

The Poets, Isabella Whitney,
Anne Dowriche,
Elizabeth Melville [Colville],
Aemilia Lanyer, Rachel Speght,
Diane Primrose and Anne,
Mary and Penelope Grey

Susanne Woods, Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen

The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works

Series I

Printed Writings, 1500–1640: Part 2

Volume 10

The Poets, I:
Isabella Whitney, Anne Dowriche, Elizabeth Melville [Colville],
Aemilia Lanyer, Rachel Speght, Diana Primrose,
Anne, Mary and Penelope Grey

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Selected and Introduced by
Susanne Woods, Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen

General Editors
Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen

Ashgate

Aldershot • Burlington USA • Singapore • Sydney

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Published by Ashgate Publishing Limited Wey Court East Union Road Farnham Surrey, GU9 7PT England

Ashgate Publishing Company 110 Cherry Street Suite 3-1 Burlington VT 05401-3818 USA

Ashgate website: http://www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

The early modern Englishwoman: a facsimile library of essential works.

Part 2: Printed writings, 1500–1640: Vol. 10: The poets I Susanne Woods, Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen
1. English literature – Early modern, I500–1700 2. English literature – Women authors 3. Women – England – History – Renaissance, 1450–1600 – Sources 4. Women – England – History – Modern period, 1600 – Sources 5. Women – Literary collections
I. Whitney, Isabella II. Travitsky, Betty S. III. Cullen, Patrick Colborn IV. Woods, Susanne 820.8'09287

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The early modern Englishwoman: a facsimile library of essential works. Part 2. Printed Writings 1500–1640 / general editors, Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen.

See page vi for complete CIP Block 99-57080

The woodcut reproduced on the title page and on the case is from the title page of Margaret Roper's trans. of [Desiderius Erasmus] *A Devout Treatise upon the Pater Noster* (circa 1524).

ISBN 978-1-84014-223-5

Transfered to Digital Printing in 2010



Printed and bound in Great Britain by Printondemand-worldwide.com

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this book but points out that some imperfections from the original may be apparent.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The poets I: Whitney, Dowriche, Melville (Colville), Lanyer, Speght, and Primrose / introduced by Susanne Woods, Betty S. Travitsky, and Patrick Cullen.

p. cm. -- (The early modern Englishwoman. Printed writings, 1500-1640, Part 2; v. 10) Includes bibliographical references.

Contents: Copy of a letter; A sweet nosgay / Isabella Whitney -- The French historie / Anne Dowriche -- Ane godlie dreame, compylit in Scottish meter (1603; 1604; 1606; 1620) / Elizabeth Melville (Colville) -- Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum / Aemilia Lanyer -- Mortalities memorandum with a Dreame prefixed / Rachel Speght -- A chaine of pearle / Diana Primrose.

ISBN 1-84014-223-5

1. English poetry--Early modern, 1500-1700. 2. English poetry--Women authors. I. Title: Poets I. II. Title: Poets one. III. Woods, Susanne IV. Travitsky, Betty S. V. Cullen, Patrick VI. Whitney, Isabella. Copy of a letter. VII. Whitney, Isabella. Sweet nosgay. VIII. Dowriche, Anne, fl. 1589. French historie. IX. Colville of Culross, Elizabeth Colville, Lady. Goldie dreame, compylit in Scottish meter. X. Lanyer, Aemilia. Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum. XI. Speght, Rachel. Mortalities memorandum. XII. Speght, Rachel. Dreame. XIII. Primrose, Diana. Chaine of pearle. XIV. Series.

PR1177 .P59 2000 821.009'9287--dc21

99-57080

PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITORS

Until very recently, scholars of the early modern period have assumed that there were no Judith Shakespeares in early modern England. Much of the energy of the current generation of scholars has been devoted to constructing a history of early modern England that takes into account what women actually wrote, what women actually read, and what women actually did. In so doing the masculinist representation of early modern women, both in their own time and ours, is deconstructed. The study of early modern women has thus become one of the most important—indeed perhaps the most important—means for the rewriting of early modern history.

The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works is one of the developments of this energetic reappraisal of the period. As the names on our advisory board and our list of editors testify, it has been the beneficiary of scholarship in the field, and we hope it will also be an essential part of that scholarship's continuing momentum.

The Early Modern Englishwoman is designed to make available a comprehensive and focused collection of writings in English from 1500 to 1750, both by women and for and about them. The three series of *Printed Writings* (1500–1640, 1641–1700, and 1701–1750) provide a comprehensive if not entirely complete collection of the separately published writings by women. In reprinting these writings we intend to remedy one of the major obstacles to the advancement of feminist criticism of the early modern period, namely the limited availability of the very texts upon which the field is based. The volumes in the facsimile library reproduce carefully chosen copies of these texts, incorporating significant variants (usually in appendices). Each text is preceded by a short introduction providing an overview of the life and work of a writer along with a survey of important scholarship. These works, we strongly believe, deserve a large readership—of historians, literary critics, feminist critics, and non-specialist readers.

The Early Modern Englishwoman also includes separate facsimile series of Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women and of Manuscript Writings. These facsimile series are complemented by The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500–1750: Contemporary Editions. Also under our general editorship, this series will include both old-spelling and modernized editions of works by and about women and gender in early modern England.

New York City 2001



INTRODUCTORY NOTES

[Complete printed volumes of poems in English between 1567? and 1640 are known to have been written by Isabella Whitney (*Copy*, 1567?; *Sweet Nosgay*, 1573); Anne Dowriche (1589); Elizabeth Melville (1603; 1604?; 1606; 1620); Aemilia Lanyer (1611); Rachel Speght (1621); Diana Primrose (1630); and Mary Fage (1637). A tiny, newly recovered volume of memorial poetry by Anne, Mary and Penelope Grey was printed in 1615, although the names of the Grey sisters were not listed on the title page. *Poets I* includes all of these writers except Mary Fage whose *Fames Roule* is reproduced in *Poets II* (Volume 11).

—The General Editors]

Isabella Whitney

Although Isabella Whitney (fl. 1566-1573) is the earliest Englishwoman known to have written original secular poetry in English for publication, almost nothing is known about her life. Comments in both her known works, Copy of A Letter (1567?) and Sweet Nosgay (1573), supply a few clues: she was of gentle rank (Copy, title page); was strapped financially (Nosgay, sig. $A5^{\circ}$); and was able to write because she was single (Nosgay, sig. D2); finally, she was the member of a large family to whom, in Nosgay, she addressed a number of 'Familiar Epistles and Friendly Letters' (sigs. C6^r-E^v). Sanders includes a brief notice of her within his entry in the DNB for Geoffrey Whitney (1548?-1601?), the author of a minor emblem book, A Choice of Emblems (1586), assuming Geoffrey was her brother, but Sanders mentions only the later of her two collections. Most prominently among more recent scholars, R.J. Fehrenbach has agreed with this identification, positing that the 'Brother G.W.' mentioned in Nosgay was Geoffrey; the 'Brother B.W.' and 'Brother Brooke' the Brooke Whitney named executor in Geoffrey's will (1600); and others named in that document, persons less fully identified in portions of Nosgay. Fehrenbach's identifications, however, and the consequent conclusion that Isabella Whitney was a sister of Geoffrey's, should perhaps be considered tentative in view of Whitney's statement that she is London 'bred' (Nosgay, sig. E2') while Geoffrey is known to have been born and raised in Cheshire. The fact that Isabella is not named in Geoffrey's will – unless, as Fehrenbach hypothesizes, she had, by 1600, been transformed by marriage into either 'Sister Eldershae' or 'Sister Evans' - is an additional puzzle, for the author of A Choice of Emblems (1586) is not the only Geoffrey Whitney to be found in his day; Geoffrey himself names a 'Cosen Geffery Whitney' in his will. In my opinion, the jury is still out on the identification of Isabella and Geoffrey Whitney as brother and sister.

