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Reading women

Reading was a vital way for early modern women to engage with the culture of early modern Britain. As a socially stratified skill, learned first with print, then handwriting and finally Latin, reading could be attempted with the particular literacy skills available to individuals. Reading was charged with instilling religious doctrine and political ideology, even as it could become an agent of social change. In both print and manuscript culture, reading modulated with social, technological and economic shifts in textual production and circulation. Undertaken in silence and aloud, reading had private and public dimensions, psychological and cultural consequences and a physiology. It was also a deeply gendered activity, not because women necessarily read in ways essentially different from men, but because access to education and wealth, along with the belief that women's bodies and minds were designed by God for a domestic life, informed how, why and what women read.

Evidence of women's reading is somewhat elusive. Because women were much less likely than men to create marginalia, it is difficult to trace their reading practices in the way that Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, William Sherman, and Kevin Sharpe have done with Gabriel Harvey, John Dee and William Drake.¹ This problem of evidence characterizes the study of all non-élite readers, although the moral value accorded female silence created an especially feminine reluctance to annotate books. A book's margins were not necessarily a private space, since books were often shared, and women did not tend to assume that they had the authority to render a comment. Even more, women were less likely than men to be literate. David Cressy argues that in seventeenth-century England only about 10 per cent of women were able to sign their names, about the same rate as the most illiterate group of men.² Yet more people could read than could write, as Margaret Spufford demonstrates using the evidence of book publication, the dominant pedagogical practice of teaching reading before writing and the wide availability of teachers.³ That said, the activities of female readers who could not write

remain largely invisible to us because they left little trace, with the result that evidence is slanted towards middling- and upper-class women.

Wealth and access to education affected who might learn to read, but the meanings that readers contrived were the labours of one mind, or several working together. Roger Chartier argues that these meanings were neither totally determined nor totally free, for readers' methods and understanding were swayed by authorial strategies of writing, obedience to learned rules and the imitation of models.⁴ English women's reading was further constrained by gender. For instance, Richard Brathwait's early modern conduct book recommends reading to all women but construes it as a fortification of female sexuality that ensures the chastity of virgins and the faithfulness of wives. To this end, Brathwait enjoins women to follow a curriculum of the Bible, the church fathers, Plato, Seneca and Cicero, in translation.⁵ Such prescriptions are common and visible in the evidence that we have of women's reading, in the kinds of books that women read and in the way that they comment on their reading material – or fail to comment, for female reading is typically construed as a passive activity. Women are not to critique books but imbibe them, reading only what is wholly edifying so they will remain pure. Whatever their class, women should not follow the learned example of Erasmus's Christian prince in reading critically to pull jewels from proverbial dung heaps. Such dictates not only proscribe particular books and forms of knowledge – including romances, love poetry and plays – but define the very process of female learning as an act of obedience. Mary Evelyn, in a 1672 letter to her son's tutor, seemingly accepts such constraints when she writes that 'Women were not born to read authors and censure the learned, to compare lives and judge of virtues, to give rules of morality, and sacrifice to the Muses'; moreover, she adds, 'We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from family duties is misspent'. Still, Evelyn assesses Donne's reputation and offers a witty and informed critique of John Dryden's *The Siege of Grenada* (more commonly, *The Conquest of Granada*).⁶ Women's reading often negotiates thus between conformity to gendered models of reading and creativity in understanding texts as intellectually, spiritually and socially significant. The remainder of this chapter will look at existing marginalia and then at other forms of evidence of women's reading, including life-writing (biographies, autobiographies, letters and meditations that remained unpublished in the seventeenth century) and printed texts in more literary forms, such as maternal advice books, poetry and romance. Although these forms do not exhibit the work of reading as directly as do marginalia and miscellanies (Victoria Burke discusses the latter in this volume), they do register how women thought about the materials, methods and reasons for reading.

