“TO BE TERMED MEN”: WOMEN’S REPRESENTATIONS OF MEN AND MASCULINITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

English—Doctor of Philosophy

2018

ABSTRACT

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As social gender dynamics require all sexes to define, critique, and police the boundaries of masculinity and femininity, the definition of "man" in early modern England remains incomplete if only men's writing is consulted; women's writing, therefore, is essential to our understanding of early modern definitions of manliness and manhood. To isolate men as a subject, a survey of writing by nine English women—Margaret Roper, Anne Clifford, Arbella Stuart, Elizabeth Cary, Elizabeth Grymeston, Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Jocelin, Rachel Speght, and Aemilia Lanyer—spanning from 1557 to 1676 was conducted across multiple genres such as letters, autobiographical writings, closet dramas, mothers' advice manuals, poetry, and polemical tracts. By organizing the subject of men and masculinity through the lens of a woman's experiences of patriarchy throughout her life, male experience was thus decentralized, ultimately placing an emphasis on women's relationship with men throughout her life-cycle: daughters and fathers, wives and husbands, mothers and sons, and female citizens and larger patriarchal structures within the community. The results of the study indicate that women were both validating some manly characteristics defined by the dominant male-authored discourses, such as men being patriarchal heads of households in companionate and affectionate relationships toward their wives, as well as rejecting some dominant tropes as markers of manliness, such as martial bravery generally, and specific practices such dueling. Thus women were active participants—rather than passive recipients—in the discursive and cultural constructions of masculinity, critiquing, and policing of early modern definitions of men and

manliness, as men were navigating their own struggle between masculine codes of moderation and dominance, evident in male writings.

To Clinton and Cara

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As this dissertation was a product of many helping hands, I would like to acknowledge and thank all of those who assisted me through this journey. I would like to thank my dissertation committee members, Dr. Steven Deng and Dr. Ellen McCallum, for their unwavering support of this project, their invaluable advice on gender and masculinities, and their constant encouragement of not only this study but also me as a student. Thank you for all of the last-minute office visits, your willingness to delve into uncharted literary waters, and the incredibly insightful comments and questions you posed from day one. This project is all the better for it. I am in deep gratitude for Dr. Mihoko Suzuki, who graciously accepted a late invitation to this project and has tirelessly supplied me with editing and revision advice. I have learned so much from you as a writer but also as an early modern scholar. Thank you for so generously sharing your time and wisdom with me from many miles away; I am in awe of the depth of your knowledge and experience, and you have the patience of a saint. Of course, words cannot express how deeply indebted I am to Dr. Jyotsna Singh who directed this dissertation. When I chose you as my director, I knew you were an excellent early modern women's scholar, but at the time I had no idea truly what a truly incredible mentor you would be. Your consistent patience, overwhelming generosity, and enthusiastic encouragement over the years is what truly made this project possible. Thank you for taking me on me as your student. I am not only a better scholar but also a better person for having known you.

I would like to thank all of those who supported me behind the scenes. A big thank you goes out to the Newberry Library and the role their collections played in the early part of this project; another big thank you goes out to the Michigan State University librarians, who

generously let me test the checkout and late fee limits. A special thanks goes out to my sisters at *Changing Woman* and the *Jackson Ladies' Phoenix Society* for their many years of personal support, milestone celebrations, and advice. I especially have to thank my friends and family members who were willing to lend a sympathetic ear and a helping hand. A big thank you goes out to my parents, Virginia and Richard, who never hesitated to hop in the car and drive nine hours to help me when I needed it. I'd also like to thank my husband, Clinton, for his unfaltering love and support. Thank you for being my rock over the years; you are the ideal man and helpmeet that women imagined even in the early modern period. I'd especially like to thank my daughter, Cara, who has never known me outside of being a graduate student mom. The "book" is finally done, honey.

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Background and Scope

When Queen Elizabeth I gave her speech dissolving Parliament on January 2, 1567, the question of her marriage was at the forefront of her subjects' minds. As a woman, she was expected to marry; the queen's status as a single woman was supposed to be temporary. As she declined to heed Parliament's repeated petitioning her to wed, the nobility worried about the stability of the country without a patriarch to guide it or an heir to ensure a seamless transfer of power.[2] In response to their persistent questioning, Elizabeth issued an order barring Parliament from speaking about her marital state.[3] Her injunction to silence did not last long; the outcry forced her to lift the ban a few weeks later.[4] When she dissolved Parliament soon afterwards, she addressed their complaints in her speech:

> As to liberties, who is so simple that doubts whether a prince that is head of all the body may not command the feet not to stray when they would slip? God forbid that your liberty should make my bondage or that your lawful liberties should any ways have been infringed. No, no—my commandment tended no whit to that end. You were sore seduced. You have met with a gentle prince […]. (105)

[1] "To be termed men" is found in Speght, sig. E3v.
[2] Parliament issued formal petitions urging Elizabeth I to marry in 1559, 1563, and 1576. For her responses to these petitions, see Elizabeth I, 56-108.
[3] Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose write, "On November 9 [1566], the queen sent a verbal 'gag order' to Parliament, forbidding them to debate matters of the succession" (100).
[4] Marcus, Mueller, and Rose note, "On November 9 and 11, the House angrily debated whether or not her order was a violation of the liberties of the House" (100). Elizabeth I lifted the ban on debating her marriage and succession on November 24, 1566. For more on Elizabeth I's marriage debate, see Tudor 56-108.

In this statement, she refers to herself as a "prince" rather than a queen or princess. Elizabeth's reference to herself as a head of state in implicitly masculine terms is found elsewhere her writing and speeches.[5] Within her frequent rhetorical manipulations, Elizabeth often constructed her body politic[6] as masculine while her physical body remained concretely female.[7] Her reference to herself as the "head" echoes 1 Corinthians 11:3, a Pauline scripture used in multiple polemical tracts to justify gender hierarchy, which states, "the head of the woman is the man" (Q3iiir), further solidifying her self-fashioning as masculine.[8] As a "prince," Elizabeth further embraces a masculine persona, thus granting herself authority as the "head" to rule over her subjects as the "body." Her rhetorically autonomous "male" authority as a "gentle prince" thus trumps her female body, placing her as a masculine ruler at the top of a gender hierarchy.[9]

Elizabeth I's use of masculinity in her self-fashioning has been noted as a mechanism to navigate the issue of being a female monarch in a traditionally male role.[10] However, this instance of an early modern woman's construction of masculinity, I argue, lends itself to larger questions: Did other early modern women imagine and construct masculinities, and if so, did women articulate an ideal or desired masculinity, one based on female experiences? If an ideal

[5] In her speech on November 5, 1566, she refers to herself more than once as "the prince" (Tudor 93-5). In a letter to George Talbot sent on September 5, 1582, she refers to herself as "prince and sovereign" (257). In her Golden Speech, she refers to herself as "princely" (338).

[6]She was aware of the concept of the king's two bodies: the body natural and the body politic. In her speech at Hatfield on November 20, 1558, Elizabeth I states, "I am but one body naturally considered, though by His [God's] permission a body politic to govern" (Tudor 52). Marcus, Mueller, and Rose note that this was the earliest of her references to "the king's two bodies" (52).

[7] For instance, when she spoke her famous line at Tilbury, "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and a king of England too" (326), she was not only referencing her father, King Henry VIII, but also her two bodies.

[8] This chapter uses Cornelius Bol's first 1611 edition of *The Holy Bible*, the Authorized Version of King James I.

