the top if they are for his (Figure 68). While appeals for petty cash and small items are politely phrased and politely situated within the letter's structure, Elizabeth focuses on the arrival of her material acquisitions rather than expressing feelings of excitement towards her husband's return. Compared to Lady Joan Coke's letter to Sir John, where she 'pray[s] for you and wish[es] you were here',⁷⁷ or the letters of Elizabeth, Lady Bristol, who claims the agony experienced during periods of separation from her husband is a greater affliction than any possible bodily pain (except childbirth, which she knew all too well, having had seventeen children), Elizabeth Wagstaff's affection is absent in her husband's absence.⁷⁸

What is most striking, however, is the frequency with which Elizabeth notes her desires for consumerist goods in her six letters, meaning that with each letter comes another set of time-consuming errands for Timothy to perform. The lengthiest task came in November 1616: first, Elizabeth writes that her mother 'giueth you many thanks for the paines which you tooke, to match the bayse [petticoat] for her', indicating that Timothy had previously been enacting her (and her family's) errands. Then, Elizabeth burdens him with another task in taking a dress to the tailor:

therefore if it please you to lett John haue the sleeue, shee would haue him to match it, as neare as hee can; of the deepest coullear, and ingraine: I woulde I gaue the price of halfe the bayse, that I had Besses sleeue againe: for heare is opoynted a greate meetinge, att Margetts mariage of folke from Newbery, and Thatcham (and diuers o there places) which is upone wensday nexte, when I thinke Besse must be faine to weare her gowne with one sleeue.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Jennifer C. Ward, 'Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001), 31-32.

⁷⁷ Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1999), 196. Charlton does not cite original source.

⁷⁸ Sara Read, *Maids, Wives, Widows: Exploring Early Modern Women's Lives, 1540-1714* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword History, 2015), xv. Read does not cite original source.

⁷⁹ Wagstaff, 14 Nov. 1616, 38r.

It is not uncommon for wives to commission fashion errands in London from their husbands, such as those Frances North made of Dudley North in the early 1660s, or Katherine Knyvett's epistolary requests for her husband Sir Thomas to commission her a new dress (for which he apologises: '[the] gown and things are making, but will not be done against Whit Sunday, which fault I must confess I deserve to be chidden for').⁸⁰ But it was more unusual for a mother in law to make these requests. The light-hearted threat that Timothy could be responsible for making a woman wear a lop-sided, single-sleeved gown to a wedding conjures an amusing image, tying into Dalrymple's assertion in his study of late-fifteenth-century women's letters that they 'may take on a more emotive aspect when their language evokes spontaneous or largely unmediated reaction to an event reported'.⁸¹ Elizabeth's errands might not be practical for Timothy to carry out but, as she makes clear with Margaret's impending marriage, she feels a sense of urgency towards them. The letter-writer's personal yet pragmatic tone attempts to persuade her husband that what is required of him is little work, while still graciously thanking him for his trouble. Her letters are something of an antithesis to the Paston letters, for example, in which Agnes Paston famously writes to her son John, chastising him for his spending and materially-incentivised life that will, she assures him, deliver no spiritual benefit.⁸² Elizabeth's requests for the gathering of goods allow the letter-writer to establish personal routes across London.

Unlike Brilliana, Lady Harley, for example, who chooses to stay at her rural home of Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire while her husband and son are residing in London (her correspondence revealing how she defends the property from a siege during the Civil War), it does not appear as though Elizabeth has the option of physically travelling to the capital

⁸⁰ See letter to Dudley North, 1635-1672, Bodl. North c. 4 f.115, and Clare Blackhouse, *Fashion and Popular Print in Early Modern England: Depicting Dress in Black-Letter Ballads* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017), 88. For Knyvett, see Read, *Maids, Wives, Widows*, 58. Read does not cite original source.

⁸¹ Dalrymple, 'Reaction, Consolation', 17.

⁸² Dalrymple, 'Reaction, Consolation', 21.

herself.⁸³ As a result, it is impossible to determine Elizabeth's familiarity with London, if she has a sense of its topography and scale, whether she knows her friends' addresses or the particular shops from which she wants goods purchasing, or whether she can visualise the streets her husband journeys upon in order to carry out her requests. Rather than painting a vivid picture of the capital's geographies therefore, Elizabeth's letters instead demonstrate how correspondence, and the commands it contains, create shared experiences between senders and receivers in locations up and down the country, experienced on and off the page. Unlike other travel narratives from the time – in which isolation and discovery were so often twinned together, as Stephen Fender argues for New World explorers – the act of writing letters could allow Elizabeth to imaginatively meander through unfamiliar places as well as reconnecting with familiar communities.⁸⁴ Her epistolary collection, it becomes clear, is as much a social exploration of England's capital as it is spatial, emphasising gendered forces that were sometimes, perhaps often, present behind journeys of supposedly individual travel around England during the period. This begins to complicate our modern understanding of 'home' and 'away' as being two distinct categories, her engagement in a distant domestic project appearing to meld the two. Elizabeth's letters allow us to realign our privilege towards the experiences of physical travels and instead pay attention to their trajectory.

As Julie Crawford argues in her study of early modern patronage, 'texts and textual meanings are produced by both writers and their addressees, and in moments of consumption as well as creation', and this is particularly apparent in letters, which are founded on the conditions of shared absence as well as shared texts.⁸⁵ Alan Stewart draws out these paradoxes in his study of letters in William Shakespeare's plays by assessing their 'resolutely theatrical'

⁸³ Johanna Harris, "'Scruples and Ceremonies": Lady Brilliana Harley's Epistolary Combat', *Parergon* 29, no. 2 (2012), 97-98, and Jacqueline Eales, 'Patriarchy, Puritanism and Politics: The Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley (1598-1643)', in *Early Modern*, ed. Daybell, 143-159.

⁸⁴ Stephen Fender, *Sea Changes: British Emigration and American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 184.

⁸⁵ Julie Crawford, *Mediatrices: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

nature – considering, for example, the dramaturgy at work when a character ‘appears’ on stage *via* textual embodiment and by a letter’s content being read aloud by another, despite the letter-writer’s physical absence.⁸⁶ Although the nature of one-way epistolary collections means that Timothy’s responses are not known, it would be simplistic to assume that Elizabeth’s imagined travels are only facilitated by Timothy’s physical ones. In forming his theory of reading and writing as modalities of travel, the anthropologist Tim Ingold asserts that ‘if one could walk through the scripture as a landscape, so conversely, as typically in the liturgical procession or pilgrimage, one could walk through a landscape as scripture’.⁸⁷ Ingold takes as example the twelfth-century treatise *On affliction and reading* by Benedictine Peter of Celle, and by applying this approach to Wagstaff’s letters, Timothy ‘*inhabit[s]* the world of the page’ of his wife’s correspondence, and enacting these requested journeys could prompt memories of Elizabeth and her epistolary texts.⁸⁸ ‘For the wayfarer in the landscape, as in the scriptural text’, Ingold continues, ‘particular sites marked by recognisable features would serve as place holders for [...] characters and stories’.⁸⁹ If Timothy were to make particular social calls and shop for particular goods on Elizabeth’s behalf, he could not only recall the memory of his wife and the stories of her letters, but attach her powers to his own thoughts and experiences, allowing them to shape his life’s direction. Rebecca Solnit argues that ‘[t]o read is to travel through that terrain with the author as a guide’, but what becomes clear is that a more complex interaction can occur, in which the act of travelling also reveals the author.⁹⁰ ‘To walk is to journey in the mind as much as on the land: it is a deeply meditative practice’, Ingold argues, ‘[a]nd to read is to journey on the page as much as in the mind’.⁹¹ The fluidity

⁸⁶ Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare’s Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 38, 33.