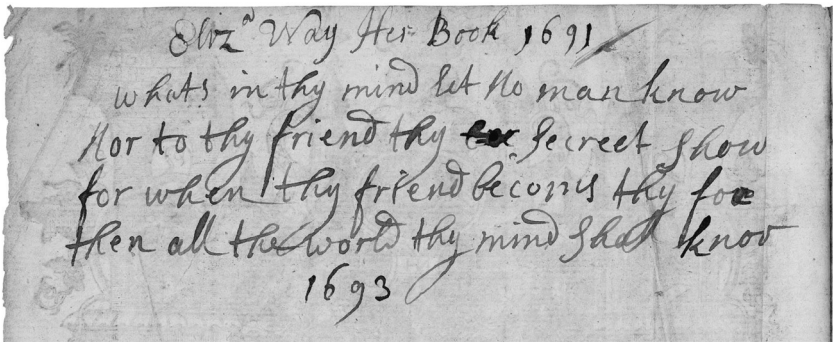


Figure 9. Elizabeth Way, ownership signature and inscription. Detail, title page verso, *Sermons of Master John Calvin, Upon the Booke of Job. Translated out of French by Arthur Golding* [London, 1574]. Folger Shakespeare Library STC 4445 Copy 1.

Despite the lack of encouragement for active reading, early modern women did write in their books. By far the most common annotations are names, inscribed as signs of ownership. These often take the form used by Elizabeth Way in her 1574 folio volume of the *Sermons of Master John Calvin, Upon the Booke of Job*, translated by Arthur Golding: ‘Eliz^a Way Her Book 1691’ (figure 9). Inscriptions also record births, baptisms, deaths and the presentation of the book as a gift, and margins and blank pages are utilized for writing practice and accounts.⁷ Some marks are more extensive, but most still evade making textual commentary. Elizabeth Way, for instance, adds under her name:

Whats in thy mind let no man know
Nor to thy friend thy secret show
for when thy friend becomes thy foe
then all the world thy mind shall know
1693

In other blank spaces in the volume, two meditative poems quote and rearrange emblems from Francis Quarles’s *Emblems*, while another poem – a meditation on Psalm 42 autographed in 1727 – may be an original composition. Such inscriptions say little about how Way understood Calvin’s sermons, but the verse’s stress on securing one’s inward life must inform her willingness to annotate. The rewriting of Quarles and the Psalm shows how reading produces writing. Neither Calvin’s printed book nor Quarles’s emblems nor the Bible are deferentially treated but offer a place and a language to compose moral principles and spiritual attitudes, even where others might see them. Otherwise, we know of only a few women who used

marginalia to comment directly on their reading. Margaret Hoby records in her diary that she writes ‘notes in my bible of the chapter’ (p. 146), while Frances Wolfreston wrote brief comments in Shakerley Marmion’s play *A Fine Companion* (1633).⁸ Most substantially, Anne Clifford and her amanuenses wrote in several of her books, making marginalia another form through which Clifford demonstrated her keen interest in her family’s history.⁹