[9] Perhaps one of the most memorable moments where she projects a masculine body politic is at Tilbury where she physically dons armor, hiding her feminine breasts under a chest plate, to appear as the (male) commander of the army rather than a queen.

[10] See Baseotto p. 68.

male is articulated in their writing, of what characteristics did this new definition of "man" comprise? Did the early modern women define the early modern man differently than the one defined in the male-dominated cultural, social, and moral discourses? If women did articulate their own ideal man, one based on their female experience, what are the broader implications of such a finding for a more complex view of gender roles and identities in early modern England? Through an analysis of writings by nine early modern women—Margaret Roper, Anne Clifford, Arbella Stuart, Elizabeth Cary, Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Jocelin, Elizabeth Grymeston, Aemilia Lanyer, and Rachel Speght—I argue that yes, many women were instrumental in defining and critiquing masculinities and men's roles in society. Through these constructions—and deconstructions—ranging from 1557 to 1676, a "new" early modern man arises, one who is not preoccupied with proving his manliness amongst other men, but rather, one who is a helpmeet to women in domestic spaces, eschews violence in varied situations, and respects and nurtures the women in his life. By the term, "early modern man," I don't mean a singular or static figure, but rather, a constellation of attributes and characteristics that run counter to or expand the conventional, and often binary, demarcations of masculinity and femininity set out in cultural discourses of the period.

These new definitions of manliness emerging in women's writings stood in contrast to the masculine ideals set forth in male-written texts by authors such as Richard Brathwaite, who articulates an ideal courtier with athletic prowess in dueling and combat, or Joseph Swetnam, whose masculinity depends on his authoritarian subjugation and general hatred of women, among several others, discussed through this project. Rather, these women re-envisioned ideal men who consistently thought of the desires and fears of the women in their lives, and used this understanding of female experience to shape their masculinity not as a contrasting half of a

masculine-feminine binary that embraced stereotypical —and sexist—stereotypes of men and women, but as a complementary sex. For instance, Margaret Roper's hagiographical representation of her father, Thomas More, disproved the misogynist belief in the intellectual inferiority of women by showing how More acted as her academic mentor when it became clear that she possessed a superior intellect. He acknowledged her brilliance, unlike Anne Clifford's father, who ended her foreign language lessons because of his closely held belief that women need not be educated beyond the basics of reading, writing, and theology; thus, Clifford envisioned a father who supported her intellectual pursuits and was present, rather than absent, in her mother's life. In another instance, Arbella Stuart in her letters creates a fictional suitor, an ideal man who defies authority to pursue her love at great risk to himself; he sees her loneliness and lack of freedom, and offers her a solution, even if it means he defies the wishes of a queen. Elizabeth Cary's represents a flawed Herod, revealing women's desire for a man who is not violent, jealous, or absent; instead, he considers his wife's opinions and protects the ones she loves. Elizabeth Jocelin's advice manual to her unborn child articulates a son who lives up to her ideal by becoming a member of the clergy, whereas Elizabeth Grymeston's perfect son is pious and her ideal husband is one who puts the concerns of his wife first and refuses to duel. Dorothy Leigh's ideal son is one who will choose a wife he not only loves, but will love his whole life; he honors his mother by keeping his wife happy, even after his wife's beauty fades. Rachel Speght and Aemilia Lanyer reconstruct Adam as a new kind of Everyman, one who recognizes his own flaws and his contributions to the Fall of humankind; this Everyman does not hold all women responsible for Eve's transgression but rather sees women as they are, treating them with kindness and respect while judging them based on their merits.

Following these varied imaginings and re-definitions of "man," we can observe how women were active participants in challenging the dominant narratives of women as subjects and often victims of gender hierarchies; instead, this body of women's writings posit the authors as powerful co-creators of gender structures whether they upheld, interrogated, or reconfigured dominant definitions of manliness. These new criteria posited by women, in some instances led men to reconsider a moderation of affection and the policing of domestic gender-power structures as desirable masculine attributes. Furthermore, it must be noted that in refashioning the image of man, with their accompanying critique of some male behaviors, women did not reject all dominant male-created masculine traits; rather, they tempered them to best complement women during the various stages of their life-cycle. As a whole, the idea of a man as a God-ordained patriarch was generally not denied; however, how individual men fulfilled this role was what they interrogated and challenged. This new patriarch was one not shaped by men's desire, but rather women's affective needs and expectations. Adam may have named Eve, but Eve was the mother of all men, and in a sense women, in giving birth to and raising sons, were able to shape a son's masculinity as he grew, and continue to influence his performance as a man throughout his life. All these women's perspectives, therefore, offered an important and complex view on the societal pressures and moral precepts that shaped the sex/gender dynamic in early modern England. Collectively, women's writings in this dissertation demonstrate how a woman continued to influence the creation of "men" at all stages of her life as a daughter, lover, wife, mother, neighbor, ruler, and friend. As a shaper of masculinity, she did, as Rachel Speght argued, have the power to decide if certain males could ultimately be "termed men." Finally, and importantly, what emerges in this body of writings is a set of exhortations and guidelines for

men to follow, potentially resulting in new kinds of behavior patterns and allowing for more flexibility within socially constructed gendered norms.

My methodology for this study draws on existing critical frameworks and histories of women's writings as well as on new analyses of this body of writing and its far-reaching cultural and social impact, as I outline in the sections below:

Critical Framework: **Early Modern Women's Writing**

To justify the study of early modern women's writing as distinct from men's, I frame my argument in Joan Kelly Gadol's question: Did women have a Renaissance? Accepting that women experienced life differently than men—a "contraction" rather than a flourishing of "social and personal options"—under the sex/gender system in early modern Europe, she proposed the need to study women separately from men in order to understand the complexity of human experience in the Renaissance (Kelly Gadol 20). What emerged was the revelation that the previous homogenous discussions of "man" as synonymous with "humanity" did not articulate the dynamic, shifting matrix of gendered human experience, one where men and women are defined in relation to one another, not only as stereotypical binaries, but as social beings who created, policed, upheld, and challenged these gendered definitions. As a part of this sex/gender system, Kelly Gadol posited, women were a subjugated, but essential, part of this patriarchal structure, but differences in class, power, sex, education, and religion impacted the lives of men and women differently, thus justifying the study of women as a subject separate from men.

From Kelly-Gadol's revolutionary assertion that identified women's experiences as different from men's, a wave of anthologies featuring women writers appeared from the mid

1980's onwards, further illuminating the effects of gender difference on the lives of early modern women. For instance, Katherine Henderson and Barbara McManus's *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts about the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640* (1985), based on the pamphlet "wars," explored writing by both women and men to present a complex and dynamic discussion about the gender debate over the nature of "women." This collection of pamphlets presented side by side with contemporary texts, such as Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women* (1615) and the anonymously published *Hic Mulier* (1620) and *Haec Vir* (1620), revolutionized the discussion of early modern women and gender. By positioning these pamphlets as part of a larger gender discourse found in plays and poetry, one can bring widely utilized stereotypes of men and women to the forefront. The result was one of the first comprehensive presentations of the sex/gender debate in early the early modern period using extant texts. Similarly, Katherina Wilson's *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation* (1987) also addressed women's writing, but broadened the scope of its study by drawing more widely from throughout Europe, ultimately analyzing the intellectual contributions of women writers in response to Kelly-Gadol's question of whether women had a Renaissance (xi). By examining the broader gender discourses throughout Europe, we can see a new polemical landscape emerging, one in which the production and reproduction of arguments advocating and condemning women becomes visible, thus demonstrating how the transfer of ideas across political, religious, and class borders was a constant—but sometimes destabilizing—influence in the lives of early modern men and women. Later, Randall Martin's anthology, *Women Writers in Renaissance England* (1997), emerges as another text that decentralizes the traditional male canon typically found in Renaissance anthologies and instead shifts the focus to women by anthologizing early their texts with critical historical context before each piece.