⁸⁷ Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (London: Routledge, 2011), 199.

⁸⁸ Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007), 91.

⁸⁹ Ingold, *Being Alive*, 199.

⁹⁰ Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (London: Verso, 2001), 72.

⁹¹ Ingold, *Being Alive*, 202.

of mental and material explorative modes becomes evident, in which the author's agency is manifest in locations situated off the page.

Hannan argues that letters 'provide a forum for the forays into the imagination', but as Wagstaff's correspondence reveals, epistolary journeys could inextricably mix the imagined and the physical.⁹² Elizabeth is not simply journeying and socialising vicariously; instead, her epistolary content becomes embedded within particular activities, locations and social occasions.⁹³ While predicated on relaying and reacting to information, her letters reveal a distinctive epistolary approach that reconfigures the relationship between writer and reader, wife and husband. Building on Daybell's assertion that '[a]n examination of networks of correspondents helps to map the ambit of women's social worlds', Elizabeth adopts an authoritative discursive mode that helps to preserve and enhance her standing both at home and in the capital during periods of separation within England.⁹⁴ It has become clear that male business trips do not always render the woman passive to domestic duties. By inverting the power dynamics of an expected patriarchal command, Elizabeth practices what other contemporary women have done in relation to inherited literary forms, such as Isabella Whitney's mock-will in the form of a poem, 'Wyll and Testament', from the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ By using the letter to obtain dominance in the domestic sphere, as well as to exercise control over people, places, and things situated at a greater distance from home, Elizabeth records and informs physical and imagined explorations through her written self-expression.

⁹² Leonie Hannan, 'Making Space: English Women, Letter-Writing, and the Life of the Mind, c.1650-1750', *Women's History Review* 21, no. 4 (2012), 599.

⁹³ Amanda Vickery's work in eighteenth-century women's household economy is a useful later study. See *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁹⁴ Daybell, 'Letters', 183.

⁹⁵ Danielle Clarke, ed., *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney, and Aemilia Lanyer: Renaissance Women Poets* (London: Penguin Books, 2000). See also Betty Travitsky, 'The "Wyll and Testament" of Isabella Whitney', *English Literary Renaissance* 10, no. 1 (1980): 76-96, and Wendy Wall, 'Isabella Whitney and the Female Legacy', *English Literary History* 58, no. 1 (1991): 35-62.

Spiritual diaries and questions of authorship

Elizabeth Jekyll is the author of a seminal spiritual diary dating from the English Civil War.⁹⁶ The work is seminal not least because its circulation influenced Protestant subjects during the second half of the seventeenth century, conveying Jekyll's support of the parliamentary cause and her unique interpretation of national affairs, but also because the manuscript diary may have been written by a man. The prose itself is probably originally composed by Jekyll, however, as the first-person narrative contains a medley of her family's records, poetry, reflections on political matters, and religious meditations recorded between 1643 and 1652. It bears sustained anecdotes that recount Jekyll's home life, the births of her children – as well as the trials and tribulations of caring for them – and describes in some detail her husband's journeys around England during the first Civil War. The only extant copy is held at the Beinecke Library. Osborn b.221, which contains sixty pages enclosed in modern binding, must therefore be a handwritten copy of Jekyll's original manuscript. It is written in a single hand, a neat script formed of black ink, but it could not possibly have been penned by Jekyll herself since the volume also includes a copy of the dying speech made by Alice Lisle at her trial of 1685, whose execution occurred more than three decades after Jekyll's own death in 1653.⁹⁷

Despite the extant document's complex provenance, its original author should not be overlooked. The daughter of Elizabeth Lake and George Ward, a London cloth maker, Elizabeth Ward was baptised in 1624 at the parish of St Mary Woolchurch, London. She married John Jekyll sometime before 1643, when her diary begins, although the exact date

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Jekyll, *Commonplace book* (1643-1652), Beinecke Osborn MS b.221.

⁹⁷ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 43r-45v. For more on Lisle's trial consult John H. Langbein, *The Origins of Adversary Criminal Trial* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 77, and Antony Whitaker, *The Regicide's Widow: Lady Alice Lisle and the Bloody Assize* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2006). All scholarship on Beinecke MS b.221 agrees that it was written by a later hand but, as I explore, not all believe that Elizabeth was the original author of its spiritual diary component. See, especially, Elizabeth Clarke, 'Elizabeth Jekyll's Spiritual Diary: Private Manuscript or Political Document?', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700* 9 (2000): 218-237, and Susan Wiseman *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 277-312.

and location of the ceremony are unknown. John was initially apprenticed as a fishmonger but practised as a haberdasher for most of his life at his shop in Walbrook, London.⁹⁸ The couple were devout Presbyterians and together had five children, the eldest being Thomas Jekyll, who would grow up to become the esteemed Church of England clergyman and author of printed sermons.⁹⁹ Although her husband was thirteen years her senior, Jekyll died first, in March 1653, not long before her thirtieth birthday and one week after the burial of an infant she had just given birth to. Jekyll's grave lies in the parish church at Saint Stephen Walbrook, and after her death her widower went on to marry Tryphena Hill, having five more children. Jekyll's spiritual diary hints at autobiographical details but does not outline them fully, meaning that most of what we know about the author's life has been painstakingly scavenged from other sources.¹⁰⁰ Other than her spiritual journal, no other documents written by Jekyll survive.¹⁰¹

Jekyll's diary has attracted some scholarly attention. The diary's 'political purposes' are alluded to but not explored further by Helen Wilcox in her study of seventeenth-century women's devotional poetry.¹⁰² David Underdown downplays Jekyll's sixty-page work in his scholarship on the passing of information from Civil War journalists to pamphlet readers, dismissing it as being merely 'some jottings'.¹⁰³ Her choice of language, Underdown claims, 'shows that she was [...] at least an occasional reader of the newsbooks and pamphlets', although the exact links between Jekyll's diary and these other journalistic sources are not

⁹⁸ Elizabeth R. Clarke, 'Jekyll, John (1611-1690)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 4 Oct. 2008, accessed 2 Oct. 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67136>.

⁹⁹ Burke Griggs, 'Jekyll, Thomas (1646-1698)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 3 Jan. 2008, accessed 2 Oct. 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14712>.

¹⁰⁰ This is true of early modern spiritual diaries generally. Margaret Spufford writes that '[m]ost of them simply launched into the account of the work of God in their souls which was the purpose of their writing, without even the slightest account of their age, the region of England or the social group from which they came'. See 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History* 4, no. 3 (1979), 408.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth R. Clarke, 'Elizabeth, Jekyll (bap.1624, d.1653)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 4 Oct. 2008, accessed 2 Oct. 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67136>.

¹⁰² Helen Wilcox, "'My hart is full, my Soul does ouer flow": Women's Devotional Poetry in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2000): 447-466.

¹⁰³ David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 110.

established.¹⁰⁴ Susan Wiseman and Elizabeth Clarke provide sustained, and more recent, critical engagement.