Domesticity was central to how women construed reading, for the household provided its space, rationale and schedule. Not to be underestimated, domesticity resulted in a diverse array of reading practices – dialectical, sociable, spiritual, intellectual, emotional, practical and politically engaged – with a variety of religio-political positions. The diary of Lady Margaret (Dakins) Hoby (1570/1–1633) records her daily activities, primarily at Hackness Hall in Yorkshire, between 1599 and 1605. Surviving as British Library Egerton MS 2614, the diary provides, at least in the first years, detailed notes on how reading, both solitary and communal, structures Hoby’s devotional life. Mary Ellen Lamb focuses on the diary’s psychological dimensions and argues that it illustrates ‘another form of the Reformation subject’, whose interiority ‘remains relational even in the private act of solitary reading’.¹⁰ As a reader, Margaret Hoby is also engaged in spiritual combat which requires an active way of knowing. Her personal reading practice assumes a public and political significance that is not defined simply by obedience. Alone and with her servants, Hoby reads Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, a polemical Protestant tome, while also reading Catholic books (‘the principles of poperie out of one of their owne bookes’ and ‘a popeshe booke’ (p. 83)) with her chaplain, Mr Rhodes. A dialectical approach to reading is evident, too, in Hoby’s approach to controversies within the Church of England over ecclesiastical governance and Christ’s harrowing of hell. In this vein, Mr Rhodes reads her ‘Mr Cartwright and the Bushoppe of Canterberies booke’ (p. 56). This is probably one of Thomas Cartwright’s replies to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, printed in 1573, 1575 and 1577. Cartwright and Whitgift demand that their readers judge their arguments, know the opposing position and desire to seek truth. Cartwright states in his preface to the 1573 *A replye to an answere made of M. Doctor Whitgifte Against the admonition to the Parliament* that he had wanted to reprint the Bishop’s words to show that he was not misrepresenting them, a tactic Whitgift used in his *An Answere to a Certen Libel intituled An Admonition to Parliament* (1572). Although Cartwright claims to be unable to follow suit for economic reasons, he provides page references to the Bishop’s works in all of his replies.

Lady Hoby is within the bounds of appropriate female reading, for she reads religious books in a domestic context, even having a minister guide

her interpretations. Yet their willingness together to tender debate has political results. When her books demand an active dialectical method, whether she is listening to Mr Rhodes or reading herself, Hoby's reading disrupts gender hierarchies. When reading Catholic books, she can neither imbibe nor obey. Her search for truth, moreover, leads her to conclude that 'the title of Lord Archbushopes are Unlawful'. Questioning the Scriptural basis for episcopacy with 'peace of Conscience' (p. 141), she questions the foundations of English government. Despite the emphasis on Bible reading, Protestant England had a long-standing fear of just such varieties of meanings, particularly amongst female and lower-class readers. The martyr Anne Askew could signal her resistance to Henry VIII's church simply by going to the Lincoln minster to peruse a bible because a 1543 law forbade women to read the Bible publicly; gentle and noble women could read by themselves, but not to others, so they could influence no one. By Hoby's time, the apprehension remained if the law did not. The Bible was a discourse of truth, providing its readers with a mantle of authority, which Hoby assumes, for she commutes her style of reading into action, not by publishing, but by reading and discussing books and sermons with her household and her neighbours.

Other female writers venerated reading as an inheritance to pass on to their children and used their own reading as a justification for writing. Literate mothers were, after all, often first responsible for teaching children to read. Dorothy Leigh's frequently reprinted maternal advice book, *The Mothers Blessing* (1616), urges her sons to instruct all members of their household to read and to refuse to be a witness at a baptism unless the child will be taught to read. The autobiographical writings of Grace (Sharington), Lady Mildmay (c. 1552–1620), entitled in manuscript form 'Lady Mildmay's Meditations', comprise an autobiography and spiritual meditations, now preserved at the Northamptonshire Central Library.¹¹ Both commence with reading lists, the autobiography by recommending to her daughter, Mary (Mildmay) Fane, and her children the Bible, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (or Book of Martyrs), English histories, law and classical philosophy; the meditations, addressed to Mary, commend the Bible, Musculus's *Common Places*, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, Thomas à Kempis's *The Imitation of Christ* and Mildmay's own meditations, a curriculum that, but for the last item, is identical to that taught by her own mother, Lady Sharington, who 'thought it ever dangerous to suffer young people to read or study books wherein was good and evil mingled together' ('Lady Mildmay's Meditations', pp. 23–4, 28, 70–1). More of Lady Mildmay's maternal advice appears in Folger MS v.a.180, a commonplace book compiled c. 1655/6 by her grandson, Sir Francis Fane (a younger son of Mary Fane and Francis Fane, 1st Earl of

Westmoreland) for his son Henry. It collects advice to various offspring by Lady Mildmay, Mary (Neville) Fane, Baroness Le Dispencer (the 1st Earl's mother), Mary Fane, Countess of Westmoreland, and male family members. Bible reading is a persistent theme. For the Countess of Westmoreland, not only does reading animate a love of virtue, but heeding advice confers legitimacy. Those who neglect their ancestors' lessons, 'are not ligitimate heires; but as bastard plants shall take noe deep roote'; by them the family will be destroyed (fol.13). For Lady Mildmay and the Fane/Mildmay family, reading should incline the reader to civic and moral virtue and so produce social stability grounded upon venerable families and the Protestant faith. Despite the domestic context, maternal advice on the topic of reading becomes a charge to the spiritual quality of public life.