Martin's edited collection of early modern women's writings was compiled specifically to "[invite] readers to re-evaluate [women's] work from a distinct female perspective, rather than collapsing it into historical narratives governed by assumptions and interests that remain dominantly masculine" (1). This archive of early modern women's writing pioneered by the above authors is one important source for my study of women's writings about men. These critical perspectives were crucial in revealing women's experiences and relationship as mediated by their own self-representations, rather than through second-hand accounts of male writers.

As women's writing from the period continued to be anthologized and treated as an independent subject worthy of its own study rather than just as supplemental to writings by canonical male authors, several scholars built upon this emerging archive as they investigated the effects of these gendered experiences on women's writing and subjectivity. For instance, Barbara Lewalski, in *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (1993), examined the literary output of nine women writers, noting how previous scholarship on women's writing analyzed their work in relation to each other but not yet with the scholarly rigor afforded to works written by men (2). Her study concludes that "the dominant ideology does not always define women's place and women's speech with the rigid determinism seen by some theorists—at least it does not when women take up the pen and write their own texts" (314). Her findings challenged previous studies that relied on male representations of women.

Women as a subject was also examined through different theoretical lenses. For example, the early modern women's historian Merry Wiesner, deployed sex/gender theory to study women as gendered subjects in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (1993). First introduced by Gayle Rubin in her 1975 essay "The Traffic in Women," the sex/gender system "transform[s] males and females into 'men' and 'women'" (40). Because gender is a socially assigned set of

characteristics and performances expected of each sex, a sex/gender system, as Rubin notes, "requires repression: in men, of whatever the local version of 'feminine' traits; in women, of the local definition of 'masculine' traits" (40). In other words, it requires the participation—whether conscious or unconscious—of men *and* women to work. Wiesner thus explores early modern perceptions of gender, relying on writings by *both* men and women to shed light on the early modern concept of "woman." She concludes that "the changes which occurred in the early modern period are even more complex than we had previously assumed, and that at no time or place did they mean the same for men and women" (311). In other words, definitions of what constitutes a "woman" or "womanly" were dynamic, in flux, and dependent on a matrix of factors that made possible a generalized, stable definition of "woman" during the early modern period. Wiesner focuses women, using men as a supplemental—but essential—context for women's writing, a methodology I follow as I use male authors to provide the context to which women were responding.

Combining literary and historical scholarship, Cristina Malcolmson and Mihoko Suzuki broadened the discussion of the gender debate in *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (2002), by calling attention to the implications of this debate on "women writers and their literary relations, […] cultural ideology and the family, and […] political discourse and ideas of nationhood" (1). This collection of essays explore a wide range of English authors, such as Elizabeth I and Anne Southwell, while also investigating women as subjects in the writings of male authors of ballads, pamphlets, and poems. Malcolmson and Suzuki importantly note, "[s]tudies of the literary relationships between women are more precise when they acknowledge that […] women writers did not always agree or support each other, especially when they were of different classes" (3-4). Moreover, the critics within this collection do not always agree with

one another, thus demonstrating how fruitful a robust, dynamic—and at times paradoxical—discussion of early modern definitions of "woman" can be for our understanding of early modern gender formations.

From these previous studies, new elucidations of the shifting and negotiable roles of early modern women emerge. For instance, early modern women did not openly question man's role as the divinely appointed head of the household; however, women often challenged man's infallibility in the role, and asserted that women were granted authority by God at times to act as leaders, teachers, or prophets. Women writers such as Rachel Speght and Aemilia Lanyer, for instance, claim a God-given authority to write in a public capacity deploying biblical texts as argumentative proof or, in the case of Lanyer, claiming God inspired her in a dream-vision. These authors did not always agree with one another on how a "woman" is defined: some were preoccupied with challenging patriarchal representations of Eve and other biblical women who were traditionally used as examples of women's sinfulness. Others sought to uphold or embrace many of the definitions of "women" as the "second"—and thus subjugated—sex. They thus assigned a dynamic rather than static set of attributes to the female sex. Frances Dolan notes, "there are many differences (of race, class or status; of religion, region, age or marital status) within [the] category 'woman' or 'women'"(8); each of these factors, as well as individual women's experiences, shaped these dynamic definitions of gender.

As a corollary to the way we have come to understand the multifaceted constructions of "woman" in the early modern period, by focusing on women's own definition of themselves, including their responses to men's definition, we need to shift the focus yet again to examine a similarly multifaceted constructions of "man," not simply as defined by men themselves, but as

viewed through the lens of women's experiences, and in many instances, of his relationships with women as well as with men.

Masculinity Studies and Gender Roles

As the dominant voice of the early modern period, men's writings have been widely anthologized and accepted into the literary canon. Scholars drawing on these writings and on sex-gender theory, have explored what it meant to be a man in the context of early modern social structures. In *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture* (2006), Todd Reeser focuses on print culture to examine "the implications of moderation as a defining aspect of male subjectivity" (15). As a key marker of early modern manliness, moderation of one's emotions, thoughts, and actions comprised a masculine ideal; if men were considered the "moderate" sex, as Reeser argues, then women were "coded as inherently nonmoderate" (15). Drawing on tracts written by men for a male readership, Jennifer Low's *Manhood and the Duel* (2008) focuses on the duel, a martial practice that exemplified manliness, mostly among the middle and upper classes, which was considered essential to defend one's honor as a male. Alexandra Shepard similarly investigates how men were defining other men in her extensive survey of of texts such as medical manuals and conduct manuals, entitled *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003). Shepard observes that collectively, men were defining "discretion, reason, moderation, self-sufficiency, strength, self-control, and honest respectability" as masculine traits (9). The difficulty in achieving such ideals led men to experience a complex array of strains; such tensions are the subject of Mark Breitenberg's *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (1996), in which he observes that writings by men "reveal[] the fissures and contradictions of patriarchal systems" (2). Patriarchy, he argues, is a system where anxiety is

produced and reproduced both as an "internal discord" within men but also as an "instrument" through which men can "contain, appropriate, and return" anxiety towards others—men and women—within their own social and gender hierarchies to maintain their positions of power (2).

Masculinity studies such as these, based on texts writings by men, provide a necessary context within which to investigate representations of masculinity in women's writings. How were men defining themselves in the period? What anxieties shaped the patriarchal values they idealized? Within the context of such questions, I elucidate how women were "writing men" by engaging with and interrogating male attributes idealized by men. As a result, my project builds on but diverges from exiting masculinity studies by bringing to the foreground women's writing as a new source for studies about men.