Even if this identification were confirmed, however, a possibly more significant brother and sister combination has been invoked (Travitsky, *Paradise*, 114): the imaginary identification of Isabella Whitney with the early modern woman writer conjured by Virginia Woolf (pp. 80–99), that is, her hypothetical Judith Shakespeare, sister of the playwright. For both Whitney's lively anthologies witness the possibility that Woolf had hypothesized was impossible: that an early modern woman could create effervescent poetry very much in the spirit of the London literary world of the moment. Presumably, as well, this material was created without the benefit of formal training in rhetoric, since such training was still generally denied even to those early modern women who benefited from the partial opening of some educational opportunity to women.

The Copy of a Letter

Whitney's earlier collection, entered in the Stationers' Register for 1566–67, contains four poems written in the personae of persons jilted in love; the admonition appended to the title poem is, like *Copy*, in a sprightly female voice. The tone suggests that these love complaints were imaginative rather than factual, perhaps the

meaning of the statement in the prefatory epistle from Richard Jones, a printer primarily of popular ephemeral materials; in 'The Printer to the Reader' Jones stated that *Copy* is 'both false and also true'. The same jaunty spirit characterizes the two final poems in the collection, both voiced – and conceivably written – by a man: and both, as Marquis notes, giving play to 'oppositional ideologies of gender' among the verse epistles in *Copy*. The only known witness of *Copy of a Letter*, reproduced in this volume, is held at the Bodleian.

A Sweet Nosgay

Whitney's second collection, also printed by Richard Jones, contains poetry in traditional stanzas and in prose format. At both beginning and end are substantial poems. The Sweet Nosgay consists of quatrains related to such contemporary literature as George Gascoigne's *Hundred Sundry Flowers* (1573), but is extracted primarily, as Fehrenbach has shown, from Hugh Plat's Flowers of Philosophy (1572). As Panofsky has convincingly argued. Whitney develops these poems and the centrepiece of the volume, her 'Certain Familiar Epistles and Friendly Letters by the Author: With Replies', into a coherent narrative frame, all related to her rather vague troubles. These result in a departure from London recorded in the final poem, her 'Wyll and Testament' to the city of London (pp. xii-xiii). Wall argues convincingly that Nosgay 'provides an experimental foray into a more heterogeneous complaint form' than Copy, and that Whitney pushes 'the metaphor of sickness to its logical extreme' in her will ('Isabella Whitney', 47-48), but relates the 'Wyll and Testament' less convincingly to mothers' legacies of advice. For Whitney's 'Wyll' differs from the mother's advice book in tone and intent, and might more profitably be related to such mock testaments as William Dunbar's 'Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy' (1508), Robert Copland's Jill of Breyntford's Testament (c. 1563), and George Gascoigne's 'Last Will and Testament of Dan Bartholomew of Bath'. The last of these pieces, fitted, like Whitney's testament, into a narrative framework, may in fact have been written in imitation of Whitney's will. Certainly Whitney's will, a frolic through a well-known and engagingly described city, is the most impressive of these mock testaments (Travitsky, 'Isabella Whitney', pp. 343–44). Reproduced here is the unique copy of Nosgav, held at The British Library, which unfortunately lacks a title page.

Four scattered poems (in Procter, Robinson, and Morley) have been ascribed – with little explanation – to Isabella Whitney (Fehrenbach, in *Cahiers*; Green, lix). They are reproduced, below, following *Copy* and *Sweet Nosgay*. In addition, at the Aeneas and Isabella Project website (http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/ceres/Alhome.htm), Raphael Lyne has attributed to Whitney two other poems appended to *STC* 18974 (F.L., *Ovidius Naso His Remedie of Love* [London: Thomas Creede for John Browne, 1600]). The two, titled 'Dido to Aeneas' and 'Aeneas to Dido' appear on sigs. E4-H3v.

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BETTY S. TRAVITSKY

Anne Dowriche

The identification of Anne (Edgecombe) Dowriche, author of *The French Historie*, has a history of dispute. What we learn from the front matter of her book is this: 1) according to the title page, The French Historie 'was published by A.D.' in 1589; 2) the author dedicates her work to 'her loving Bro[ther] Master Pearse Edgecombe, of Mount Edgecombe in Deuon'; 3) she signs this dedication 'Anne Dowriche' and inscribes it 'Honiton [Devon], the 25. day of Julie. 1589.' What we can plausibly deduce is this: Anne was born into the Edgecombe family (presumably in or near the place to which her family gave its name); she married a Dowriche: and she seems to have had a lasting connection with the West Country. The entry for Anne Dowriche in the Dictionary of National Biography suggests that Anne Edgecombe married Richard Trefusis after marrying a Dowriche, and it is under the name of Trefusis that the author is sometimes found. However, more recent investigation by Elaine V. Beilin (1996, p. 79) reveals two Anne Edgecombes: one, the author, who married Hugh Dowriche; the other, the author's niece (daughter of Dowriche's brother Pearse), who did in fact marry Richard Trefusis. According to Beilin, family genealogies show separate identities for the two Annes; and a letter of obligation (in the Mount Edgcumbe papers at the Cornwall Record Office), signed by the niece's second husband (Ambrose Manaton), makes a clear distinction between the two Annes. In this letter Manaton agrees, should he marry and survive the widow Anne Trefusis, to pay one hundred marks to both Pearse Edgecombe and Richard Edgecombe (father of Pearse and Anne) and twenty marks to Anne Dowriche (Beilin, "Some freely").

Anne Dowriche was the daughter of Sir Richard Edgecombe and Elizabeth Tregian Edgecombe of Mount Edgeumbe, Cornwall. The exact date of her birth is not known, though the first recorded reference to her is in her father's will, dated 1 July 1560. The next recorded date in her life is 29 November 1580; on that day a marriage licence was issued to 'Mr. Dowrishe, Rector of Lapford, and Anna Edgecombe, gentlewoman'. Anne and Hugh apparently had several children (Trease). In 1596 Hugh followed his wife's publication with a puritan work of his own, entitled *The laylors Conuersion*, so it seems that the Dowriches shared a commitment to puritan or nonconformist political and religious ideology: in particular, support for the continued reformation of the English Church, a belief in the primacy of scriptural authority and the idea of a spiritual elect, and the association of Roman Catholicism with the Antichrist.

The date of Anne's death is unknown, but she must have been still alive in 1613, the date of the Manaton letter mentioned above.

The French Historie takes as the subject of its 2,400 lines three events from the religious wars in France: the affair of the Rue St Jacques (1557), the martyrdom of Annas Burgeus (1559), and the St Bartholomew's Massacre (1572). However, as Beilin ("Some freely") points out, Dowriche provides by implication 'an

extended critique of the relations between the monarch and her subjects on topics such as Mary Stuart, the safety of the realm, the succession, and the continued reformation of the church'. This critique may be most evident in the work's third section: there we see, among other things, the Machiavellian abuse of monarchical power, particularly in regard to the senate (Parliament), and therefore the obligation of subjects to resist tyrants; the need for parliamentary independence so that the will of the people can be expressed; the danger of Protestants placing their trust in Roman Catholics. Dowriche's work is thus deeply embroiled in English politics: it constructs a history that not only, in providing a puritan martyrology, justifies the ideology of the reformist elect but also acts as a warning to those in England who might be inclined to compromise with Catholicism.