Like Lady Mildmay, Lady Anne Clifford, the Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590–1676), had to fight for her paternal inheritance. Her diaries, written within and against a context of legal conflict over this land, create such a rich picture of her reading that Clifford has become one of the central figures in the history of early modern reading.¹² 'The Great Picture', a triptych commissioned by Clifford, provides visual evidence of that reading. The painting marks her wealth in all its details, from clothing, to musical instruments, to drapery, to libraries, and figures Clifford as a wise, baronial landowner and office holder. Bordered by family crests, the central panel of 'The Great Picture' focuses on Clifford's parents (the Countess and Earl of Cumberland) and her deceased brothers. The left panel represents Anne Clifford at the age of fifteen when she was disinherited by her father, while the right shows her at fifty-six when she finally came into possession of her patrimony. Each panel also contains lengthy scrolls which detail Clifford's life, and altogether some fifty-one books, their titles clearly marked. The shelves above the head of the young Anne illustrate her reading in English and translated European literature, philosophy, theology, devotion, history, architecture and geography. The older Anne Clifford rests her hand on Pierre Charron's *Book of Wisdom* and the Bible, whilst the books on the shelves above her head are in disarray, as if in constant use (figure 10).¹³

For the more mature Clifford, books and literacy are a mode of government, a bequest, not just to her own children, but also to her tenants and servants. Julie Crawford argues that Clifford approached the state as 'a mixed rather than absolutist monarchy' and engaged its competing sites of power; for William Sherman, libraries were one of these sites, collected to be useful to the state.¹⁴ By representing her library, Clifford translates her reading into a form of matriarchal governance, grounded in her wisdom and invested in literacy. As Baroness Clifford, she repaired churches,



Figure 10. Right-hand panel from 'The Great Picture' depicting Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590–1676) in middle age, 1646 (oil on canvas) by Jan van Belcamp (1610–53) (attr.).

built almshouses and restored her five castles, but improving her estates also included cultivating the literacy of their inhabitants. In 1664, Clifford gave lands 'for the maintenance of a parson qualified to read praiers & the Homilies of the Church of England & to teach the Children of the Dale to write and read English'.¹⁵ In 1665, she paid 'for Little Bookes to give to Boyes in the Howses': three popular devotional manuals – Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, Michael Sparke's *Crumbs of Comfort* and Nicholas Themylthorpe's *A Posie of Godly Prayers* – as well as *The Mothers Blessing*, likely Dorothy Leigh's maternal advice book, which had been reprinted most recently in 1663.¹⁶ In 1673, Clifford purchased to give away fifty-five books of devotion by John Rawlet, minister of Kirkby Stephen (1673–82), a town in Cumbria near Pendragon, one of Clifford's castles.¹⁷ The books must have been either Rawlet's *A Treatise of Sacramental Covenanting*, an explanation of the Church of England's doctrines on the sacraments, or *An Explication of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer with the Addition of Some Forms of Prayer* (1672). Both works were designed for the poor. The Bishop of Carlisle's funeral sermon on Clifford reports that such purchases were habitual in her household; Clifford, he says, bought different books of devotion four times a year and allowed her servants to choose one that they did not already own.¹⁸ In taking responsibility for the literacy of her tenants and servants, Anne Clifford extends maternal instruction through her role as a baroness, quite explicitly so in the gift of *The Mothers Blessing*. At least in part, her efforts seem designed to inculcate loyalty to the doctrines of the English church, and so to facilitate order in the years after the civil war and Restoration.