Scholarship about men in relation to women within prevailing sex/gender and class hierarchies has also emerged from feminist perspectives. I am indebted to Mihoko Suzuki's bold rereading of women's writing within the context of the English Civil War and how aristocratic and middle-class women and male apprentices fashioned autonomous voices in their writings while negotiating their subaltern subject positions; in her book *Subordinate Subjects* (2003), she argues that these women and apprentices were "political agents" rather than merely defined by their subordinate status (3). While these men and women both petitioned Parliament, an audacious move to express their subaltern political voice, Suzuki illuminates areas in which apprentices, although subjugated in the larger power hierarchy of men, still defined themselves in opposition to women (21). My study maintains that because women also defined themselves in relation to men, part of women's "political agency" was expressed through the creation—and deconstruction—of men and masculinity in their writing. While the hegemony of patriarchy did not permit women as a whole to subjugate men, they could, however, imaginatively create men,

while often challenging their conventional manliness within the relative safety of fictional genres, such as drama or poetry. Furthermore, women could justify their writing by citing biblical authority, such as Rachel Speght did, or by claiming it was inspired by a dream-vision, in the case of Aemilia Lanyer, or by stating that a greater good was at stake, as did Dorothy Leigh, when her sons might be left without parental guidance upon her death.

The masculine identities constructed by men— and to which the women responded -- permeated early modern literary and cultural texts across a wide range of genres and subjects. For instance, in *Discourses of Warre and Single Combat* (1591), dueling is identified as an essential crucible for masculine identity: if a man is offended by another, "to the field they must man to man, to trie their manhood" (A3iv). I will show, that women such as Elizabeth Grymeston, however, envisioned ideal men who resisted such violent acts; from a woman's perspective, the refusal to duel was not an abrogation of masculinity but rather a sign of a man who took seriously his role and responsibility as the patriarch of a family. Tracts such as Richard Brathwaite's *The English Gentleman* (1630) discussed the sports, dances, and educational achievements that define the ideal gentleman, emphasizing intelligence and reason, along with the suppression of the bodily desires, as the attributes that raised a gentleman from being a mere animal to being an actual "man" (437).

As mentioned earlier, early modern men were constantly reminded that moderation of emotion was essential to being a man and retaining patriarchal power; by contrast, emotional instability was considered a womanly trait— threatening to one's family and community. Plays such as Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great I and II* (1590), in addition to William Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1608) and *Othello* (1622), featured male characters who did not moderate and temper their feelings of anger, jealousy, or revenge with reason, thus resulting in

tragic endings. In *The Tragedie of Mariam* (date), Elizabeth Cary comments on such tragic heroes in her Herod, whose jealousy (like Othello) and tyranny (like Tamburlaine) brings about Mariam's death, which overwhelms him with guilt and remorse. Unlike Marlowe and Shakespeare, however, Cary does not accord the status of a tragic hero to Herod.

While these plays dramatize the disastrous consequences of men's failures to moderate their emotions to fit the offices of father and husbands, the tract by Joseph Swetnam entitled *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615) demonstrates some of the conflicting advice men were receiving during this period. Sermons and tragedies cautioned men against excessive violence as "unmanly" because it indicated a loss of control, but Swetnam stressed the overwhelmingly sinful nature of women, to the point of praising examples of violence against women, suggesting that the loss of a woman's life is no loss at all. Legal texts like Thomas Edgar's *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights* (1632) advocated love between fathers and daughters as well as husbands and wives, providing counsel on divorce as a response to excessive violence, but it also outlined the conditions under which a man could use corporal punishment on his wife as a necessary patriarchal tool for her instruction and discipline. Women writers inevitably wrote in response to these patriarchal ideologies; some women's texts, such as Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus (1617) which directly responded to Joseph Swetnam's tract, offered direct counterarguments to identified misogynists, while other women's writing, such as Arbella Stuart's fictional suitor, offered less violent and more affectionate models of patriarchy.

Just as women writers differed in their depictions of men what they considered "manly," so too did men who were writing about men and masculinity. This archive of men's writing produced a dynamic, and sometimes contradictory, definition of "man," with the differing

representations ultimately shaped by the framework of each genre. The archive of women writing about men in turn also took shape within the varying contours of a range of different genres. Below I offer a brief description of these genres, my aim being to extract a more precise definition of "man" by early modern women:

Genres and Forms in Early Modern Women's Writing

Both men and women deployed various genres to write about masculinity, genres which shaped the differing constructions of masculinity. My study therefore draws upon a range of genres of women's writings, in order to understand how the conventions of genres such as drama, autobiography, letter-writing, polemical pamphlets, etc. inevitably shaped their conceptions of masculinity. Did particular genres constrain women's representations of masculinity and manhood? Did a specific genre suit a particular stage in a woman's life cycle as a vehicle to prescribe or correct certain male behaviors? Such questions, I believe, are useful in revealing how particular representational practices articulated women's efforts to mediate their varied relationships with men, while giving shape to different kinds of male figures that emerge in their writings.

For instance, letter writing demanded the open praise of a father in the formal salutation when written by his daughter. As a convention, these opening lines of praise to and about fathers may be an unreliable source for women's inner feelings and opinions of their fathers. Rather, by understanding this convention, we can see past the opening salutation and look to how the body of the letter articulates her expectations of her father according a more idealized masculinity. While the form of a letter was prescribed, the content was shaped by the author based on her personal relationship with the recipient. This allowed for a more intimate, candid discussion,

one where women could represent and critique masculinity in ways not possible in public; the content of a letter also changed with a woman's age. The short, shy, formal, and uncertain letter written by a very young Anne Clifford differs greatly from Margaret Roper's lengthy and intimate letter to her father, one informed by many years of a close, affectionate relationship. Compare this to Arbella Stuart's letter, whose fictional suitor "performs" masculinity for her aunt, but is shaped with her understanding that it will be read and circulated at court. In creating a letter that would be read by her grandmother Bess of Hardwick, as well as Queen Elizabeth I, Lord Robert Cecil, and others, Stuart constructed herself as a subordinate writing for an audience of superiors ranging from senior family members to powerful political figures. In Arbella Stuart's case, the ruse is successful; her fabricated suitor performed his masculinity effectively enough to warrant a court-ordered investigation into this supposed clandestine match.

While each genre through its conventions shapes and often constrains women's writing, it can prove enabling to the writer. For example, Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing calls for a chronological organization of information in order to construct the biographies of her parents and the story of her life. We can more clearly understand the evolution of her relationship with her father through her account of how her experiences with her father evolved over time; we are also provided access to her retrospective reflection on his presence in her life from her perspective as an older widow.

Elizabeth Cary's closet drama enables her to critique male behavior through the character of Herod--his (mis)use of authority and power--but she is also constrained by the dramatic genre that necessitates the expression of her views through the characters she creates. At the same time, the genre enables the articulation of a variety of voices and perspectives, following how others react to—and are affected by—Herod's destructive masculinity. As a grown, married

woman, Cary is able to inform her play with her lifetime of experience both as a daughter and as a wife.

Mother's advice manuals, by Elizabeth Grymeston, Dorothy Leigh, and Elizabeth Jocelin, address their children in a didactic and prescriptive manner; thus, as mothers who have been daughters and wives, these women are able to instruct their sons in how to "be men" based on years of relationships with men and on observing their performance of masculinity. While the publication of these texts required some moral justification, the didactic teaching of the manuals themselves necessitated their authors to organize their advice topically and succinctly, as opposed to the lengthy moral narratives that characterized other forms such as sermons.