Wiseman focuses on the text's afterlife, arguing that the diary contributes to a non-conformist writing culture that formed between the 1650s and 1680s.¹⁰⁵ By considering its circulation in the wake of the Presbyterian Christopher Love's 1651 trial for treason, against whom Jekyll's husband gave evidence in court, Wiseman suggests that Jekyll's diary allows us to understand how women writers were central to the Restoration's political culture. She places Jekyll's text alongside the narrative by Mary Love, who produced 'The Life of Mr Christopher Love' about her husband in the late 1650s or 1660s; Jekyll and Love's texts are tailored to provoke political memories about the defendant's character to the point of martyrdom, she argues.¹⁰⁶ Both women authors tactically use 'feminine subjectivity to articulate the powerless position of the disenfranchised citizen', which allows them to 'invite the reader's empathy with the sufferings of the martyr and the subordinate survivor, suffering [...] for politics without ever being fully included in a political arena', she poses.¹⁰⁷ Wiseman's argument stresses women's significant roles in politics as well as their writing's impact upon broader social circles, especially considering how there is an established historiography that paints the 1650s and 1660s as being a retreat for radicals – a retreat felt even more acutely for women radicals.¹⁰⁸

Clarke provides a comprehensive summary of Jekyll's diary and argues, in a similar vein to Wiseman, that it is purposely designed by John Jekyll to comment upon the end of the

¹⁰⁴ Underdown, *A Freeborn People*, 110.

¹⁰⁵ Susan Wiseman, 'Martyrdom in a Merchant World: Law and Martyrdom in the Restoration Memoirs of Elizabeth Jekyll and Mary Love', in *Literature, Politics and Law in Renaissance England*, ed. Erica Sheen and Lorna Hutson (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 209-235. Ostensibly the same chapter is republished in *Conspiracy and Virtue*, 277-312.

¹⁰⁶ Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue*, 287.

¹⁰⁷ Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue*, 309.

¹⁰⁸ Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 19, 15, 21; Richard L. Greaves, 'The Puritan-Nonconformist Tradition in England, 1560-1700', *Albion* 17, no. 4 (1985), 468-469, and Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649-1688* (London: Viagro, 1988), 26, 49, 85, 88.

century's political climate.¹⁰⁹ Some diaries, Clarke states, 'are used as justification of the lives of their authors: but this document [...] functions to vindicate Elizabeth Jekyll's husband'.¹¹⁰ This agenda is likely, according to Clarke, because when King James II ordered all stationers in 1685 to either join the Stationers' Company (and thus comply with strict regulations) or to stop trading pamphlets, John refused. He was arrested. Clarke believes that 'it is unlikely that even under these unfavourable circumstances [John] abandoned his forty-year-long career in politics and propaganda'.¹¹¹ Rather, '[s]elected scribal publication of his wife's diary, that harmless, private, feminine form, is just one avenue a master strategist might have taken at a dangerous time. [...] It would] constitute effective propaganda in the difficult period between the Monmouth rebellion and the Glorious Revolution: its circulation in manuscript would ensure freedom from prosecution'.¹¹² Clarke therefore suggests that Jekyll's femininity, and indeed the events of her life, were exploited by her husband after her death to continue his production of radical propaganda through surreptitious means.

Wiseman's argument assumes that the manuscript was produced to promote Christopher Love's martyrdom, and Clarke supposes that it was formed to increase John's business. Certainly, there is little doubt that the extant volume was not only transcribed but its content added to by another. After all, Jekyll's spiritual diary ends on 13 January 1652/3 due to her death and yet the document continues afterwards in the same hand. Three poems follow the initial diary section, two ruminating on prayers and one on death, which culminate in Jekyll's signature (probably forged), attempting to suggest her authorship (Figure 72).¹¹³ Next are lists of the birthdays and deaths of Jekyll's own family, although errors and

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Clarke, 'Jekyll, Elizabeth', in *The Encyclopaedia of English Renaissance Literature: A-F, Volume 1*, ed. Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr and Alan Stewart (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 540-542; 'Diaries', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 609-614; 'Beyond Microhistory: The use of Women's Manuscripts in a Widening Political Arena', in *Women and Politics*, ed. Daybell, 211-227, and 'Elizabeth Jekyll's Spiritual Diary', 218-237.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, 'Elizabeth Jekyll's Spiritual Diary', 230.

¹¹¹ Clarke, 'Elizabeth Jekyll's Spiritual Diary', 233.

¹¹² Clarke 'Elizabeth Jekyll's Spiritual Diary', 233-234.

¹¹³ Beinecke MS Osborn b.221, 31r, 33r, 35r.



Figure 72. Beinecke MS Osborn b. 221, fols. 30v-31r.

corrections in this section pronounce the document's transcribed nature. It concludes with Lisle's 1685 dying speech – impossible for Jekyll to have been responsible for – therefore cementing the transcriber's presence.

I argue that since the spiritual diary section of Osborn b.221 is likely to have been composed by Jekyll originally, it must be read as such. This means that a different set of intentions behind the text's production can be explored, and allows me to expand upon the discussions of authorship that run throughout my thesis, especially the debate surrounding Dorothy Patridge's almanac in Chapter 3. Wiseman and Clarke's arguments centre on Osborn b.221 as being a product of the second half of the seventeenth century and, as a result, take the focus away from Jekyll as the author, protagonist, and political commentator between 1643 and 1652. As Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith state in their general introduction to early modern women's material texts, 'material artefacts [...] do not reach readers in isolation, but emerge through complex systems of production, transmission and reception [...] in

multiple modes over time'.¹¹⁴ Although Jekyll's hands were not involved in the extant volume's physical construction, we must consider the text's longer chronology in order to return authority to the original author.

This approach is not without its problems. It is impossible to determine how exactly Jekyll's words are replicated in Osborn b.221 when her original manuscript does not, as far as we know, survive. As a result, there is always a chance that Jekyll's spiritual diary never existed at all, while it is equally possible that the version in Osborn b.221 is a word-for-word transcription, or that the extant text sits between these extremes. The source's potentially fragmented nature remains largely unexplored by scholars, probably because it is hard to draw firm conclusions; but this does not mean that we should forego forging connections between the author and her writing, or assume that the editorial impact upon Jekyll's work is necessarily negative or monumental. Susan M. Felch takes a similar approach in her study of Elizabeth Tyrwhit's prayerbook: *Morning and Evening Prayers* was printed in 1574 and again in 1582 by different publishers, with many substantial differences apparent between the two, including omissions, substitutions, and rearrangements of material. Felch argues that '[a]lthough the assumption that Tyrwhit's authorial agency is diminished and absorbed into official structures by a male editor is understandable and fits a "chaste, silent, and obedient" hermeneutic, it does not stand up to further scrutiny'. This is because Felch disagrees with 'the fundamental assumptions that editorial work is necessarily intrusive and that early modern male editors diminish female voices'.¹¹⁵ Similarly, I propose that we cannot assume that Jekyll's text was unsympathetically transcribed to detract from her authorial intentions. By seeing the spiritual diary as a product of 1643 and 1652, I communicate a different side to

¹¹⁴ Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith, 'Introduction: Early Modern Women's Material Texts: Production, Transmission and Reception', in *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-2.

¹¹⁵ Susan M. Felch, 'The Backward Gaze: Editing Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Prayerbook', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, ed. Ross and Salzman, 24.

its textual identity, in which Jekyll vicariously travels across Britain thanks to her knowledge of Civil War conflicts and her novel approach to recording this in her manuscript.