These women illustrate Christopher Haigh's point that 'Protestants were readers; that was what their leaders expected, and that was how their enemies identified them'.¹⁹ But despite the rhetoric, Catholic women were not apathetic about books. Frances Dolan and Heather Wolfe have explored the personal and social reading practices of Catholic women in domestic and conventual life.²⁰ The authors of the biography of Elizabeth (Tanfield) Cary, Viscountess Falkland (1586–1639), *Lady Falkland: Her Life*, preserved in manuscript in the Archives Départementales du Nord in Lille, France, detail the prelude to and consequences of Lady Falkland's 1626 conversion to Catholicism.²¹ They use their mother's 'bent to reading' to configure that conversion as a spiritual necessity. Complicating what we have seen of the important role of mothers as teachers of reading, this narrative positions Cary's mother and mother-in-law as hindrances to her love of reading, the former forbidding her candles and the latter confining her to her chamber and taking away all her books (pp. 108–9). According to her biographers, the Viscountess herself is linguistically skilled and widely read

(pp. 105–6, 212–13). Young Elizabeth Tanfield received from her supportive father a copy of Calvin's *Institutes of Christian Religion*, 'against which she made so many objections, and found in him so many contradictions, and with all of them she still went to her father, that he sayd: this girle hath a spirit averse from Calvin' (p. 108). By the time she was twenty, reading had confirmed Cary's doubt of the Protestant religion. Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* 'left her hanging in the aire', and she learned that Saint Augustine, much admired by her and by seventeenth-century Protestants, was actually a Catholic (pp. 110–11). Only when Cary has been confined to her house by King Charles I after her conversion does she receive her first Catholic book of devotion (p. 134). By cataloguing her reading, the narrative insists that Cary converts not because Catholic books and priests have moulded her pliable, feminine mind but because Protestant books have left her unconvinced of the verity of their doctrines. Like Margaret Hoby, Elizabeth Cary has a dialectical reading practice: 'she did allways continue with leave to read protestant controvertists' (p. 213). For Cary's children, however, their mother's method justifies the very faith Hoby saw as a threat to the nation.

Although the primary focus of female reading was religious prose, women did read other types of books. In her poem *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), Aemilia Lanyer represents as her readers nine of her most illustrious female contemporaries, including Queen Anna, Margaret Clifford, then Dowager Countess of Cumberland, and Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorset. Lanyer models in print a method of reading that justifies her poetry and recuperates female sexuality by employing it as a ground for gaining knowledge about Christ.²² The correspondence of Anne (Finch) Conway, Viscountess Conway and Killultagh (1631–79) – much of it in British Library Additional MSS 23213–6 – also testifies to a reading practice that extends beyond religious prose. Conway's letters, particularly those exchanged with the Cambridge scholar Henry More, demonstrate that she is a reader of science, philosophy and medicine.²³ Medical reading enabled Conway to have a degree of control in her own healthcare and was undertaken by many women, judging by the large number of surviving manuscript recipe collections.²⁴ In his correspondence with Conway, More recommends books and answers questions. The balance of power is not all More's, however, for if he is a scholarly man with access to institutional knowledge, Conway is a viscountess with the social power of class and connections. Here, as in Lanyer's verse, the practices of reading and patronage overlap. Conway is the patroness of two of More's works, but even beyond this, they develop a gendered version of the servant/master relationship that Lisa Jardine and William Sherman identify: the scholar serves a politically involved public figure by

selecting texts to be read in preparation for action.²⁵ More and Conway adapt this form to more private ends, as More serves the Viscountess as an intermediary between Ireland, where she resided much of the time, and Cambridge University, which did not admit women. More sends her books as a form of service. As More explains on his shipment of his *A Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity* (1664), 'though I can not come in person to wayt upon your Ladiship, yett I have sent my Substitute, a copy of my late book, which whyle your Ladiship reades, you converse with the best part of me, my minde and understanding' (*Conway Letters*, p. 228). Like Anne Clifford, the Viscountess Conway reads companionably with a servant, and like Margaret Hoby, she reads with a learned man who lends his conversation to her substantial intellectual life.