The French Historie's source is Thomas Tymme, The Three Partes of Commentaries, Containing the whole and perfect discourse of the Civill warres of Fraunce (1574), a translation of Jean de Serres, Commentariorum de statu religionis & reipublicae in regno Galliae libri (1572-75). In 'To the Reader', Dowriche speaks of 'collecting & framing this Worke', but her description belies her complicated relation to Tymme. Dowriche's work is, at various points, a translation into poetry of selections from Tymme's prose, a paraphrase, a redaction, and an expansion of Tymme with her own additions. Two changes deserve special attention in that they reflect her artistic ambition and originality: the first is the narrative framework; the second is her attempt to create a dramatic narrative. Dowriche frames the history with two narrators: the first narrator is the firstperson English narrator, who overhears the lamentations in an English forest of a French exile; the second narrator is the French exile, who relates the three stories Dowriche is rewriting from Tymme. This narrative strategy, with its links to various literary genres (among them, the romance and the complaint), can be read in a number of ways. Beilin (1996, p. 82) suggests that Dowriche's frame, with an Englishman relaying the narrations of a Frenchman, may reflect her relation to her source, that is, the Englishman Tymme translating the Frenchman Jean de Serres. Surely this is correct, as is her other suggestion that Dowriche may have thought 'her subject matter would be more acceptable clothed in male discourse.' One might add, however, that this gesture of diffidence is embodied in an act of difference. Dowriche, after all, begins her work with an episode that is not in her source; and while the framework she creates is indeed one of male narration, the framework itself is her own original act. Dowriche initiates her work with an act that involves simultaneously her framing her male narrators and foregrounding her own difference from her male precursor. Significantly this original gesture of difference takes the form of dramatized narration; the very form of this original frame embodies the second major formal feature that signals Dowriche's rewriting of her male precursor, namely her attempt to create a dramatic narrative. If there is any one feature that distinguishes Dowriche from Tymme it is her emphasis on speech and speeches, expanding some in her source but adding others. As the lines of quotation marks in the outer margins of her text demonstrate, a good part of *The French Historie* is speeches, usually long speeches, many of which resemble speeches in epic and heroic drama; and perhaps for many the high point of the work is the speech of Annas Burgeus to the king, which is Dowriche's own creation. The double-narrator framework thus seems part of a paradoxical encoding – that is, a rhetorical act that differs by way of deference – typical of many women writers of the time, perhaps of less empowered writers in general.

Dowriche presents herself, first and foremost, as an English, Protestant writer. Of course, she is also, and at least in part she sees herself as, a woman writer. When she presents herself as a woman writer, however, it is from behind what Beilin (1987) describes as 'the mask of feminine inability', remarking to her brother, 'If you find anie thing that fits not your liking, remember I pray, that is a womans doing'. However, when in her preface she discusses her work simply in terms of its means and goals, that is, when the discussion is less specifically gendered, the self-presentation is a much more complicated one of humility and confidence. She is not incapable of self-praise: she justifies her modification of her source as 'liuely set downe: so that here are not bare examples of vertue and vice, but also the nature and qualities of those vertues or villanies are manifestly depainted to them that will seeke for it'; in effect, she is arguing that her work commands greater rhetorical and moral power than her precursor's. Moreover, she claims as one of her goals that of restor[ing] againe some credit if I can vnto Poetrie': again, no small ambition. Also, as Beilin has shown (1990), Dowriche is one of three middle-class poets (the other two being Isabella Whitney and Rachel Speght) who, writing on public subjects, 'revise the humanist concept of the learned lady by repositioning her and her work in the domain of public poetry.' But the other side

of this confidence and ambition is self-deprecation: Dowriche speaks disparagingly of her work as 'my pleasant exercise', and laments her 'want of learned Skill.' Moreover, in terms of what Dowriche calls 'the matter' of her work, one does not discover there (as one does, for example, in Lanyer's account of Eve) an attempt to correct the maligning of a central female figure: Catherine de Medici is a Machiavellian villain throughout, and after Satan himself the chief source of Roman Catholic treachery. And yet at the same time, as Kim Walker (pp. 53–55) has suggested, Dowriche 'makes use of her edifying Reformist subject to authorize her poesy and draw attention to her own writing': she implicitly links herself, by means of her subject of French martyrs, to one of the most venerable of English Protestant texts, John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*; and she highlights her own additions to Tymme, the orations, lest her work be seen as only a translation of him. She is also not 'Anonymous': her signature appears seven times (Walker, 55).

We reproduce here the fine copy of *The French Historie* at The Huntington Library (RB 31353). We also append two short poems that are probably also hers, both included in Hugh Dowriche's *The Iaylors Conuersion*, published in 1596. The first, 'Verses written by a Gentlewoman, vpon the Iaylors Conuersion', has been suggested by both Beilin (1996) and *The Feminist Companion* as hers. The commendatory verses are signed 'A.D.,' and, as Beilin observes, they embody the same ideas, specifically her 'providential reading of history', of *The French Historie*. One might add that these commendatory verses are also written in the same verse form, heptameter couplets, as the commendatory verses to her brother in that volume. Though unsigned, a second poem, *in The Iaylors Conuersion*, commendatory verses on 'Valentyne Knightlye', seems to me another likely candidate for inclusion in the Anne Dowriche canon. This poem resembles her dedicatory poem in *The French Historie* to her brother: like the earlier poem, it is an acrostic on the name of the dedicatee. It follows immediately the dedicatory epistle of Hugh to 'my approued good Friend: Valentine Knightly', and it seems not improbable to read in the linkage of Hugh's epistle and this poem a joint gesture of husband and wife to a man Hugh describes as his 'first friend'.

(This note would not have been possible without the generosity and research of Elaine V. Beilin; her assistance is gratefully acknowledged.)

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PATRICK CULLEN

Elizabeth Melville [Colville]

Elizabeth Melville [Colville], Lady Colville of Culros (fl. 1598–after 1640), was the daughter of Sir James Melville of Halhill, Scotland, and his wife Christina Boswell; the wife of Lord John Colville; and the mother of three sons – Alexander (a professor of divinity at the University of Sedan, in France), Samuel (a poet), and James (Douglas, I: 355; Douglas provides no details about James). Although little documentation about

Elizabeth Melville's own life seems extant, she was clearly recognized as outstanding by her contemporaries for both her piety and her poetic energy.

Several years before the appearance of her celebrated, often moving Calvinist dream-vision (in sixty stanzas of ottava rima) of a guided pilgrimage through hell, both her piety and her love of poetry were remarked by Alexander Hume, who chose, on 16 February 1598, to dedicate his Hymnes or Sacred Songs (1599) to this 'Godlie daughter of a faithfull father, ... a tender youth, sad, solitare, and sanctified, oft sighing & weeping through the conscience of sinne'. Hume further notes that his dedicatee 'delite[s] in poesie your selfe; and as I unfainedly confes, excelles any of your sexe in that art, that ever I hard within this nation. I have seene your compositiones so copious, so pregnant, so spirituall, that I doubt not but it is the gift of God in you' (no sig. n.). Elizabeth Melville indeed did 'Continue', as Hume wished, 'in that Godlie course'. Hume's admiration for her is reiterated in his will (1609), while her devout comportment at public prayers was commemorated as late as June 1630 by the preacher John Livingstone, who reported that she had that month 'great motion upon her ... [and] continued in prayer, with wonderful assistance, for large three hours' time' ('Memorable Characteristics' I: 347). A sonnet of encouragement by Elizabeth Melville, addressed to John Welsch, a fellow Presbyterian who had been imprisoned for his faith in 1605, has been published from manuscript in David Laing's Early Scottish Metrical Tales (p. 29) and in Greer (p. 33). A number of letters from her to Livingstone have been printed by Tweedie from a transcript held by Charles Fitzpatrick Sharpe, Esq. (I: 351-70).