Home and away

Despite being described in Yale's library catalogue as a commonplace book, perhaps due to the compilation's wide-ranging and anecdotal content, scholars broadly concur that Osborn b.221's first section stylistically aligns with spiritual diaries.¹¹⁶ Unlike conventional diaries, spiritual diaries do not meticulously recount every event of the day, instead selecting sporadic yet significant anecdotes – although it is unlikely that early modern writers consciously distinguished between the two genres. Spiritual diaries adhere to the Protestant emphasis on each individual believer's direct connection with God – thanks to the removal of Catholic confession and its priestly mediator – and the demand for this relationship to be explored outside of the church site as well as in. As Adam Smyth notes, '[new] systems of spiritual self-surveillance were required' after the Reformation, and spiritual diaries proved popular with writers conducting introspective religious analysis.¹¹⁷ Authors could display their faith through physical actions and achieve spiritual fulfilment by way of written interpretation. Some spiritual diarists include conversion narratives, while others publish them alongside prophecies, but all explore how the Holy Spirit features in and shapes their lives in measured instalments.¹¹⁸ As Sarah Savage writes in her entry from August 1686:

It is in my thoughts to do something in the nature of a Diary [...] and the hope that I might be furthered by it in a godly life [...]. To him I have made my request known

¹¹⁶ 'Osborn B 221', *Orbis: Yale University Library Catalog*, Yale University, creation date unknown, accessed 26 Oct. 2017, <https://orbexpress.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=7040256>. Its alignment with the genre is most clearly outlined by Clarke, 'Diaries', 609-614.

¹¹⁷ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 114.

¹¹⁸ For more on conversion narratives within spiritual autobiographies, see Maria Magro, 'Spiritual Autobiography and Radical Sectarian Women's Discourse: Anna Trapnel and the Bad Girls of the English Revolution', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 2 (2004): 405-437. An example of a spiritual diary and prophecy printed together is by Anna Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*, ed. Hilary Hinds (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), xli.

herein, and I heartily beg that what I shall at any time put down may be the true workings of my heart.¹¹⁹

In the act of writing spiritual diaries, authors seek further understanding of their lives on earth and prove themselves to God for the afterlife.

Men and women from a cross-section of society kept spiritual diaries during the seventeenth century. Their popularity is in part thanks to clergymen who prompted entire congregations to produce these texts as an ‘encouragement of Virtue in the practice of Holy Men and Women’, as the minister Patrick Strachan preaches in a sermon published in 1693.¹²⁰ Similarly, lifestyle guidebooks such as John Featley’s 1646 *A fountain of tears* encourage readers to consider how the day’s events are shaped by scripture, prayer, charitable actions, and appropriate Christian conduct.¹²¹ These publications, Effie Botonaki contends, could easily be used to direct the reader’s own reflections during life-writing.¹²² We cannot assume, however, that men and women composed autobiography in the same way. Mary Mason argues that gender shapes conceptions of the self and its configurations in writing; women’s identities typically form in relation to some ‘other’, such as God, which lends itself to the spiritual diary genre.¹²³ Similarly, Estelle C. Jelinek suggests that women are less likely to follow linear narratives in autobiographical pursuits, which is also characteristic of spiritual diaries.¹²⁴ This may explain why more spiritual diaries exist than daily diaries by early modern English women, and why their authors are commonly devout Protestants.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Sarah Savage, *The Life of Mrs Savage*, ed. John Bickerton Williams (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1848), 10.

¹²⁰ Patrick Strachan, *The map of the little world* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, 1693), 54.

¹²¹ John Featley, *A fountaine of tears emptying it selfe into three rivelets* (Amsterdam: Printed for Iohn Crosse, 1646), 89-91.

¹²² Effie Botonaki compares fifteen self-examination guides with sixteen women’s spiritual and meditational diaries in ‘Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen’s Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (1999): 3-21.

¹²³ Mary G. Mason, ‘The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers’, in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. James Olney (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 15.

¹²⁴ Estelle C. Jelinek, ‘Introduction: Women’s Autobiography and the Male Tradition’, in *Women’s Autobiography: Essays in Criticism*, ed. Estelle C. Jelinek (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1980), 1-20.

¹²⁵ Michelle M. Dowd, *Women’s Work in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 99.

Jekyll's is one of more than 332 surviving diaries from the seventeenth century that were written in England, or by English men and women abroad, Elaine McKay estimates.¹²⁶ At least twenty of these are by women and while some secular diaries do exist – like those of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke (1590-1676), who maintains hers on and off from 1603 until her death – keeping spiritual journals was more popular.¹²⁷ The most famous of these belong to Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1625-1678) and Anne, Lady Halkett (1623-1699), whereas those by middling sorts such as Jekyll are something of a rarity. While the Bible undoubtedly 'lay at the heart of female reading culture', as Femke Molekamp argues, spiritual diaries offered a written mode for women to develop their literary relationship with God.¹²⁸ As Botonaki poses, it is 'probably the only form of writing [women] could pursue without ever having to excuse themselves for doing so'.¹²⁹

The extent to which spiritual diaries sought a private or public readership – or contain private or public anecdotes – is up for debate, not least because extant examples vary considerably. Michelle M. Dowd argues that they reveal autobiographical purposes by 'often offer[ing] a very detailed and complex picture of the housewife's domestic routine'.¹³⁰ Contrastingly, Clarke insists that the spiritual diarist's 'impulse seems to be linked with a sense of history rather than autobiography, whatever "history" meant to the individual'.¹³¹ Elisabeth Bourcier asserts that the diary's use in a truly private way, offloading intimate thoughts daily onto a printed page purely for the benefit of the author, only began to take off in the

¹²⁶ McKay's calculations combine Heather Creaton's list of London diaries in *Unpublished London Diaries: A Checklist of Unpublished Diaries by Londoners and Visitors with a Select Bibliography of Published Diaries* (London: London Record Society, 2003), with the catalogue of British diaries in William Matthews, *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written between 1442 and 1942* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1950), and her own unpublished survey of public records offices in England. See Elaine McKay, 'English Diarists: Gender, Geography, and Occupation, 1500-1700', *History* 90, no. 2 (2005), 192.

¹²⁷ See Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D. J. H. Clifford (Sutton, UK: Phoenix Mill, 1996). In Sara Heller Mendelson's study of twenty-three Stuart diaries and occasional memoirs by women, 'three-quarters [...] contain considerable devotional content'. See 'Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs', in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 185.

¹²⁸ Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1.

¹²⁹ Botonaki, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's', 4.

¹³⁰ Dowd, *Women's Work*, 99.

¹³¹ Clarke, 'Diaries', 610.

nineteenth century.¹³² Margaret Spufford takes yet another angle, insisting that a spiritual diary's content depends on the writer's position within society: details about family, biography, property, and place were of greater significance to aristocrats or wealthier spiritual diarists, perhaps because they had more substantial inheritances to consider.¹³³ But Jekyll complicates all of these propositions. She is a non-elite woman whose spiritual diary covers a broad range of topics both near and far, detailing domestic and national issues, without being driven by the control of personal assets. The genre's multipurpose nature, recording divine actions and commenting on broader historical events as well as detailing the subject's own life, is clearly displayed in Jekyll's text. It presents a different kind of subjectivity, I argue, in which the author writes about herself but influences and is influenced by the journeys of others. By constructing the written self through the compilation and retelling of spiritual events that happened to herself and her husband, at home and in places further than the author's immediate physical vicinity, Jekyll's imagined journeys are textually reworked to suit her authorial agenda.