Rachel Speght's writing in the form of polemical tract also presents a moral construction of "man,", but in this instance she writes in response to the Joseph Swetnam's attack on women; Speght was compelled to address widely circulating misogynist tropes and stereotypes, and as a participant in this heated gender debate, her tone effectively reflects the anger and frustration of a defender of women. However, Aemilia Lanyer's volume was constrained by the conventions of poetry, especially poems that were dedicated to royal and aristocratic women. While she could not directly confront misogynists nor show the overt anger women polemicists expressed in the *querelle des femmes* --as did "Jane Anger" in *Her Protection of Women* (1599)--she could express her general frustration through Adam as an avatar for the failings of men, but she also provides the solution through Christ as a model of ideal masculinity.

Since women's virtue was commonly based on the promotion of modesty and silence, all forms of writing posed some kind of risk, though published writings were considered to be more transgressive. While family documents, such as Margaret Roper's letters and Ann Clifford's genealogical biographies, were meant for private, intimate audiences, women's writing intended

specifically for publication, such as Aemilia Lanyer's poetry and Dorothy Leigh's mother advice manual, violated codes of gender and modesty that mandated women stay silent and in domestic spaces. However, women deftly negotiated these constraints to their literary freedom, by using different genres to articulate their thoughts within the confines of conventions and propriety. They could praise men through letters or condemn them in autobiographies. They could directly challenge patriarchy through pamphlets or indirectly through poems, closet dramas, and mother's advice manuals. Every genre women chose served a purpose in how she wished to convey her message to the people around her. These genres, however, could also serve as a public mediation between female authorship and codes of femininity. Wendy Wall notes, "Women might have been caught in legal, social, and economic nets, but some found a way to dance within them quite visibly, to piece together discursive forms the circumvented restrictions on their public appearances" (283). For example, one way to "circumvent" the question of modesty was for women to justify their publication through the embracing of another traditionally feminine trait, such as motherhood. Wall uses the example of Elizabeth Jocelin's writing an advice manual to her child to demonstrate this point; by writing a manual, Jocelin was "merely doing her duty" as a mother who needed to instruct her child in the event of her death, thus giving her the authority to break her silence (284).[11]

To conclude, while genres typically dictated and constrained the way women could construct and critique men and masculinity, their conventions afford certain benefits to those who sought to address the subject of "man." Letters and autobiographies that remained in

[11] Jocelin herself demonstrates anxiety over her writing this manual for her child, and thus is apologetic for writing and explains that her possible death in childbirth necessitates it. The tract, however, is not published until after her death. Thomas Goad, the publisher, further justifies the publication by placing emphasis on Jocelin as a devoted mother and wife, and also explaining that she is dead and her husband gave permission for the publication, thus safeguarding her against further reproof. For more on the polemics of Goad's preface, see Wall, pp.284-5.

manuscript allowed writers to construct masculinity in the context of intimate spaces: while pamphlets, mother's advice manuals, and closed drama (if published, as was the case with Cary's *Mariam*), enabled the circulation of these constructions in public spaces. Although I will be calling attention to the importance of these generic differences throughout my study, my discussion will be organized following to the life-cycle of women writers themselves. Bringing the arc of women's shared experiences to the forefront, enables me to map how women's evolving relationships with men as well as their experiences with the institutions and practices of patriarchy helped inform their critiques and creations of "men" in their writing.

Women's Life Cycle and Chapter Summaries

The life-cycle of a woman in the early modern era—from daughter to wife to mother—is essentially the same for many women today, which is why it is useful to organize this study of women "writing men" by the arc of a woman's life. In *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England 1640-1832*, in writing about representations of the life-cycle of men in early modern literature, Hilda Smith notes that "in many works discussing personal development, education, and the nature of childhood and adulthood, it became clear that women were indeed as missing from false universals that readers or viewers assumed included them—such as child, youth, adult, old age—as they were from political false universals" (4). Thus, the early modern universal life cycle, by failing to integrate women's experience, necessitates studies grounded in the physical life-cycle of the early modern woman. Merry Wiesner, in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (2000), also reflects on these differences as she considers the woman's life-cycle as a helpful lens, for "corporeal accidents such as births and deaths not only shaped a woman's physical state, but her emotional health,

economic position, opportunities for education, and status in the community" (52). In other words, the physical changes of a woman's body throughout her lifecycle had broader implications on her entire life. A woman losing her virginity before marriage, for instance, had significant ramifications in terms of her marriageability. Likewise, a woman having her first child entered into a completely new world where her daily routine and domestic duties would be forever altered. By grounding this study in the physical female body, a shared symmetry between the early modern woman and contemporary woman is achieved; both then and now, a woman's relationship with patriarchal structures and prevailing social arrangements changes as her body matures, becomes sexually active, gives birth, and raises children. This arrangement of the male subject as bracketed and subjugated to women's experience allows us to "turn the tables" on the previous trope of women as the "second" sex who function as a subjugated complement to men.

Using a woman's life-cycle as an organizational and conceptual frame also allows us to witness how women used their bodies to navigate their sex-gender system, as well as how they responded to shifting, patriarchal figures of male authority in their lives, such as fathers, husbands, and in some instances, sons. In the case of mothers, women were creators of men—both physically and literarily—and in other roles, were an undeniably influential force in shaping, challenging, and reframing early modern male identity. By arranging men as a subject in a time line that aligns with women's life experiences, this study de-centers men's dominant roles, and instead, brings to the forefront women's personal, relational expectations of male behavior, where men are valued in terms of their familial roles more than in their worldly power and physical prowess.

An early modern woman's life began as a daughter, and her first understanding of men and gender hierarchy was within the home, where her father was the patriarch. Chapter 1 focuses on women as daughters who write to and about fathers. Drawing on letters of Margaret Roper and the autobiographical writings of Anne Clifford, I show how women were preoccupied with the roles of fathers within their writing– representing, creating, and imagining ideal fathers. In Margaret Roper's letters, a wise, pious, loving father takes shape, one who revels in his daughter's achievements and considers her a close friend and confidant. The Thomas More who emerges from these letters is shaped by Roper's loving relationship with him, as he is crafted with tremendous adoration nearly to the point of veneration. These letters have been deliberately paired with Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing to provide a counterbalance to Clifford's critical portrait of her father. In condemning her father's extended absences, poor treatment of her mother, and general disregard for the women's opinions around him, Clifford consequently suggests an ideal father who is active in his daughter's life and education, who listens to his daughter and wife, and who treats the women around him with respect. These desired positive traits are akin to the ideals praised in Roper's letters to and about her father.

As women grew they were expected to marry, and learning how to navigate this domestic power structure as a daughter with a father ultimately prepared her for becoming a wife under the guidance of a husband. In Chapter 2 the letters of Arbella Stuart offer an example of a woman constructing an ideal, fictional suitor. And Elizabeth Cary's closet drama *The Tragedie of Mariam* (1611) highlights the role of female dramatists in creating complex male characters on stage, often to interrogate masculinity in novel ways, in this instance in a man's role as husband and ruler. Stuart's letters offer a unique look at a woman creating a fabricated suitor intended to function as if he were real; unlike Elizabeth Cary's Herod, who was performed by actors for an

audience fully aware of his fictional status, Arbella Stuart's unnamed suitor is presented as a real person, as he performs his role as Stuart's paramour for her unsuspecting audience. His performance of masculinity was ideal for a courtier, while also serving the purpose of drawing the attention of the court to Stuart's plight of being isolated from the court against her will. Her perfect suitor was introduced in a series of letters, where he was depicted as being gallant, self-sacrificing, loyal to the queen, and careful with his relationships. This fake suitor stands in sharp contrast to Elizabeth Cary's play in which Mariam's husband, Herod, is the opposite of an ideal husband. He is violent, coercive, and ignores the wishes of his wife. Additionally, Herod does not show moderation in his emotions, acting rashly out of jealousy and anger. He is quick to judge others without validating the truth. As a character, Mariam serves as a powerful critic of her husband, demonstrating how women were not accepting a so-called ideal masculinity as proven through military prowess or men's dominance over women. Rather, the ideal mate would be one who considers the needs and desires of his family first, who listens to women rather than silence them, and who is attentive rather than neglectful.