Ane Godlie Dreame, Compylit in Scottish Meter was first printed under the initials M.M., which have traditionally been understood to stand for Mistress Melville, an understanding that conforms with the use of her maiden name on the title pages of the later editions of the work during the STC period (and a usage that we have respected in this volume). Her first-person account of a pilgrim who is guided through the afterworld has, of course, been compared with those of Dante and Bunyan (perhaps earliest by J.O.). In the first ten stanzas of Melville's poem her narrator is in anguish, but this state is succeeded by the dramatic dream vision itself, compounded of alternate moments of despair and hope. Interestingly, as Roberts notes, the dream-vision genre, in which a narrator often is guided in a quest, appears to have been congenial to other early seventeenth-century women like Rachel Speght and Amelia Lanyer (pp. 129-31). The Godlie Dreame is less overtly autobiographical and more metaphorical than Speght's 'Dreame' or Lanyer's 'Description of Cooke-ham': Elizabeth Melville does not explicitly identify herself as the narrator of her poem, and although she at first identifies her narrator's guide as an angel His true identity is revealed in the course of the narration when He states: 'I am thy God for whom thou sighs so sore'. The often harrowing but ultimately reassuring journey through the underworld with this stern but protective guide encourages the narrator to hope for ultimate salvation, an expectation voiced in the final stanzas of the poem in which others are likewise encouraged to hope for grace despite their present afflictions. The 'Comfortable Song' appended to the Godlie Dreame continues to sound this positive note. Greer, et al, speculate (p. 32) that performances of the poem at prayer meetings may have led to Armstrong's rather inexplicable account of the poem's 'dreadful wild expressions' (2: 254).

Although the identification of Scottish poetry as *English* literature is a vexed issue, the publication history of Elizabeth Melville's poem, written at the end of the period of Middle Scots, secures its claim to a position in English literary history. The first edition of *Ane Godlie Dreame, Compylit in Scottish Meter (STC* 17811), printed by Robert Charteris in 1603 in Scots together with 'A Verie Comfortable Song to the tune of "Shall I let her goe", was followed in 1604[?] by an anglicized version, *A Godlie Dreame, Compyled by Eliz. Melvill, Ladie Culros yonger, at the request of a friend (STC* 17812), also printed by Charteris: the poem was reprinted at least seven times before 1700 in both Scots and English. In each case, it is accompanied by the shorter 'Comfortable Song'.

While many of the variations in the different editions are merely accidental, there are some substantive changes. As an aid to bibliographic study of the poem, therefore, copies of all four editions that appeared before 1640 are printed below. The text of the edition of 1603 is reproduced from the complete, but slightly damaged copy in the National Library of Scotland, with readings supplied for illegible lines on signatures A2^v and A4^{r-v} from the (incomplete) copy at the Bodleian (which is felicitously legible at those points). Also reproduced are the unique copy of the edition of 1604 held at the National Library of Scotland; the unique

copy of the edition of 1606 held at The Huntington (STC 17813); and the copy of the edition of 1620 (STC 17814) held at The British Library.

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BETTY S. TRAVITSKY

Aemilia Lanyer

Aemilia Lanyer (1569–1645) was baptized Aemilia Bassano on 27 January 1569, the daughter of court musician Baptista Bassano, whose will describes him as a 'native of Venice', and Margaret Johnson, who may have been related to court lutenist John Johnson, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth I. Though her father died when she was seven, Aemilia grew up with access to court circles, and spent some of her early years in the household of Susan Bertie, the Countess of Kent. By the time her mother died when Aemilia was eighteen, she was sufficiently in court favour to attract the attention of Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Chamberlain, whose mistress she remained until she became pregnant in 1592 and was married to Alfonso Lanyer, a court musician and sometime soldier. Her son Henry was born early in 1593. A daughter by Alfonso, Odillya, was born in December 1598, but lived only ten months.

From the astrologer and diarist Simon Forman, whom Lanyer visited several times during 1597, we learn that she was concerned about her husband's prospects for a knighthood or other advancement (he was a

soldier on the Essex 'Islands' expedition at the time), had enjoyed the good favour of Queen Elizabeth and missed her days at court, and was subject to miscarriages. Forman found her very attractive and pursued her, apparently unsuccessfully. Our only physical description of Lanyer comes from Forman: 'she hath a wart or mole', he tells us, 'in the pit of the throat or near it'. The historian A.L. Rowse, who misread some of Forman's diaries, argued from them and from Lanyer's association with the Lord Chamberlain that Lanyer was Shakespeare's 'dark lady', assuming her Italian background gave her a dark complexion and her flirtations with Forman showed her to be a loose woman. Even if one were to accept the debatable notion that the 'Dark Lady' represents someone specific in Shakespeare's life, there is no evidence that Lanyer knew Shakespeare. The Lord Chamberlain's Men (the theatrical troupe that included Shakespeare) were not established until 1594, after Lanyer had left court.

After Alfonso died in 1613, Lanyer found herself in protracted legal battles with his relatives over the income from a hay and grain patent he had received from King James. From 1617 to 1619 she ran a school in the wealthy suburb of St Giles in the Fields, where she sought 'to teach and educate the children of divers persons of worth and understanding', but we know nothing more about what she taught or whom. She spent her later years with her son Henry, a court flautist, and his family, and was buried 3 April 1645 at St James, Clerkenwell, where she was listed as 'pensioner', indicating a steady income.

Aemilia Lanyer was the first woman writing in English to produce a substantial volume of poetry designed to be printed and to attract patronage. The Salve Devs Rex Ivd\(\alpha\)orvm was entered in the Stationers' Register on 2 October 1610 and probably printed shortly thereafter, although the title page lists the formal publication date as 1611. The volume contains a series of poems to individual patrons, two short prose dedications, a title poem on Christ's passion, and the first country house poem printed in English, 'The Description of Cooke-ham', which precedes Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst' by five years. The poetry shows evidence of practised skill. The volume is also arguably the first genuinely feminist publication in England: all of its dedicatees are women, the poem on the passion specifically argues the virtues of women as opposed to the vices of men, and Lanyer's own authorial voice is assured and unapologetic. One of the prose dedications, 'To the Vertuous Reader', is an elegant assertion of early feminist principles.

Central to the work are her associations with Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, whom Lanyer claimed as her principal inspiration and patron, and Margaret's daughter, Lady Anne Clifford. 'Cooke-ham' celebrates a sojourn Lanyer enjoyed with these ladies at a country place then in the possession of Margaret's brother, William Russell of Thornhaugh, and praises its extensive grounds as a lost paradise for a learned and religious female community. The details and exact date of the visit are obscure, but it occurred sometime during the first decade of the seventeenth century.

The dedicatory poems show Lanyer's self-conscious creation of a community of good and learned women, while the concluding 'To Cooke-ham' is a valedictory to a personal and specific experience of that community. The title poem, 'Salve Devs Rex Ivdcorvm' ('Hail God, King of the Jews'), is a subtle and complex work in, 1840 lines of ottava rima iambic pentameter. While it conveys the story of the passion of Christ, it is surrounded by a considerable number of lines that praise and comfort the Countess of Cumberland, who is pictured as a suffering saint and the exemplary bride of Christ. The story itself is told entirely from the point of view of women and takes a number of occasions to contrast the virtues of women (Pilate's wife, the tearful daughters of Jerusalem, Mary, and the Countess of Cumberland) with the wickedness of men (Caiaphas, Pilate, and even the thrice-denying Peter). Lanyer neatly shifts the traditional responsibility for humanity's fall from Eve to Adam in the section titled 'Eve's Apology', spoken by Pilate's wife. This section contains some traditional argument, such as the claim that Adam's sin was greater than Eve's since he was presumed to be the stronger of the two, but it also asserts that Adam took knowledge from Eve 'as from a learned book', and that male behaviour since the fall, particularly in condemning Christ, argues that men should no longer have any authority over women.