Interpreting Civil War travels

A brief résumé of Jekyll's most significant life events – as they appeared to her – begins her spiritual diary. All are determined by God. They include 'fought mercies [that] hath done me good against my will', such as her bodily weaknesses and deaths of her children, and God's 'Great number of mercies', encompassing the continuation of her life into adulthood and her vocation as a Christian.¹³⁴ The first page draws to a close with Jekyll's name and the date, 1643, alluding to the document's personal nature despite being transcribed by another (Figure 73).¹³⁵ Next she discusses difficult pregnancies and childbirths, as well as featuring different

¹³² Elisabeth Bourcier, *Les Journaux privés en Angleterre de 1600 à 1660* [Personal Diaries in England from 1600 to 1660] (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976), 7.

¹³³ Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy', 408.

¹³⁴ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 1.

¹³⁵ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 1.

episodes from the Civil War that occurred at Selby, Bridgewater, Bristol, Marston Moor, and Plymouth, interweaving events that occurred at home and further away. Much like other contemporary spiritual diarists such as Elizabeth Turner or Mary Rich, Jekyll's moments of spiritual reckoning draw upon a lifetime of experiences, are chosen in hindsight, and recorded in the document at a moment the author considers to be opportune, be that on the annual celebration of her wedding anniversary (in Turner's case) or when located in the 'wilderness' of her property's gardens (in Rich's case).¹³⁶ This careful selection process grants authors the time to fully comprehend each event's spiritual significance, which might take a while after its initial conception.

Jekyll takes control of her text, asserting herself as a worthy author despite the genre's inherent devotion to higher authorities. Although her religious dedication is established from the outset by explaining that her thoughts and actions are 'grounded upon the word of God', as she writes on page two, Jekyll clearly states that any opinions voiced are entirely her own: '[c]onscience is my hart and mind and Brain Indeed wth Knowledge'.¹³⁷ God is 'Electing' her for the role of author, implying a divine appointment through an irrefutable democratic practice; he did 'Chuse' her, she proudly declares.¹³⁸ But, as Jekyll repeatedly assures her readers, this worthy selection does not jeopardise her autonomy over the diary's content. While God 'hearest prayers', the text comprises '*my* vows which *my* lips have uttered, and *my* mouth haue spoken' (my italics).¹³⁹ '[P]rophecy was any utterance produced by God through human agency', Diane Purkiss reminds us, yet Jekyll suggests that God receives her religiously inspired ideas.¹⁴⁰ Rather than being God's spokesperson, she is the spiritual diary's sole creator.

¹³⁶ Clarke, 'Diaries', 610.

¹³⁷ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 2.

¹³⁸ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 2.

¹³⁹ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 3.

¹⁴⁰ Diane Purkiss, 'Producing the Voice, Consuming the Body: Women Prophets of the Seventeenth Century', in *Women, Writing, History, 1640-1740*, ed. Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London: Batsford, 1992), 139.

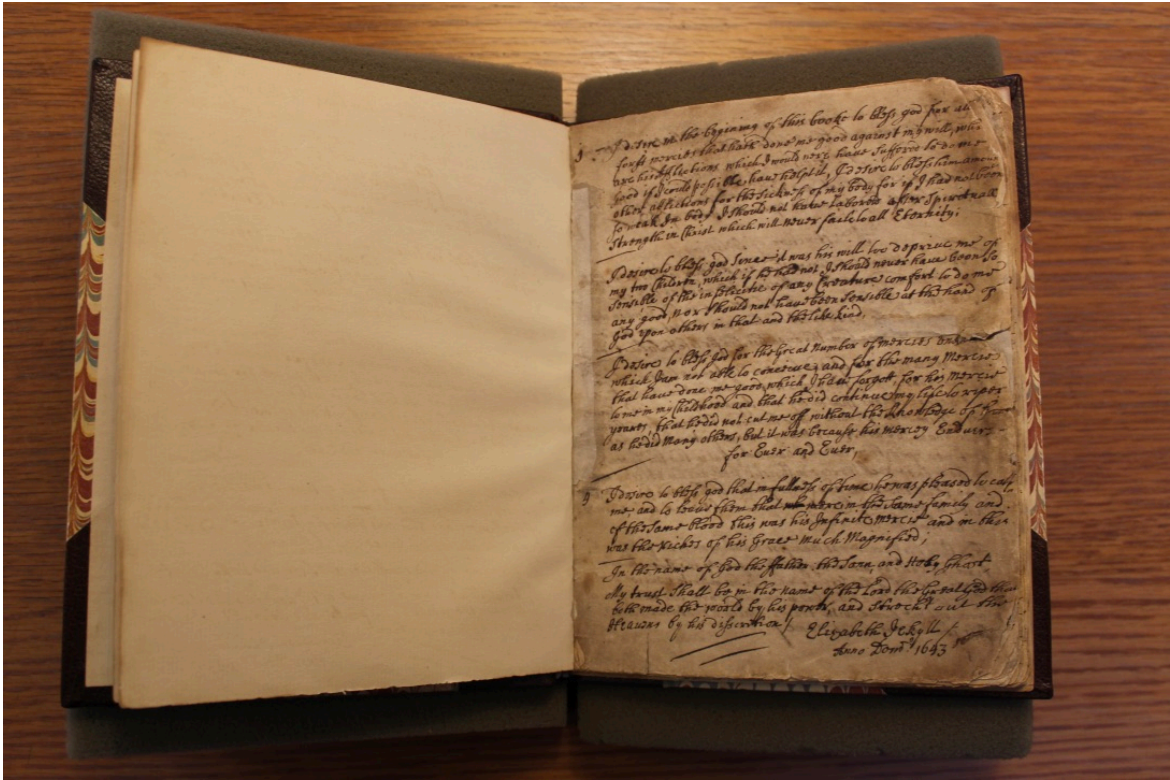


Figure 73. Beinecke MS Osborn b. 221, fol. 1r.

Insisting upon her textual authority from the outset allows Jekyll to deviate from the rigorous self-criticism that commonly features in women's spiritual diaries. It contrasts with Elizabeth Mordaunt's manuscript of prayers and daily tasks that are divided into two columns, for which the author must 'returne thanks for' and 'aske perden for' from God.¹⁴¹ Jekyll's authorial confidence awards her the creative space to describe a broad range of personal topics that are not necessarily predicated on first-hand experience. She vividly charts her husband's involvement with the parliamentary cause, freely interpreting national events to suit her own agenda and subsuming his travels within her own spiritual journey. Women writing their husband's biographies was not unusual in early modern England. Famous examples include Lucy Hutchinson's memoirs of John Hutchinson, or Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle's account of General William Cavendish life, while Theodosia Alleine's

¹⁴¹ Elizabeth Mordaunt, *The Private Diarie of Elizabeth, Viscountess Mordaunt*, ed. Robert, earl of Roden (Duncairn: Privately printed, 1856).

contribution to her husband Joseph Alleine's biography is less well known.¹⁴² But while these publications were intended as spousal biographies, for Jekyll to recount her husband's journeys in her own spiritual diary sets it apart.