Finally, despite cultural censure, women did read romances, a form that is discussed further in Lori Humphrey Newcomb's chapter in this volume. Margaret Tyler (*fl.* 1558–78) defends women's reading of romances in her preface to her translation, *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood* (1578). Printed in 1621 and continued in manuscript, *The Countess of Montgomeries Urania* by Lady Mary Wroth (1587?–1651/3) uses the genre of romance to reflect on many facets of reading, of letters, poems, romances and women's writing.²⁶ The courtship letters of Dorothy Osborne (1627–95), written to William Temple between 1652 and 1654 (British Library Additional MS 33975), are replete with the discussion and exchange of romances; romances provided a means for Osborne to elicit Temple's views on love and offer her own.²⁷ Lady Elizabeth (Livingston) Delaval (1648?–1717), on the other hand, repents of her romance reading. In her meditations on her life between 1656 and 1671 (Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D.78), Delaval insists that her romance reading had numerous ill effects, including introducing her to thoughts of love, making her proud, inducing disobedience to her governess and keeping her from useful learning and 'reading so many chaptier's in the French Bible and so many in the English one'.²⁸ Delaval's turn against romances is not simply acquiescence to conventional morality. Their influence remains, for as Margaret J. M. Ezell argues, romances provide a plot and language to structure her own courtships.²⁹ The rejection also marks the development of a class-based ethic of reading. For Delaval, romances were a component of an intrigue with a servant, and she comes to disapprove of secrets with servants, not just for herself and Mistress Carter, but for her aunt, Lady Stanhope, who socializes privately with her former chambermaid (*Meditations*, p. 64). In this context, romance reading was eroding class and social authority. As a result of such reading, not only has Delaval disrespected her teacher and elders, but the maid has had the opportunity to sway her mistress to Presbyterianism

and to undermine the class-based household order by using intimacy with her mistress to have no one loved more than herself (pp. 33, 30). Delaval concludes that when a mistress reads with servants, the books should be the Gospels and the Psalms, books that affirm her authority within that reading circle (p. 117). For the mistress, there is appropriate privacy in a 'love of solitude' for prayer and Bible reading (pp. 62, 63), but that reading must be guided by books by learned men, 'rather then trust to my own interpretations' (p. 117). The romance puts at stake the very structures of society, and Delaval's rejection of the form confirms not only the intellectual governance of learned men – a feature common to vilifications of romance – but also the authority of class, which elevates gentlewomen over their maids.

In the reading of early modern women, there was often public policy. Hierarchical structures of gender and class affected whether or not early modern women could read at all, as well as the kinds of books they read and the authority and confidence with which they did it. Frances Dolan argues that reading and writing could even be detrimental to women when it was associated with illegality and violence and used as a mechanism of social control.³⁰ Certainly mistresses who read to their servants or taught them to read were often concerned with maintaining social order. But for some women, reading could also provide a means to reconstruct that order. Reading alone and with others allowed early modern women to engage questions of theology, philosophy and science, usually deemed to be outside the female purview, and to think in ways that challenged gender hierarchies. Even when women did not write publicly about reading as Dorothy Leigh, Aemilia Lanyer and Mary Wroth did, mothers and mistresses could influence the reading and faith practices in their households and parishes. Women's choices of reading material for themselves and others materialized beliefs about a social order based on class, religion or gender. Even the method of reading could be political, whether in valuing conformity or endorsing debate. Women's reading may not be about the building of female community, as we might like, but reading and writing about it were critical in women's struggle for social authority in early modern Britain.