The STC lists two variants of the Salve Devs: 15527, with a four-line printer's imprint on the title page, and 15527.5, with a five-line imprint. Though the revised STC lists eight, missing one of the Folger copies, there are nine extant copies of the Salve Devs, five of which are complete or nearly so: two at the Huntington (including the only extant version of STC 15527), two at the Folger, and one at the Avon County Library in

Bath. A copy in the Bodleian Library is missing 'To Cooke-ham', and copies at The British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Chapin Library in Williamstown, Massachusetts are missing some of the dedicatory poems. While the *Salve Devs* has no discernible early reception history, its survival in versions in which some of the dedicatory poems have been omitted (notably the poem to King James's perceived rival, Arbella Stuart) argues care in targeting the readership. The volume in the Victoria and Albert was apparently given by the Countess of Cumberland to Prince Henry, the heir apparent, and the one at the Chapin Library was given by Alphonso Lanyer to Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, with whom he had served in Ireland. This edition reproduces, with permission, the Huntington Library copy of *STC* 15527.5, HN 62139.

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SUSANNE WOODS

Rachel Speght

Most of what little we know of the life of Rachel Speght (c. 1597-?) is derived from her two publications and from the record of her marriage in August, 1621, to William Procter. The marriage licence identifies 'Procter, William, gent, bachelor, 29, and Rachel Speight, spinster, 24, daughter of Mr. James Speight, clerk, parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, who consents' (transcribed by Barbara K. Lewalski in the introduction to her edition of Speght, cited in 'References' below; information on Speght's life relies substantially on this work). We have no information about her mother, whom she credits as an important influence and mourns in *Mortalities Memorandum*, but her father is thus identifiably the Reverend James Speght, author of Calvinist religious works and rector of two little churches, St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, about two hundred yards east of St Paul's Cathedral, and St Clement Eastcheap, a somewhat larger church a third of a mile farther east.

Procter and Rachel Speght were married on August 6, 1621, in St Mary, Woolchurch Haw, located about half way between her father's two parishes. William is elsewhere identified as a clergyman, had evidently attended Oriel College, Oxford, and in 1625 published a sermon he had preached at St Paul's cross the year before. At the time of their marriage Rachel and William were listed as residents of St Botolph's, Aldgate,

about a quarter of a mile north of St Paul's. Two children, Rachel (b. 1627) and William (b. 1630), were baptised at St Giles, Cripplegate. Their father was buried in 1653 at All Hallows, Lombard Street, about 300 yards east of where he had been married. No record of Rachel Speght's death and burial has yet been found, nor any specific mention of her after her marriage.

Speght's knowledge of and pleasure in both classical and Biblical learning is evident throughout her writings, though precisely where and how she was educated remains obscure. Certainly James Speght must have approved her education if he did not provide it directly, and he apparently supported the unusual step of his daughter's publication. His support is implicit in Speght's witty insistence (in the dedicatory preface to Mortalities Memorandum) that she, not he, wrote the Mouzell for Melastomus, the volume having been wrongly attributed to 'the father of me, but not of it'. Tacit support for intellectual women in the Speght circle is further suggested by Mortalities Memorandum's dedication to Speght's godmother, Mary Moundford, wife of prominent London physician Thomas Moundford, whose patients included James I's intellectual cousin, Arbella Stuart (d. 1615). Thomas Speght, who published editions of Chaucer in 1598 and 1602, may have been a relative.

Rachel Speght is best known as the first published respondent to Joseph Swetnam's Araignment of Lewde, idle, froward, and unconstant women (1615), one of the most popular of the anti-woman tracts that formed a distinct genre in the Tudor and Stuart periods. Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus (i.e., a muzzle for blackmouth) was published in early 1617 by Swetnam's publisher, Thomas Archer, who apparently was interested in keeping a profitable controversy alive. Her response was followed shortly by two pseudonymous ones, Ester hath Hang'd Haman by 'Ester Sowernam', and The Worming of a mad Dogge by 'Constantia Munda', but Speght's use of her own name makes her the only respondent to be certainly identified as a woman. Her other published work is the poetry reproduced in this volume, Mortalities Memorandum (1621), consisting of the title poem preceded by A Dreame, an allegory describing her thirst for learning.

Dream allegory has long been a popular method for presenting imaginative writing while avoiding the charge of fictionalizing, and there were at least two recent examples by protestant women poets that Speght might have read. Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culros, published her *Godlie Dreame* (1606) 'at the request of a friend', and justified the work as a reminder of the need 'to cleave to Christ'. Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Devs Rex Ivdæorvm* (1611) includes 'The Authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie, Countess Dowager of Pembrooke', a work which combines praise of the Countess with affirmation of Lanyer's own poetic vocation.

Speght's *Dreame* is a relatively straightforward account of her desire for knowledge, with 'Industrie' overcoming the obstacles (including gender and youth) that 'Diswasion' would put in her path. The poem cites Biblical texts to show the virtue of learning, and lists classical models of learned women. Speght also tells us that she pursued knowledge 'more and more' until an 'occurrence' cut off her studies, apparently around the time she wrote the *Mouzell*. The author is nonetheless compelled to publish what knowledge she has, as the proverbial talent which should not be hidden under a bushel, and she therefore offers the book's principal poem, *Mortalities Memorandum*.

This vigorous memento mori is presented like a sermon, relying substantially on Biblical texts and carefully articulated logical divisions (e.g., 'three kindes of Death', three reasons to contemplate death, and seven good things that result from such contemplation). With its explicit structures and relentlessly end-stopped lines, it is a less dynamic poem than the Dreame that precedes it, but is nonetheless a skilled and commendable grappling with the deeply personal reality of death. Both poems are in a variation of what George Gascoigne had called the 'ballade' stanza (in his Certayne Notes of Instruction, 1575): abcbdd. In general the iambic pentameter is deftly handled, though Speght seems comfortable in allowing certain words (notably 'industrie' in A Dreame) to shift accentuation as necessary. Most importantly, Speght's poetry is presented without apology as the legitimate fruit of learning which, like Melville and Lanyer, she feels divinely called to offer to the world.

There are seven complete copies of *Mortalities Memorandum* extant: two at The British Library (though the *Short Title Catalogue* lists only one), and one each at the Beinecke (Yale University), Folger, Houghton (Harvard University), Huntington, and Newberry libraries (*STC* 23057). The text reproduced here, with permission, is the very fine copy at The Huntington Library (RB 69555).

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STC 23057

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SUSANNE WOODS

Diana Primrose

About Diana Primrose almost nothing can be claimed with complete certainty. According to the title page of A Chaine of Pearle, she is 'the Noble Lady' who 'compos'd' the work, and presumably we can say that she flourished around the time of its publication (1630); but it is not entirely impossible this name is only an allegorical pseudonym. Certainly the author exploits, in the epigraph on the title page and in the 'The tenth Pearle', the image of the rose (though not the primrose); and especially in 'The Induction', signed 'Thy Emperiall Majesties eternall Votary, Diana', she uses her first name to suggest a continuation of the Elizabethan fiction of a cult of worshippers of the virgin queen/goddess. (Interestingly, however, in her work's dominant mythological trope, she plays Diana to Elizabeth's Sun/Apollo.) Such exploitation of a name, as the example of John Donne's playing on his own name testifies, need by no means rule out the possibility that Diana Primrose was an historical person. Greer et al. (whose work constitutes almost all modern research on Primrose) dismiss the possibility that Diana is only a pseudonym on the grounds that she shares her patronym with a noted family of Primroses, although her name is not found in genealogical records. Moreover, she shares a passionately political Protestantism with at least one noted Primrose, Gilbert (c. 1580–1641), who was a minister in the reformed church in France and who became a chaplain to Charles I by 1628. Bell et al. speculate that Diana may have been Gilbert's wife (in which case she was presumably dead by 1637 since by that year he had remarried), but they acknowledge that evidence linking Diana with Gilbert is 'fragmentary'. Greer et al. speculate that Diana may have been one of the daughters of James Primrose, Gilbert's cousin, or possibly the wife of one of his twelve sons. The testimonial poem by Dorothy Berry unfortunately sheds no light on Diana, and nothing is known about Dorothy Berry herself.