In July 1643, during her diary's first reflective episode, Jekyll describes her husband John's travels to Bristol from their home in London.¹⁴³ When out walking, 'he was taken hold of by one of the Kings Souldiers', in what Jekyll relays as being an aggressive and unprovoked attack from

our uery next neighbour, a Sugar Baker his name was Worme, who pulled him by the coate and asked him what he did there, whereupon my husband answerd him, he came about buisness, and this fellow tould him he would see that, and he Imeediatly Called his companions about him and tould them that my husband was the greatest Round head in all the parish and that he Kept open his shop upon all Holy dayes, and the like frivelus things, and then he takes my husband as his Prisoner to his Lodgings [...].¹⁴⁴

Jekyll deploys clear story-telling techniques to interpret how and why her husband's capture occurred. Although she never addresses her reader directly, unlike Anne, Lady Halkett whose 1677 autobiography clearly has an audience in mind, Jekyll's inclusion of extraneous details appear to be for dramatic effect.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps the perpetrator of the attack, Worme, really was called such a name, but the author's inclusion of this detail also implies that she couldn't resist the evocative eponym, with its connotations of slippery creatures rather than true neighbours. Similarly, incorporating the superfluous quotation that John is 'the greatest Round head in all the parish' – intended by the King's soldiers as an insult – suggests that she is proud of the accusation given the family's strong Parliamentary affiliation.¹⁴⁶ Jekyll then decides why this event took place and the causes behind its resolution: it is thanks to 'Wonderfull great and

¹⁴² Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N. H. Keeble (London: Phoenix, 2000); Margaret Cavendish, *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendish, Duke, Marquess and Earl of Newcastle* (London: Printed by A. Maxwell, 1667), and Theodosia Alleine, *The Life & Death of that excellent minister of Christ Mr Joseph Alleine* (London: Printed by J. Darby, 1672).

¹⁴³ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 3.

¹⁴⁵ Anne Halkett, *Lady Anne Halkett: Selected Self-Writings*, ed. Susanne Trill (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 51-143.

¹⁴⁶ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 3.

enexpressible mercie and deliverance which it pleased the Lord to give'.¹⁴⁷ The author emphasises the injustice of her husband's assault, an innocent Christian taken prisoner on the grounds of hearsay. Much like the dramatic rhetoric deployed by Prescilla Lockier and Sara Spurgeon to make their petition more persuasive, as discussed in Chapter 4, these narrative additions reveal how Jekyll revels in her authorial role. Her husband's travel narrative is crafted to suit her own spiritual agenda, perhaps simply for her own pleasure or for any potential readers.

Once taken as prisoner, John faced an interrogation about 'whither he did not take up armes against the King att Brentford, to which he truly Answered he did not'.¹⁴⁸ The troopers refer to the Battle of Brentford on 12 November 1642, a Parliamentarian defeat so devastating that even a Royalist eyewitness lamented that 'it was a heartbreaking object to hear and see the miserable deaths of so many'.¹⁴⁹ Jekyll substantiates John's denial by drawing upon geographic impossibilities, refuting her husband's involvement since 'he was att that time in Lincolnshire about his business', around two days' travel by foot from the battle site near London, whereas their Walbrook home was a considerably more incriminating four hours away by foot.¹⁵⁰ Although the vast area John covers for business matters warrant his release from prison in this instance, journeying around England is also why he was in danger in the first place. After all, the haberdasher's distance from his shop in Walbrook leaves him unable to show that his business is closed on a Sunday, preventing him from proving his innocence. Jekyll emphasises her husband's vulnerability thanks to his physical isolation from the people, home, and business that would protect him, whilst recognising the advantages that travel can create. John's displacement is central to Jekyll's account, the author revelling in the retelling of a story with attention to geographic detail.

¹⁴⁷ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 3.

¹⁴⁸ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 4.

¹⁴⁹ Anon. letter to his 'Deare Mother', 1642, Bodl. Ashmole MS 830, fols. 292b-293.

¹⁵⁰ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 4.

Jekyll discusses her husband's journeys around England and the dangers he faces throughout the spiritual diary. She remarks upon God's 'great Deliuerance' of John at the siege of Hull in 1643, when 'their c[a]me a bullet from the Enemie and fell downe att his feet and did not hurt him'.¹⁵¹ Similarly, 'the Lord [did] so deliuer him' during his travels to Barton-upon-Humber in north Lincolnshire, 'When the Lord put it in his hart to Stay by the way', a delay which meant that her husband 'Escaped being taken prissoner'.¹⁵² When her husband journeyed to Bristol in 1643 to settle debts, he was set free after being 'taken prissoner [...] for a week' – 'and thus you see the goodness of God Exprist to us', she decisively concludes.¹⁵³ It is clear that Jekyll possesses a detailed understanding of the events she narrates, despite being physically situated hundreds of miles away in London. Unlike Wagstaff, Jekyll does not determine the direction of her husband's physical movements from their conception; rather, she controls how these are recounted in her spiritual diary, deciding exactly what is said and why the events occurred. As Jekyll writes: 'I desire to take notice of God in the passages of his providence to me concerning my husband, how many ways he hath preserved him, when I know not he was in danger, where God hath made good his word'.¹⁵⁴ God is responsible for the events but Jekyll, as the author, is responsible for 'tak[ing] notice' of them during her retrospective presentation.

Why does Jekyll feel entitled to fit John's physical journeys to her authorial agenda and place her husband's travel experiences within her spiritual journey? Because God's mercy covers all corners of the globe, and he has elected her to travel far and wide through writing, which makes her 'like the Eagles [...] for as high as the heauens are about the Earth, So great is his mercie to them that fear him, for as far as the East is from the west, so farr hath he

¹⁵¹ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 5. For more on the Charles I's attempts to secure control of Hull, see Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 214-220.

¹⁵² Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 6.

¹⁵³ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 10.

remoued our sins from on them that fear him'.¹⁵⁵ God allows her eye to stretch beyond its physical capabilities, and she is therefore entrusted as the interpreter of spiritual occurrences at home and around the nation. As she explains in her entry for 1648: 'the Lord make it a Sanctified blessing [...] that I may not only Speak his praise but liue his praise'.¹⁵⁶ The author reinstates this notion again almost verbatim on the next page: 'I may not only Speak his praise with my tongue but liue his praise'.¹⁵⁷ Godly election means that she can *live* her husband's travels through writing and recounting. Unlike Anne Bathurst, for example, whose daily diary written between 1676 and 1696 records visions of God transporting her between heaven and hell, Jekyll's piety grants imagined experiences of travel around England.¹⁵⁸ Written analysis of her husband's Civil War encounters, and her appointment as a holy commentator, enable Jekyll to exceed the parameters of her physical geographies. The lord 'hast not shut me up into the hand of the Enimie, thou hast Set my feet in a Large place': she speaks freely and lives broadly through the experience of rendition, facilitated by her faith.¹⁵⁹

The modern assumption that autobiography and interiority are firmly linked is therefore complicated in Jekyll's spiritual diary proving, as Smyth poses in his history of autobiography, that subjectivity 'can mean different things at different times'.¹⁶⁰ Slipped between these family-centred anecdotes are shorter reflections on nationally significant events. Jekyll writes of how, thanks to the 'great and Wonderfull mercy of God', Plymouth is saved in 1645; similarly, God's 'mighty power' is seen in the 1644 'deliuering of Selby ten miles from york'; or, in July of the same year, when 'our men which had layn against yorke to besiege [...] could not Enter' and the Earl of Newcastle 'fled into Holland, which is the mighty worke of God'.¹⁶¹ Jekyll brings forward events that would otherwise form the

¹⁵⁵ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 15.

¹⁵⁷ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 16.

¹⁵⁸ Bodl. Rawl. D 1262 and D 1263.

¹⁵⁹ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 22.

¹⁶⁰ Adam Smyth, 'Introduction', in *A History of English Autobiography*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2.