Having lived as both a daughter and a wife, women's understanding of patriarchy inevitably influenced how she raised her sons and informed their developing masculinity as they grappled with the demands and expectations of manhood. As women married and had children, their experiences often entailed varying levels of subjugation in roles of a daughters and wives, frequently informing their understanding of an ideal patriarch. In the next stage as mothers, however, they could form new relationships of limited power with their sons, ones in which they could have a direct impact in implementing their vision of an ideal man. Chapter 3 focuses on women writing to and about their sons in mother's advice manuals; I use Elizabeth Grymeston's *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives.* (1604), Elizabeth Jocelin's *The Mothers Legacie: Her*

Unborne Childe (1624), and Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* (1616) to examine how women were representing, critiquing, and instructing their male offspring. While all three manuals reflect similar concerns, such as the inclusion of prayer in life's activities and the mother's concern for her child, the three differ in their focus and advice. Elizabeth Jocelin, for instance, expresses a desire for her son to join the clergy, is brief in its advice, and does not intend her manual to be published.[12] Dorothy Leigh's lengthy manual, however, was written specifically for publication and contains extensive practical advice to her son on how to run a household as well as on how to treat a wife. Elizabeth Grymeston's advice mostly consists of exercises in prayerful contemplation and advice to her son about on Christian morality and religious devotion. Read together, it seems, these women's writings craft an ideal son who is conscientious about how he treats the women in his life. He considers his position as the patriarch not only in terms of power and authority over women but rather in the context of his various duties toward her. This son not only honors his mother, but he also extends that behavior to honoring and respecting the other women in his life. He takes his role as a community and family leader seriously, leading with an open heart and Godly piety. This man's Christianity is a central part of his identity, and he looks to his mother as well to his father for guidance and advice.

Finally, I consider women more than just figures in a domestic space, but also as members of a wider community. These were women who dared to publish their writing so that they may engage their communities in wider discussions of masculinity and men's roles in society. Consequently, they had to navigate the larger patriarchal structures, directly responding to male attitudes towards women as well as male writings about women, which in turn shaped

[12] Her work was written to her unborn child; it wasn't until after her death in childbirth in 1622 that her husband, Tourell Jocelin, published her work.

their discussions of men as a subject. Chapter 4 focuses on women as members of a larger community, looking to Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) and Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617) in terms of their critique of men and constructing a new Everyman through their versions of Adam, informed and shaped by female experience in larger patriarchal structures. Both written for publication, these two works feature Adam. Lanyer's poems reframe Adam who is deeply flawed, whereby through him, she criticizes all men for blaming all women for the Fall from Eden. Thus, it is Christ who emerges as the ideal man, for he not only listens to women, but is also willing to show compassion to them in public and sacrifice himself for their well-being. In a similar vein, Speght reinterprets the creation of Adam as well as the Fall, positing that all men were created to be companions and helpmeets to women. She also evokes Christ as embodying an exemplary manhood and as a champion of women; he recognizes women's virtue and worth, and thus he does not blame all women for Eve's transgression. Both women articulate a new kind of Everyman reminiscent of the figure of Christ, one who judges women based on their individual merits, acknowledges their struggles, and attempts to alleviate women's suffering through kindness and self-sacrifice. It is important to note that these new men appear both in domestic spaces, with Speght going as far as to criticize men who do not help women with their labor at home, as well as in public spaces, such as when Lanyer notes that Christ observes his mother's public grief and offers her comfort. Holding up Christ's concern of women as an ideal, Speght, for instance, questions whether men as husbands who blatantly ignore women's needs can even be "termed men."

In the above chapters, I outline how women's representations of men and masculinity critique various male behaviors, while illuminating what women sought in a perfect father, suitor, son, and male member of the community. From this arrangement of texts, in telling a

story of the early modern gendered social and familial arrangements, a complex, dynamic early modern "man" emerges, one who, in many instances, is reconstructed as an ideal patriarch at every stage of a woman's life-cycle, even while individual women recognize many male failings. If being considered a "man" is a matter of how well a male conforms to the dominant definitions of manliness, we are forced to ask what does it take "to be termed men" by these early modern women? The following chapters will present the voices of several women writers as they articulate their own definitions of manliness, ones grounded in the female experience, beginning with an examination of Anne Clifford and Margaret Roper constructions and criticisms of their fathers.

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CHAPTER 1: DAUGHTERS AND FATHERS

The first and primary male figure in a woman's life was her father. As the head of the household, the father was responsible for the well-being as well as guidance of all the women (and men) under his roof. Early modern children were raised with the understanding that fathers were to be treated with a particular deference, as god-ordained heads of the household, and were told often to "honor and obey" them. Additionally, parents and children were constantly enjoined through sermons and advice manuals to love each other. How these interactions played out, however, differed family to family. While the letter-writing conventions of the time stipulated that upper-class daughters write carefully worded supplications to their fathers regardless of the level of affection between them, some daughters and fathers were more openly casual or intimate in their writing. Take, for instance, this formal letter written by a young Anne Clifford to her father (fig. 1).[13] At eight years old, Clifford uses her best penmanship and illustration to formally greet her father. She tells him, "I humbly intreate your blessing and ever

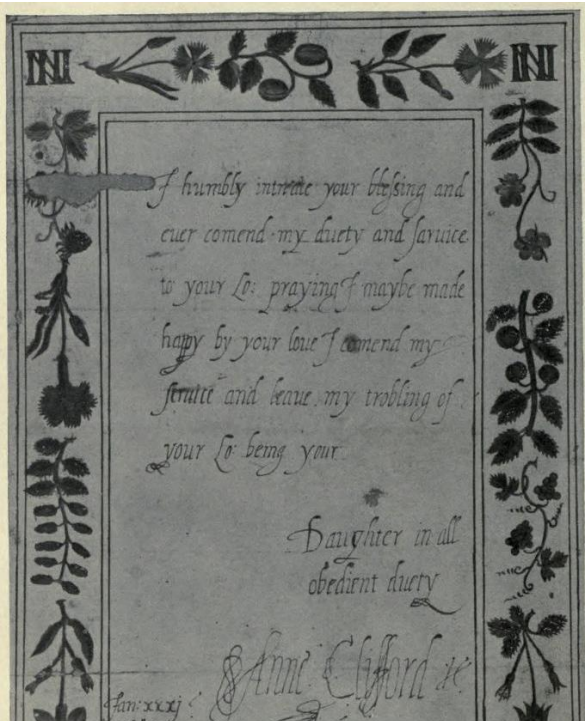

Figure 1. Letter from Lady Anne Clifford to Her Father, George Clifford, on January 31st, 1598. From *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery. 1590-1676. Her Life, Letters, and Work Extracted from All the Original Documents Available*, by Dr. George C. Williamson, published in Kendal by Titus Wilson and Son, 1922.