Whoever she was, Diana Primrose was a deeply political writer, whose strong commitment to English Protestantism (along with her antipathy to continental Catholicism) links her, among the poets in this volume, perhaps to Elizabeth Melville and Anne Dowriche above all. Both Greer et al. and Bell et al. discover in Primrose's praise of Elizabeth an implicit rebuke of Charles I, especially his religious policies. Certainly such a rebuke can be inferred from her first pearl, 'Religion', with its frank critique (especially for a memorial panegyric) of the mistaken tolerance of Elizabeth's early policies and her subsequent need to make 'stricter Lawes./Against Recusants'. Indeed, Primrose's recurrent praise of the age of Elizabeth as an especially Protestant 'Golden Age' (p. 7) can easily be turned around to be a critique of Charles, especially since the golden age is conventionally portrayed nostalgically as a noble past from which the present age has declined.

John Donne, in accounting for his memorial epideixis of another woman (Drury), told Ben Jonson that he had described in *The Anniversaries* 'the Idea of Woman and not as she was.' To some extent an abstract, idealizing epideixis characterizes Primrose's work as well: a few of her poems are notably abstract celebrations of pure virtue ('Temperance' and 'Clemency'), and the number of poems in the chain (ten) is the ancient number of perfection. For the most part, however, her poems are grounded in historical particulars. Again like Dowriche, though not to the same degree, she is an historical writer. Primrose's principal source for Elizabethan

history is William Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, though her exact indebtedness to the original Latin version (1615), a French translation (1624), and two English translations (1625, 1630) is unclear. Greer et al. (p. 87n.), maintain that the Latin tags and mottoes suggest that her main source was the Latin original; but although they argue that it seems 'unlikely that Primrose had seen the translation ... published in 1630,' they also note that, whereas Camden attributes only the four cardinal virtues to Elizabeth, the 1630 translation, like Primrose's work, attributes ten.

The titular trope of Primrose's work, the gift of a pearl necklace by one woman to another, is in itself a forceful reminder that this is a poem by, about, and for women. So, too, is the dedication 'To All Noble Ladies, and Gentle-women', who are promised 'never-fading Fame' if they 'please to weare, for her sweet sake' 'this Chaine'. Primrose's poetic chain thus becomes a trope signifying the bonding 'of our Noble Sex'. To be sure, there are occasional gender-abnegations like that in 'Prudence' (a virtue seen as 'much more emminent/ In that it is so rarely incident / To our weake Sex'), but largely Primrose's epideixis takes as its subject not only a woman but women. Admittedly, the dedication occurs within definite limits of class: Primrose's dedication is not to all women. Nonetheless one would not be wrong in seeing in the dedication a fissure, increasingly characteristic of her time, in the aristocratic association of virtue and noble birth: the necklace worn by Queen Elizabeth is not only the Queen's to wear, nor even the nobility's; it may be worn as well by 'Gentle-women'.

We reprint here the copy from The Huntington Library (RB 16913).

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PATRICK CULLEN

Anne, Mary and Penelope Grey

Twentieth-century scholars have not, until now, followed up a brief mention by John Payne Collier of early-seventeenth-century memorial verses by Anne, Mary, and Penelope Grey, on their sister Elizabeth Martin (2: 92). Printed in 1615 with a separate title page, the verses by the Grey sisters are variously appended to *Via Regia. The Kings Way to Heaven (STC* 17509–17509.5), by James Martin, M.A., Elizabeth's widower, or to a shortened variant, also attributed to James Martin, *A Letter of Mr. Casaubon. With A Memorial of M^{ris} Elizabeth Martin, late deceased (STC 4746)*. Prefaced, at the least, by Casaubon's Latin letter and its translation into English by Martin, dedicated to Martin's mother-in-law, and followed by a pious reflection on death, these smooth memorial verses demonstrate simultaneously patriarchal approval and repression. Published under James Martin's name with his expressions of approval, but mentioned on the title page only as an appendage to the (much shorter) letter by Casaubon, they have been – intentionally or not – hidden from the public for whom, presumably, they were printed. Regrettably, because these poems were unearthed as this volume was about to go to press, it has been impossible to uncover biographical information about the Grey sisters or to assess the relationship of the verses to Casaubon's letter. The pleasures of such recovery will fall to future readers of the Grey sisters.

The verses deserve attention as yet another instance of writing by early modern women, as skillful poems – in sestets and thyme royal, occasionally employing rime riche – expressing rather sophisticated mourning; moreover, some phrases ('Though Marble, nor the Proudest Monument'; 'Perfections faire Idea') are reminiscent of some not inconsiderable male poets of the early modern period. The verses also add substance to a genre of

writing that was attempted by a relatively large number of women writers of the period, and – given Martin's approval, suggest at least one reason for this relative profusion. Notable among women writers of encomia are Rachel Speght and Diana Primrose, in this volume; the Seymour sisters, in an earlier volume in this series; and such notables – in scattered verses – as Anne DeVere, Countess of Oxford; Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke; Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel; Elizabeth Tudor; and Mary Stuart – to name a few of the best-known. Although the Frances Newport who wrote *An epytaphe of ... Darothye Wynnes ...* (1560) has not yet been identified, her verses (*STC* 18499) may push back the date of the earliest separately published verses in English by a woman. A study of the poetry of mourning by early modern women is perhaps overdue.

Many copies of both the longer version (STC 17509, 17509.5) and the abbreviated variant (STC 4746) containing these memorial verses are extant. We extract the abbreviated portion from the highly legible copy of STC 17509 owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library.

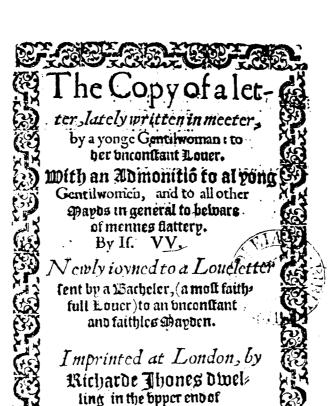
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BETTY S. TRAVITSKY

Copy of a Letter (STC 25430) is reproduced here, by permission, from the unique copy at the Bodleian Library, shelfmark 8° H 44 (6) Art. Seld. The text block of the original is 134×90 mm.



Ficetiane: at the Signe of the speed Cgle.

THE PRINTER TO the Meader.

What lack you Waiter miner fome trifle that is trew: They then this same will serve your turns the which is also new.

C Dipfpou minde to reade, fome Fables that be fained: Buy this fame Boke, and re chall finde, fach in the fame contained.

C Perchaunce my wordes be thought, bucredible to you: Because I say this Areaises, both salle and also true.

TThe matter of it felfe, is true as many know: And in the fame, some fained takes, the Augo, both bellow.

Therfore, bye this same Boke, of him that here detadwell: And you (I know) will say you have bestowed your mony well.

C farewell

I. w. Toher vnconstant Louer.

A Schole as you your wedig kept yet now the trueth I here:
which you (yer now) might me have what nede you nay to swere: (told

you know Jalwayes with you well so well Jouring lyfe: But lith you that a Butband be God send you a good wyfe.

Ind this (where to you that become) full boldly may you boalt: That once you had as true a Loue, as dwelt in any Coaft.

whose constanted had never quaild if you had not begonne:
And yet it is not so far past,
but might againe bewonne.