¹⁶¹ Beinecke Osborn MS b.221, 7, 8.

backdrop to her life, placing them alongside the personal and the familial. Her spiritual diary offers a sharp contrast to Rich's, for example, who merely alludes to key political events, the seventeenth century's tumultuous climate making little impact upon her self-reflective spiritual analysis.¹⁶² Similarly, Lady Grace Mildmay's autobiography principally explores and bolsters her relationship with God; as Roland Bedford *et al.* write, it is '[c]onstantly underscored by passages from the Bible, [...] insist[ing] that the record of her life – and of all lives past and future – remains ultimately with God'.¹⁶³ Jekyll deviates from solely providing personal, religious commentary – whilst all the time insisting upon God's support of her work – in favour of interpreting events that might otherwise have been out of bounds for female spiritual diarists. Jekyll intersperses national and biographical anecdotes with the autobiographical to form her life-writing. Political bias and critical commentary are prevalent, irrespective of whether she physically experienced the events described.

By contextualising the spiritual diary's conception within the Civil War, we can return autonomy to the author. While the diary's events are informed by men's physical experiences, they are not necessarily prescribed by them. Jekyll's interpretations of national events sets her text apart from other contemporary spiritual diaries by women that prioritise first-hand travel. In Jane Turner's publication from 1653, *Choice experiences of the kind dealings of God*, she embarks upon a divine journey to uncover her faith while travelling between Newcastle and London.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, Henrietta Lindsay's spiritual diary charts her travels around Europe, predominantly between Scotland and Holland, documenting every appearance of Christ along the way.¹⁶⁵ What becomes clear in Jekyll's text is that imagined travel enables a different kind of agency:

¹⁶² Mary Rich, Lady Warwick, *Diaries and meditations*, 1666-1677, BL Add. 27351-27358.

¹⁶³ Roland Bedford, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation, 1500-1660* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 169. See also Linda Pollock, ed., *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993), 27.

¹⁶⁴ Jane Turner, *Choice experiences of the kind of dealings of God* (London: Printed by H. Hills, 1653). For more on Turner see Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, 168-169, and Paul Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 21.

¹⁶⁵ David George Mullan, ed., *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670-1730* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 204-353.

piety allows the author to explore the Civil War's events across England and the writing of her spiritual diary allows her to define its causes and effects.

Conclusion

By examining women's textual responses to their own space, as well as their shaping of journeys undertaken by others, it is possible to more fully understand the extent of women's involvement in English travels. Rather than lagging behind men, Jekyll and Wagstaff's critical analyses exemplify the central role some women played in shaping national journeys, and show how wives could respond to and control their husbands' travels from afar. Both case studies exemplify how the subject of travel is refracted by different life-writing genres. Jekyll's textual interpretations of journeying are predicated on the spiritual diary's naturally religious content, despite the author's deviation from the genre's typically self-reflective nature.

Contrastingly, Wagstaff's travel experiences are mediated by a genre that is built on absence and the connection of geographically disparate parties, yet she uses letter writing to convey the expectation that her imagined travels will be physically re-enacted off the page by another.

These texts exemplify how our modern sub-categories within the genre of life-writing were not fixed for early modern writers. My study aligns with the recent scholarly perception that autobiographical texts are instead 'an amalgamation of autobiography and/or biography and/or fiction and/or chronicle, thus defying traditional generic classification', as Susan Groag Bell and Marilyn Yalom assert.¹⁶⁶ While life-writing practices do, in part, align with claims of the renaissance birth of subjectivity and the emergence of the Protestant as an introspective individual, as Jacob Burckhardt, Max Weber, and Stephen Greenblatt have argued in their different ways, it becomes clear that the self is interconnected with other

¹⁶⁶ Susan Groag Bell and Marilyn Yalom, 'Introduction', in *Revealing Lives: Autobiography, Biography, and Gender*, ed. Susan Groag Bell and Marilyn Yalom (Albany, NY: Sunny Press, 1990), 1-11, esp. page 5.

people's lives, histories, and opinions.¹⁶⁷ Both women conflate and cross boundaries between genre structures that were not designed to cater for their needs. 'The self that would reside at the center of the text is decentered – and is often absent altogether – in women's autobiographical texts', Benstock argues, and '[t]he very requirements of the genre are put into question by the limits of gender'.¹⁶⁸ Rather than arguing that Jekyll and Wagstaff's writings clearly display the self, I suggest that these sources should be considered as intersecting texts that form and inform multiple lives through writing, without detracting authority from the woman writer herself.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassikerverlag, 1989); Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 2001), and Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹⁶⁸ Shari Benstock, 'Authorizing the Autobiographical', in *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Shari Benstock (London: Routledge 1988), 10-33, esp. page 20.

¹⁶⁹ This aligns with arguments by Elspeth Graham, 'Women's Writing and the Self', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 209-233, esp. page 213, and Henk Dragstra, Sheila Ottoway, and Helen Wilcox, 'Introduction', in *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Henk Dragstra, Sheila Ottoway, and Helen Wilcox (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2000), 1-13.

Conclusions

At a time when women's physical travel was subjected to moral opposition from contemporary writers who were concerned that unregulated female bodies moving outside of the home would result in widespread social deterioration, numerous early modern women responded by participating in global textual practices. Through original archival research, and by examining how typical rhetorical and structural customs were adopted and adapted, it has become clear that more non-elite women than has been previously supposed engaged with the expanding globe through reading, writing, and using texts in a multitude of ways. But it would be misleading to end my conclusion here, on such a generalised truth. By proclaiming that many women participated in this practice, there is the danger of formulating an inaccurately absolutist or majoritarian impression that collectivises the 'female experience' in order to present the prevalence – and therefore the implied importance – of a trend.¹

Gesturing to the innumerable uses of these widely varying texts has an equally glossing effect. These suppositions are not incorrect and my research does support them to an extent, but by attempting to establish a convention I run the risk of missing the most important detail of all which is, in fact, the detail. My thesis proves that each individual instance of seventeenth-century women's textual global intervention is unique. From a penned doodle in the margin of a printed travel book, to a demanding manuscript petition written to a High Court judge, to the publishing of a popular almanac, my scholarship emphasises the nuance of sources and genres, exhibiting the idiosyncratic approaches of the creators and users of these global texts.

My own method of selecting sources, which is defined by the consultation of manuscript, print, and online database resources, is essential when dealing with documents of this kind as it enables the plurality of historical perspectives to be recognised. This thesis does not offer an exhaustive catalogue of women's ownership of travel writing by looking at the

¹ Joyce Green MacDonald's approach has been particularly influential here, as she writes 'I am not interested in substituting a new orthodoxy for the old', when talking about women and race in early modern texts. See *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 168.