[13] *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery. 1590-1676. Her Life, Letters, and Work Extracted from All the Original Documents Available* by Dr. George C. Williamson, published in Kendal by Titus Wilson and Son in 1922, is in public domain.

comend my duety and sarvice to your Lo[rd]" (qtd. in Williamson 408). Compare this, however, to a shockingly candid poem written by the Welsh poet Alis Ferch Gruffyd Ab Ieuan Ap Lleyelyn Fychan (also known as Alis Wen) to her widower father who asked her thoughts on his marrying a young lady:

[…] chwithe nhad aethoch yn hen
Yn gleiriach bellach heb allu—duw n borth
on or barth ir gwelu
Gwanwr ai ben un gwnnu
Ni thale dim ich ael ddu

[…]you my father have got old
Decrepit you can hardly without God's help
get from hearth to bed
a weak man his head going white
wouldn't satisfy your black-browed one[14]

Here we see Gruffyd bluntly holding a mirror up to her father, describing him as "old," "decrepit," "weak," with a "head going white," quite the opposite of the paragon of youthful masculinity. Gruffyd's criticism of her elderly father trying to pair his waning masculinity with the waxing femininity of a young bride does not show the courtly deference of young Clifford's letter to her father, but Gruffyd still demonstrates her love and concern for her father by daring to answer him honestly. Gruffyd's witty description of her father exposes readers to a comfortable, intimate relationship between the two, written with the confidence of a grown daughter to a

[14] Translation by Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson. For both the Welsh transcription and English, see Stevenson and Davidson, p. 14.

father whose love, we assume, is strong enough to withstand some chiding. Clifford's letter, on the other hand, reveals a more uncertain bond between the two as she practices building the expected connection between a father and daughter through an exercise of formal letter writing. While class, age, genre, and personal relationship between the father and daughter shaped the language of how young women wrote to and about their fathers, this archive of daughters writing to or about their fathers can provide a glimpse into how girls (and women) were constructing and critiquing the masculine performance of the head of their household.

Young Women Writing

The English Renaissance marked a time where many noblewomen, and later, many of the women from upper and even middle class, were educated to read and write to a certain degree. At the time, reading and writing were considered separate subjects, albeit complementary, and some women may have been able to read more than write. Literacy for a woman generally meant that she was educated enough to read the Bible and other appropriate texts, as well as write enough to keep up household accounts and perhaps familial correspondence. Women's education was generally focused on the gender-specific tasks she would be performing as an adult, namely as wife, mother, and domestic worker. Of course, a young woman's class also defined the parameters of her education. Richard Mulcaster, a reknowned tutor of the late sixteenth century, described in *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circumstances Be Examined, Which Are Necessarie for the Training Up of Children* (1581) how young women's literary education was based on their gendered roles as well as rank in early modern England:

> If a yong maiden be to be trained in respect of mariage, obedience to her head, & the qualities which looke that way, must needes be her best way:[

>]if in regard of necessitie to learne how to live, artificiall traine must furnish out her made:[ ]if in resepect of ornament to beawitfie her birth, & to honour her place, rareties in that kinde and seemely for that kinde do best beseeme such: if for government, not denyed them by God, and devised them by men, the greatnes of their calling doth call for great giftes, and generall excellencies for generall occurrences. (174-5)

In other words, a young woman was trained to first and foremost be a submissive wife to her husband, the head of the household. Her first exposure to this gender dynamic was her relationship with her father, and by learning her place in the family, she would be ready for her future role as a helpmeet to her husband. Additionally, her education must be in alignment with "her birth" and "her place." If she was to run a grand estate, her education needed to train her to that end; if she was to help in the family business, then it was her parents' duty to prepare her for that life. Noblewomen, as were the majority of Richard Mulcaster's female pupils, would need to be trained in additional skills, such as how to "ornament" herself with courtly manners, dress, hobbies, literary expertise, and languages. This would allow them to not only navigate the intricacies of courtly life, but also make them more attractive when it came to making a good match. In the rare case of a female monarch, such as Elizabeth I, "the greatnes of their calling doth call for great giftes, and generall excellencies for generall occurrences" (Mulcaster 192). Because they would be the head of a nation, these princesses needed to be educated in areas that would generally be reserved for the offices of men, such as international diplomacy and martial history.

Because of the way women were generally educated, it is essential that we examine how women as a group talked to and about the men in their households. A man could not be a head

of a household unless he was, or had been, married to a woman. His ultimate performance as a man, as the head of a household, relied on women, and because women were essential to this marker and performance of early modern masculinity, it is imperative that women's writing is consulted to better understand how men were percieved in this role. While marriage was the necessary component to a man being elevated in society to that of the head of the household, it was solidified by his having offspring. It was the duty of a married man to procreate just as it was for a daughter to honor her father and mother. Children, therefore, held an important role in the development of a father's manhood, providing dependents that were raised from infancy to be submissive to his rule. Unlike a wife, who was seen as the "weaker" sex and also subject to his authority, children were not considered partners or equals with parents. A true test of a man's masculinity and how well he performs his manhood was in how he raised his children in the patriarchal world. They were extensions of his gendered role, evidence to the world outside of the home, of his effective guidance as head of the household.

The Anatomy of a Letter

We see the deference for their fathers expected from young women in epistolary conventions.[15] Letter writing was an art, and multiple manuals on the subject prescribed the careful attendance to social rank and deference expected in Elizabethan and Jacobean courtly circles. For example, the popular manual *The English Secretorie* (1586) outlined the anatomy of the ideal letter for its readers. After the *salutation* (the formal greeting), there was the *exordium* (an introduction to "winne favour"), the *narratio* or *propositio* (containing "the very substaunce

[15] Letters written by unwed daughters to their fathers are rarer than letters written by daughters who were married. Barbara J. Harris posits that this was because young women tended to live at home and did not have the same duties as a married woman who may have to write letters to conduct family business. See Daybell and Gordon, pp. 23-35, 24.

of the matter"), the *confirmatio* (consisting of "manye reasons" and "proofe"), the *confutatio* (that which should be "diminished, disprooved or avoided"), and finally the *peroratio* (a "recapituation" and conclusion) (Day 38). After this, an author would put a *subscription* (closing address) and an *epithet* if needed (Day 39-40). In *The English Secretorie* (1586), writers were given several examples of appropriate salutations and subscriptions, the majority of which were designed for male letter writers and recipients. There is, however, the occasional acknowledgement of a female hand, as one of the suggessions is to sign the letter "Your Lad[y's] loving and obedient Daughter" (Day 44). This line in particular echoes the formality of Lady Anne Clifford's early letter to her father as she signs it, "Daughter in all obedient duety" (see fig. 1).

While the prescribed affection in the recommended salutations and subscriptions of an early modern letter might problematize our understanding of the level of true congeniality a woman writer might have for her epistle's audience, the range of examples reveals that despite the constraints of letter-writing conventions, women had a wide variety of choices available to them. In another letter-writing manual, *The Enemy of Idlenesse* (1607), the Jacobean author is given exemplary letters on a wide range of topics from condolences to congratulations to confessions to admonishments. The writing conventions, albeit formal, were fluid, and even if a woman was circumscribed by the pleasantries demanded of espistlary writing, her choice from amongst the phrasing suggested can reveal her frame of mind when writing. For example, *The Enemy of Idlenesse* (1607) lays out the format of a domestic letter's salutation, beginning with an inquiry into the recipient's health, an indication of the author's health, and an aknowledgement or commendation of God's will (Fullwood 124-27). One example given for a domestic letter was to begin it with "If you be in helth and merry, I am verie glad, for (thankes be given to God,

on my behalfe) I finde my selfe in verie good health and welfare" (Fullwood 125). Compare this to another example of a domestic letter, but one "of familiar businesse": "If it bee well with you (my singular friend) then it is very wel with me: for even as I am (God be praised) in good health, so would I desire that it shold be likewise with you" (Fullwood 127). While the same three salutation conventions are present, the latter epistle is more simple in its diction and syntactical construction. To a contemporary reader, the lack of ornate saluations (i.e., "bee wel with you" vs. "be in helth and merry", etc.) may seem less affectionate, but according to early modern letter conventions, this lack may signify that a woman's addressee was an intimate acquaintance or one to whom she was emotionally connected. According to William Fullwood, even letters containing "merry jests or taunts" must follow a formal protocol (135), but the choice to include such protocols can reveal an affectionate relationship between a daughter and her father--as seen in Alis Wen's taunting of her father's old age in her letter mentioned earlier in this chapter.