3(2)

If you to would :rea and not change to long as inte hould last:
But of that needes you marry must then farewell hope is pas,

And if you cannot be content to lead a fingle lyfe? (Lithough the fame right quiet be) then take me to your wife,

So thail the promites be kept, that you so firmly made:
Pow chuse whether pe wyll be true, or be of sin one trade.

whose trade-st that you long that ble, it that your litidged sayne: Example take by many a one whose falthood now is playne.

As by ENEAS first of all, who dyd pooze DIDO leave, Cauling the Quene by his burrneth with Sword her hart to cleave.

Also

voconflant Louer.

Allo I finde that THESEVS div, his faithfull love collake: Stealping away within the night, befoze the dyd a wake.

IASON that came of noble race, two Ladies did begite: I muse how he durit new his face, to them that knew his wife.

for when he by MEDEAS atte, had got the fleece of Gold and also had of her, that time, all hynd of things he wolde.

Patoki his Ship and ked away regarding not the bowes: That hedge make to faithfully, but o his louing Spowes,

how dient he trail the lurging Seas knowing hinkelse softworne!

Indepind the cape case to the land, besuge the chip was to ine:

A(2)

A think

If. VV. to ber

A think king Beolus flayd the winds and Peptune rulde the Sea: Then might be boidly patte & waves no perils could him dea.

But if his fallshed had to them, bin manifest befor: They wold have rent h Wip as soone as he had gon from Wore.

Now may you heare how falleties is made manyfell in time:

For they for their bufaithfulnes, did get perpetuall same the fame whereoze dyd I terme it for a Gould have said it Came.

Let Theseus belet Islan pake.

let Paris also scape:
That brought destruction butactor
all through the Grecian Bape,
Ind

buconstant Louer.

. 1

4

Ind buto me a Troylus be, if not you may compare: With any of these parsons that about expressed are.

But if I can not please your minde, for wants that re a in me: wed whom you lik, I am content, your refuse for to be.

At hall suffice me simple soule, of thee to be totaken: And it may chance although not yet you will you had me taken.

But rather the you hold have cause to with this through your wyle: I want to her, ere you her have, no more but loke of lyfe.

For the that that to happy be, of thee to be elect:
with her vertues to be such, the nede not be suspect,

If. VV. to her grather with her Helens face, then one of Helens trade; with chasines of Penel Ope the which didneuer fade.

A LVCRES for ber constancy, and This bie for her trueth: If such thou have, then PLTO be not PARIS, that were rueth.

Perchance, re will think this thing, in on woman to find: (rare Save Pelens beauty, al the rell the Gods have me alignd.

These words I do not spek, thinking from the new Loue to turne thee: Thou know to be prof what I deserve I nede not to informe thee.

But let that palle: would God I had Callandzaes gilt me lent: Then either thy ell chaunce or mine my forelight might preuent, But

buconffant Louer.

But all in vapne for this I leeke, withes may not attaine it Thertore may hap to me what thall, and I cannot retraine it.

wherfore A pray God be my guide and also there defend: No worser then I with my felse, butil thy lyfe that end.

Which life I pray God, may agayne, King Deltors lyte renew: And after that your foule mappelfamough the heavenly crew,

Therto I will king Ferris wealth, or els king Creffus Bould: With as much rell and quietnelle as man may have on Mould.

And when you hall this letter have let it be kept in lose? For the that tent hame, hath sworm as yet to send no more.

And

Do all yong Bentilwomen.

And now farewel, to, why at large my mind is here exprest:

The which you may perceive, if that you do peruse the rest:

TFINIS. II. VV.

The admonition by the Aucto2, to all your Bentilwomen: And to all other Maids being in Loue.

do beare away the fo ple whole harres as yet in raginge mont paynfully do boyle. (loue

To you I speake: for you be they, that good adusce do lacke: Dhis I could good counsell gene my tongue thould not be lacke?

But such as I can gene, I well.
bere in few wordes expresse:
which if you do observe, it will
some of your care redresse.
Beware

bnconffant Louer.

Beware of fayze and painted taike, beware of flattering tonges: The Mermaides do pretend no good for all their pleasant Songs.

Some hie the teares of Crocodiles, contrary to their hart: Ind of they cannot alwayes weepe, they wet their Cheekes by Art.

Duth, within his Arte of love, doth teach them this same knacke To wet their had, a couch their eies: to oft as teares they lacke.

why have resuch deseit in Core:
have you such crafty wile:
A elecraft the this god knows wold
be simple soules begile, (foone

And wyllpe not leaste of: butuil delude by in this wife: Sithit is to, we truit we thall, take hede to fained lies.

Crust

To all your Gentilwomen.

Trust not a man at the fpist light, but tree him well befoze:
I with al-Maids within their bress to kepe this thing in store.

for trial that declare his tructh, and thow what he dorn think: whether he be a Louer true, or do intend to think.

If SCILLA had not trull to much before that the and true:

Specould not have ben clene forlake when the for help did crye.

Dirfibe had had good aduice Ailus had lived long: How duck the truk a drainger, and boser deare facher wiong.

Bing Ailas had a Baire by face which Baire while he byo'n pe: Be never bould be onercome, neither on Land no; depe.

The

and to all other Daydes.

The firauger that h Baughter foud did warre against the King And alwaies sought how h he might them in subjection bring.

This Scylla fiole away the Haire, for to obtaine her wyll: And gave it to the Straunger that; dyd firaight her father kyll.

Then the, who thought her felf most to have her whole delyze: (fure was cleane reject, and left behind when he dyd whom retyze.

D: if such falbood had ben once, but o Denoue knowne: About the fieldes of Joa wood, Paris had waikt alone.

De if Demophoons deceite, to Phillishad ben tolde:
She had not ben transformed so, as Poets tell of olde.

Dero

Pero did trie Leanders truth, befoze that the did trust:
There we found him buto her

for he alwayes did swint the Sea, when flarres in Skiedid glide: Cill he was drowned by the way nere hand but the side.

both constant, true, and fust.

She scrat her face, the tare her Deir (it greweth me to tell)
When the did know the end of him, that the did love so well.

But like Leander there be fewe, therfoze in time take heede: And alwayes trie befoze ye trust, so hall you better speede.

The little fish that carelesse is, within the water cleare: Pow glad is he, when he doth see, a Bayt log to appeare.

and to all other Paydes.

He thinks his hap right good to bee, that he the same could spie:

Ind so the simple foole doth trust to much before he trie.

O little fill what hap had thou! to have such spitefull fate:
To come into ones crueil hands, out of so happy late!

Thon diddit suspect no harme, when byon the bast didit looke: (thou D that thou hadd had Linceus eies for to have seene the hooke.

Then hadfi thou with prety mates bin playing in the fireamest wheras fyr Phebus'dayly doth, thew forth his golden beames.

But lith thy fortune is to yll to end thy lyfe on wore:
Of this thy mod buhappy end,
I minde to speake no more.

But

Ant of thy felowes chance that late such prety that otomake: That he from fithers booke did sprft before he could him take.

And now he pries on every baite, suspecting that that pricke: (for to be hid in every thing) where with the fishers aricke,

And since the fill that reason lacks once warned both beware: why would not we take hede to that that turneth by to care.

And I who was deceived late, by ones butaithfull teares: Crust now for to beware, if that I true this hundreth yeares,

TFINIS. II. VV.

CA Loueletter,

SA Loueletter, 02

an earnest perswation of a Louer: fent of late to a yonge Mayden, to whom he was betrothed.

who afterward being overcome with flattery, the feemd bettere ly to fwerue from her foze mer promife without occasion, and so to forlake him.

My VV. G.





& A Loueletter,

fent from a faythful Louer: to an uncontant Payden.