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titles recorded in household inventories, for example, nor does it try to understand importation and appropriation through compiling a meticulous record of orientalist tropes in home furnishings.² Instead, it provides an oblique approach to analysing women's textual journeys by exploring the fragments of travel literature and the asymmetry of travel in body and mind, finding small yet significant examples to challenge the existing paradigm.³ One way in which my own scheme of selecting sources might be best described is by analogy to the early modern cabinet of curiosity.⁴ The assemblies of both are founded on ideas of travel and the recalibration of cultural value within the world of material objects. Rather than methodically compiling a comprehensive, encyclopaedic collection of one particular type of artefact, the criteria for selection is more flexible. Wonder cabinets should contain, as Francis Bacon famously described, 'whatsoever the hand of man by exquisite art or engine has made rare in stuff, form or motion; whatsoever Nature has wrought in the things that want life and may be kept'.⁵ A kind of selection process driven by curiosity predicated on unstructured empiricism gained new legitimacy in the period due to the wonder cabinet's popularity, showing that early modern people did not have a formulaic system of gathering information about the wider world.⁶

² For more on the craze for *chinoiserie* artefacts, landscape and design, see Robert Batchelor, 'Concealing the Bounds: Imagining the British Nation through China', in *The Global Eighteenth Century*, ed. Felicity A. Nussbaum (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 84-91; Marcia Reed, *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2007), and David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³ For more on the merits and pitfalls of using anecdotes within analysis, see Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001), esp. Chapter 2.

⁴ Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 1998); Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002); Deborah Harkness, 'Nosce teipsum: Curiosity, the Humoural Body and the Culture of Therapeutics in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century England', in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert John Weston Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 171-192, and Alexander Marr, 'Gentile Curiosité: Wonder-Working and the Culture of Automata in the late Renaissance', in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert John Weston Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 149-170.

⁵ Francis Bacon, 'Gesta Grayorum', in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath, 14 vols. (London: Longmans *et al.*, 1857-1874), vol. 8, 335.

⁶ Essential studies on particular collectors and collections include Kryszttof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), and Oliver Impey and Arthur

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The whimsically selected wonder cabinet – which Alexander Marr believes is ‘the emblem *par excellence* of early modern curiosity and wonder’ – has inspired in my thesis a similar approach towards the study of non-elite women’s textual global explorations.⁷ My method embraces Bacon’s celebration of the miscellaneous as the truest and most powerful representation of a world which otherwise seems too unfathomable to contain within systematic analysis. Such a method accommodates necessarily divergent points of focus, and the attention paid to idiosyncrasy facilitates broader, holistic conclusions to be drawn from the collection of sources. With this theoretical approach, we can better understand the degree to which a trend was prevalent, while still succeeding in answering why and to whom it mattered. The anthropologist James Clifford’s insight that collecting is a ‘crucial processes of Western identity formation’ impacts the ways in which social selves were constructed in seventeenth-century England, as well as our scholarly approach to archival practices.⁸ Rather than mapping general cultural trends, my study has helped to shed light on the many exceptional print and manuscript resources available, in order to highlight the ‘rare in stuff’ and the ‘hand of [wo]man’ that shaped it.⁹ Much like how the objects in a wonder cabinet would have been common in the places that they were taken from, the sources that I have engaged with – sermons, almanacs, and wage receipts, for example – would have been normal to the women who used them, and only through estrangement, geographical in the case of the collector and historical in the present day, do they appear exceptional.

The metaphor of the wonder cabinet has further poignancy when considering the physical boundaries inflicted upon women versus the boundlessness of their imaginations when reproducing and reworking ideas of travel. While ‘[m]any genres and texts negotiate

MacGregor, ed., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinets of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

⁷ Alexander Marr, ‘Introduction’, in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert John Weston Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 10.

⁸ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 217.

⁹ Bacon, ‘*Gesta Grayorum*’, 335.

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both distrust of and admiration for the materialistic, secular, and individualistic exploration of the world', as Barbara M. Benedict argues in her study of the concept of curiosity in England between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, '[t]hese genres and texts stimulate yet channel curiosity [...], shaping the reader into an explorer, investigator, conqueror, owner'.¹⁰ By considering the many layers of textual mediation that result from female intervention, since the moment of composition to its reception, I have uncovered complex networks that were established when people acted or were acted upon during their textual experiences. This is essential when considering that women are all too often assumed to have been merely passive observers in an era of global travel. By focusing on writers, editors, transcribers, and printers, as well as the users of these texts, numerous ways of making meaning have become clear through 'charting the inter- and extra-textual resonances offered by the presence of women', as Helen Smith promotes.¹¹ My approach, in turn, hopes to stimulate new ways of charting the textual resonances offered by women in relation to the expanding early modern world.

Texts written during the hundred years of my study were produced during a precolonial or protocolonial period, when an overseas empire was not yet fully assembled, meaning that people 'were freer to imagine these encounters in much larger terms than they were after', as Joyce Green MacDonald argues in her study of gender and race.¹² Travel, travel narratives, and textual approaches to travel, would transform further still in the eighteenth century, when '[w]riters seemed to be travelling, in reality or in their imaginations, just about everywhere', as James Buzard contends.¹³ By the time Lawrence Sterne published *A Sentimental Journey* in 1768, 'there were few distant climes that had not been sighted, explored,

¹⁰ Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

¹¹ Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217.

¹² Green MacDonald, *Women and Race*, 168.

¹³ James Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37-52, qtd. page 37.

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traded with, taken possession of, catalogued or written about by British travellers', Carole Fabricant remarks.¹⁴ Guidebooks, narratives, and commentaries became cultural phenomena in constant demand, as well as 'factual fictions' that combined realistic description of the exotic with wild fantasy, such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, some of the most widely sold books during the century.¹⁵ Defoe recognised the power of vicarious travel, reassuring his readers in *The Complete English Gentleman* that if they were unable to travel in their youth, they 'may make the tour of the world in books'. A reader 'go[es] round the globe with Dampier and Rogers', he writes, 'discovers America with Columbus, conquers it with the great Cortez, and replunders it with Sir Francis Drake'.¹⁶ As Fabricant observes, the 'complex interplay of factual travel accounts with the world of the imagination had a profound effect on the envelopment of the eighteenth-century novel, the geographical spaces of an ever-expanding globe becoming part of the very conception of novelistic space, [while] readers along with characters embarked on journeys'.¹⁷ Critical studies for the early modern period must therefore attend to women's involvement in the centuries leading up to this prolific trend and consider the various ways in which women formed and informed the material text.

My thesis describes and analyses some of the textual methods, effects, and behaviours that reveal seventeenth-century understandings of different travel experiences. Certainly, women were embedded as subjects and characters in texts discussing voyaging; but we have come a long way from taking for granted the 'chaste, silent, and obedient' model of feminine behaviour. Some women fashioned rhetoric that was strategically constructed to reflect their own particular interpretations of the world around them, proving that expressions of

¹⁴ Carole Fabricant, 'Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 707.

¹⁵ Benedict, *Curiosity*, 247.

¹⁶ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Gentleman*, ed. Karl D. Bülbring (London: David Nutt, 1890), 225-226.

¹⁷ Fabricant, 'Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature', 741. See also Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962), and *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983). Also consult Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978).

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subjectivity were ‘not predictable or duplicable’ but ‘move[d] into the spaces of a fluid language outside the masculine Symbolic’, as Lynette McGrath asserts.¹⁸ What I have more frequently noticed is that these marks of selfhood were often constructed with a broader public in mind. I began this thesis by arguing that ideas about travel and global exploration play important roles in the construction of non-canonical texts. I end it by emphasising that we need to continue to be responsive to vocalised subjectivities in non-canonical texts when reconfiguring our understanding of women’s writing and its place in seventeenth-century culture. The aim of this thesis has been to recognise the textual traces of individual early modern English women’s global interventions. Considering their cultural circulation and how these documents fit within the auspices of travel, scholars must now begin to recognise women’s formative involvement in the ‘Age of Discovery’.

¹⁸ Lynette McGrath, *Subjectivity and Women’s Poetry in Early Modern England: ‘Why on the ridge should she desire to go’* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), 252.

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