NOTES

1. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 75–6; William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

2. David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 41, 118–28.
3. Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981). See also Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475–1640* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1982).
4. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 23.
5. Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631), pp. 184–7.
6. Mary Evelyn, ‘Letters of Mrs. Evelyn’, in *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, vol. IV (London, 1863), pp. 10, 25–6, 31.
7. See Edith Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 16–21; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 214–21.
8. All references to Hoby’s diary are to *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); William Sherman, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Books?’, in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2002), p. 126.
9. Stephen Orgel, ‘Marginal Maternity: Reading Lady Anne Clifford’s *A Mirror for Magistrates*’, in Douglas A. Brooks (ed.), *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 267–89; Hackel, *Reading Material*, pp. 222–40. On Jane Grey’s marginalia, as well as her printed works, see Edith Snook, ‘Jane Grey, “Manful” Combat, and the Female Reader in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* (forthcoming).
10. Mary Ellen Lamb, ‘Margaret Hoby’s Diary: Women’s Reading Practices and the Gendering of the Reformation Subject’, in Sigrid King (ed.), *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Early Modern Literature in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), p. 86.
11. Linda Pollock (ed.), *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman 1552–1620* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993).
12. See Hackel, *Reading Material*, and Orgel, ‘Marginal Maternity’, as well as Mary Ellen Lamb, ‘The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading’, *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992), 347–68.
13. G. C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 2nd edn (East Ardsley: S. R. Publishers, 1967), pp. 334–45, 489–507.
14. Julie Crawford, ‘The Case of Lady Anne Clifford; Or, Did Women Have a Mixed Monarchy?’, *PMLA* 121.5 (2006), 1682–9; Sherman, *John Dee*, p. 38.
15. *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), p. 169.
16. *Lady Anne’s Account Book for 1665 and 1667–1668*, Hothfield Manuscripts WD/Hoth/A988/17, in *The Papers of Lady Anne Clifford* (East Ardsley: Microform Academic Publishers, 1999).
17. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 510.

18. Lord Edward, Bishop of Carlisle, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Honorable Anne Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery* (London, 1677), pp. 33–4.
19. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 194.
20. Frances E. Dolan, 'Reading, Work and Catholic Women's Biographies', *English Literary Renaissance* 33.3 (2003), 328–57; Heather Wolfe, 'Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris', in Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 135–56.
21. Wolfe argues that the biography was written between 1645 and 1649 by Cary's daughter, Lucy, the main scribe, and by her siblings Mary and Patrick, who supplemented and altered the narrative. Heather Wolfe, 'Introduction' and 'Textual Introduction', *Elizabeth Cary Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*, ed. Heather Wolfe (Cambridge: Renaissance Texts from Manuscript; Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), pp. 45, 59–69, 86–9. All references are to this edition.
22. Jacqueline Pearson, 'Women Writers and Women Readers: The Case of Aemilia Lanyer', in Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen and Suzanne Trill (eds.), *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing* (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1996), pp. 5–54; Snook, *Women, Reading*, pp. 115–35.
23. *The Conway Letters*, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, rev. edn Sarah Hutton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
24. For more on reading practical books, see Elizabeth Tebeaux, 'Women and Technical Writing, 1475–1700', in Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *Women, Science and Medicine 1500–1700* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 29–62.
25. Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 102–24.
26. Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Women Readers in Mary Wroth's *Urania*', in Naomi J. Miller and Gary Waller (eds.), *Reading Mary Wroth* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 210–27.
27. Carrie Hintz, *An Audience of One: Dorothy Osborne's Letters to Sir William Temple, 1652–54* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 64–86.
28. *The Meditations of Lady Elizabeth Delaval*, ed. Douglas G. Greene, vol. 190, The Publications of the Surtees Society (Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1978), pp. 29, 30.
29. Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Elizabeth Delaval's Spiritual Heroine: Thoughts on Redefining Manuscript Texts by Early Women Writers', *English Manuscript Studies* 1100–1700 6 (1992), 216–37.
30. Frances E. Dolan, 'Reading, Writing, and Other Crimes', in Valerie Traub, M. Lindsey Kaplan and Dymphna Callaghan (eds.), *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 143–4.

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