A Soutie wils to nature moves, the frend thete lines to wright: wire fraude. (O faithfelle a minde to bring to light. (thou)

Can plighted laith, to firmly plight, without defert be moved. Dr hould the man that laithfull is, to flenderly be loved:

(Should hate his guerdon thus rein place of thy good wyl? (maine Should rigo; raign within thy brest to banquish reasons skyll?

Should faith to fallhod to be changed (alas) the greater ruthe? When double dealing is preferd, before a perfect truethe?

B(2)

Pf

A Loveletter lent to a Hayden.

Please such hap, as recompence,
but o your friend you yelde?

What Bulwarke cansi thou clayme,
gains Gods thy selfe to speilde?

Canthey that lit in hauty Heavens such covert gilt abyde! Dearthey parcial now deemli thou! is Julice throwne a lyde!

pay full are they, and full (ce ly ll, as full, they full phe:

Indiato them, as giltleffe then, cand thou the felle excuse:

Po, no, not fo, for they beholde, the double deades, be fure: Po forged fixle, nor flattrying phrase their fauour may allure.

Or gifts, no golde, can them corrupt fuch infice there doth raigne:

And they that disable their heaftes, are subject but o payne.

These

A Lineletter fen tta a 29 appen.

Thele are no nouel newes I tell.
the proofe is playing knowne:
Co fuch as do offend their wils,
their power forth are thowner

To fee thy conscience, gylty is, thy faithles frawde they fee: And thinkse thou then, ithis gilt of can burewarded bee: (thine,

D faith, think not to far to with, from reasons lympts pure: But sudg thy selfe, what suffice they to sinful ones inure,

And thy felfe such domb, hait geue.
as gitty halt thou finde:
Thertoze relent, and once agayne,
thy grudging conscience minde.

mhich but Gods that lacred are, accept to thee bewray:
In place of fraude, let faith a trueth with thee now bears the fway,

3(3) Revoke

A Loudetter lent to a payben.

Metoke and call to memory,
the fruits of friendhip howne:
Perpend in mind, my tormets frong
my playets and pentine mons.

which tire yeares long, as pacionate to carping yoake of care:
I bod for thee, as thou thy felfe,
I know cank wel declare.

Remeber thou the plaints a teares, which I powed toozeh for thee: Ind ponder well the facred bow, that thou had made to mee.

which bow gave comfort to thi frend that subject served to griefe: Thou gaves thy felse a pledg to me, thy faith was my relette.

But now what hely hagge? (ales) hath tournde the love to hate: Orels what whelpe of HYDRAS in thee hath wrought debate, (kind Ras

A Loueietter fent to a Payben? Also, wilt thou dispoyee me quight, of mp possessed foye? Dr wilt h plunge me headlong thus, to gulphes of greas annoye?

moho would a thought (alas)
fuch fraude to rekin thee:
who wold have deems withou delere
thy hart hould change from mee:

whole hart hath coucht his tent, within my covert brest: And thine I hopte, of me thy friend, like wife had ben poset.

But waterping minds I plainly fee, fo compalled with quile:
Pretend by lights, the perfect loves, of trindes for to exile.

D. Guld a prating Paralite, so egge thee with disorpte?
That thou the presence of the friend through flattery should refrague?

A Loueletter leut to a Payden.

Act bouching once to speake whim whose hart thou hast in holo:

Sith likeing same hath graunted hould love so soone be coid. (grace

Consider thesempletters well, and answer them agenne: \$02A thy friend in covert zeale, this time hath close my penne.

farewel, a dieu tenthouland times, to God I thee commend: Belething him his heavenly grace, but thee Cyli to lend.

The Kiend in wealth, the friend in woe, The friend while lyfe, that flytt mefroe: And while that you, infog your breath, Leave not your friend, but the death:

for greater praise cannot be wonne, Then to observe trueloue begonne.

OFINIS. VV. G.

CImpilated at London, by Richard Thomas.



R W

Agains the wisful Incommitance of his deare for E.T.

Whiche Crample may incle
be a sufficient warning
for all pongmen to
beware the sale
ned fides
lytic of viconstant
Mappens.

LL pouthful Wights atlyberty whom LOVE did neuer thiall, with that my decay may be, a warning to you all:

That have a soare bred in my Brek although it be not Arange:
bet well it bryng me to the Graus without some sodaine change.

For 3 by Sute have ferned one two yeares and fomwhat more, And now 3 can no longer ferne my hart it is so fore.

The true harted R. VV.
Thicke hart I let to Aferie
through gredic fond defire:
hot boubting to receive home twain
when I would them require.

But fithat everife Alerer had such good hap as I, There would not be so many men would vie this Aleric.

Hy Debtor hath decepted me for the is from me fled: And am left among the Bryers to brying a Fooleto Bed.

wo that I selly man remapne ethe day in doubtfull case: for DEATH doth dayly spein to reli me with his Pace. (Wayte

And call me into Pallon frong the Poore is made of Graffe: And I might bles my houre of birth if it were come to palle.

For lo my carefull chopce both chose to kape ma figil in theall, And both regard my lone no more then Stone that lyes in wall:

[And bers

to the buconstant E. T.

Therby I fee that Momens hartes are made of Harble Stone I fee bow carelelle they can be when penfine men do mone.

I sowed both pure and perfect siede on fayze and pleasant grounde In hope though harvest brought som som profit night be found. (pain

But now the Paruelt ended is and for my faythfull Seedes And all my payne and labour pall: Thave nought els but Wedes.

I thrust my hand among & Thornes in hope the Kole to finde.
I prickt my hand and ske my hart yet left the Kole behynds.

Pot I, but many moze I knowe in Loue do lacke relæfe, But I as cause doth me compell, do wayle my payne and griffe.

That Lone bath put to payne, Po, yet I hall not be the last that Women will disagne.

13.(2)

The true harted R. VV.
If I poore wretch should think byon the paynes that I have past:
Drif I should recount the cares, that she hath made me taste

Anto Dispayee it would me deluc, and cleane my hart in twainer Dels bereaue me of my Wattes to thinke byon the payne.

A neuer spent one day in Joye my carefull hart doth know, Since first Jent my Loue to her by whom my griefe doth growe.

There are no greater paynes allignd for dampned Thoftes in hell: Then I do luffer for her take, that I do love to well.

The Project hat I have paid for love normany men do gruc. But I my Bargayne Hall repent as longe as I do lyue.

I paydefor love and that full dears get I recepuse right nought, I never was so much deceyved in any thruge I bought.

To the bacoulant E. T. If eneric woman on her friend inche vitie die to take. Then hootly men wyll ron to loue, as Beares duto a take.

Butnowlet VENVS fire her forge let CVPIDS Shafte be fent: They can no more encrease my woe for all my Bone is spent.

But here good Reader thou mail fix how Loue hath paide my hyre, To leave mix burning in the flame, compeld to blow the fyre.

But if that thou good frende desire to ique in happy state. Then seke in time to shou missap, Repentance coms to late.

Frequent not Momens company but to thou from them swarue For thy Kewarde thall be but smal, what ever thou velerne.

Make hide for himail come in thealf 15 cfore that thou beware:
And when thou artentangled once thou cand not flie the lnare.

Take

The Trueharted R. VV.
Take thou not this to be a Jek,
but thinke it to be true,
Before thou prove as I have done,
leall profe do make the rew.

poet if thou chaunce to place thy loue take his de what thou doet saie: And six thou place thy talke in Print orels beware a frace.

And thus Jende: not doubtyng but these wordes may well suffice, No warne thy gredie hart of harme and case thy rouing eyes.

Tale by Difeate,
hath made me to halt,
Time hath to turned
my Suger to Salt.

The state of the second second

FINIS. R. VVITC.

Campainted at LONDON, by RICHARD IOHNES.