When examining letter-writing manuals, however, we must remember that these rules and suggestions are the opinions of their authors and constitute prescriptions that may or may not be attained in everyday letter writing. While early modern daughters were instructed to include language expressing love, honor, duty, or obedience in their letters, the lack of these conventions may have been an acceptable deviation from the ideal. Conventions of early modern letter writing may have dictated that daughters include customary greetings and farewells, and that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century epistolary protocols may gleaned through women's choices within the conventions as well as in her decisions to break them. As we shall see in the letters of Margaret Roper, the private intimacy between daughter and father as well as sister and step-sister allowed for more literary affection than what convention may have required.

Autobiography and Autobiographical Elements

Early modern autobiographical writing spanned many different forms, from letters to diaries to household ledgers. The term "autobiography" suggests a narrative of the self, in which the fashioning of the individual's experience, as well as the construction of the people and events involved in these experiences, is dictated by literary choice and thus subjective. As Helen Fulton asserts, "[f]ar from being metonymic and syntagmatic, the autobiography is metaphoric and paradigmatic, like a fictional work: the writer, as authorized narrator, deliberately selects events and outcomes from what is available and creates metaphorical images that lead to a preferred interpretation of those events" (193). Therefore, the autobiographies of early modern women, as well as other autobiographical forms such as letters, can reveal not merely the details of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century woman's everyday life, but actually can convey her perception of her world and its inhabitants. By looking at how women crafted the images of their fathers in their autobiographical writings, an intimate and richly diverse tapestry of fathers and fatherhood is revealed, as well as how these women interpreted the performance of masculinity.

Unlike letter-writing, which was a form that was not only popular but essential to the early modern literate class, autobiography was not the subject of readily available manuals. Rather, authors had to look at other autobiographies, as well as biographies, if they wanted a pattern to follow.[16] Journals, another type of autobiographical writing, were widely kept. As Barbara Lewalski notes, "Most extant diaries record the external duties and activities pertaining to men's public roles—travel diaries, military diaries, sea logs, astrologers' diaries, political records" (140). The journal as a daily ledger or almanac was a practical means of record-keeping, and one so popular that publishers printed and sold blank, lined, and dated books

[16] On the fashioning of the self in early modern autobiography, see Bedford, Davis and Kelly. On fashioning identity in biographies, see Sharpe and Zwicker.

marketed to merchants. In the mid sixteenth century, the line between keeping a daily ledger and a diary recording personal thoughts and events was blurred in the print materials. One such example, *A Blanke and Perpetuall Almanack* (1566), for instance, is marketed "for al Marchaunts and occupiers, to note what debtes they have to paie or receive, in any moneth or daie of the yeare: But also for any other that will make & keepe notes for any actes, deedes, or thinges that passeth from time to time (worthy of memory)" (Anon. 1). The domestic diary or journal, however, focused on the personal lives of the authors (Lewalski 141). In the case of Lady Anne Clifford, she wrote in a wide range of autobiographical forms. She leaves behind not just an assortment of her letters, but also fragments of her diary and a carefully crafted autobiography.

Fathers in the Writing of Margaret Roper and Lady Anne Clifford

When Sir Thomas More was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1534 for failing to swear Henry VIII's Oath of Supremecy, he was visited by and received letters from his daughter Margaret Roper (Turner 14). While a number of More's letters to his daughter Margaret are extant, most of Margaret's letters to which he was responding are lost. Fortunately, a few of Margaret's letters have survived that discuss her father in detail: one written to Alice Arlington, her stepsister, and one to Thomas More himself. While William Rastell, who published the Roper-Arlington letter in 1557, has argued that it was too well-written to be Margaret's work, modern scholars generally agree that the letter penned in her hand and concluded with her signature was, in fact, her creation.[17] As a well-educated woman raised in a humanist home reknowned for its intellectual rigor, Margaret Roper had the opportunity to study with great

[17] See Kaufman, pp. 443-56.

humanist educators such as Juan Luis Vives, Richard Hyrde, and Desiderius Erasmus (Goodrich 1026). Even though Roper received a more academically rigorous education than most women during the English Renaissance, she was still raised as a woman in an intensely patriarchal society, and her deference to her father's authority is prominent in her writing. Some have speculated that, as the offspring of a very public figure, Roper's performance as an ideal daughter further solidified More's own reputation: he was both a revered scholar in the public sphere as well as an effective patriarchal leader in his private household.[18] His performance of early modern masculinity was accentuated by Roper's performance as the ideal daughter who lovingly submits to her father's guidance and authority.

The two letters written by Margaret Roper depict a father who excels in both the public and private spheres. Her love and dedication to her father is evident, and her writing produces a patriarch who is not only a philosophical and pious man but also one full of wit and fatherly affection. In her letter to Alice Alington, which informs her stepsister of her recent visit to see him in the Tower, Roper gives a physical description of her father. He is suffering from "diseases […] in his breste of olde" and "of the crampe also that dyvers nights grypeth hym in hys legges" (Roper 129). Here Roper is depicting an older father, suffering for his faith just like a Catholic saint. Yet, despite his afflictions, Roper tells us that she found him "out of payn" and that he bid her "to sit and talke and be merye" (129). More than once, Roper describes her father's humor and teasing, depicting him as a loving, affectionate man. She brings More a letter she received from Alice Arlington, and More suspects that his daughters are conspiring again to persuade him to take the oath. "What, maistres Eve," he chides Margaret, "hath my daughter

[18] For more on how Margaret Roper functioned as a public symbol for More's domestic life, see Jaime Goodrich, "Thomas More and Margaret More Roper: A Case for Rethinking Women's Participation in the Early Modern Public Sphere" *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39.4 (2008): 1021-40.

Alington plaid the serpent with you, and with a letter set you a worke to come tempte your father again, and for the favour that you beare him, labour to make him sweare against his conscience, and send him to the devil?" (130). Roper records his humorous characterization of Alington, deliberately painting More as the affectionate, witty father. Additionally, his open affection is emphasized when she records him saying that he takes Alice "verely for mine own too, sith I have married her mother, and brought up her of a child, as I have brought up you" (132). Margaret's father is one who is loving to each of his daughters equally, regardless of whether they are related to him by blood or not.

The majority of the Roper's letter to Alington recounts Margaret's conversation with her father. Alington thereby receives an image of her stepfather who is as wise as he is virtuous. Roper pays particular attention to the rationale he gives to his refusal to take the oath that would recognize the legitimacy of Henry VIII's second marriage. When asked if he would not take the advice of wise men who tell him to take the oath, Roper's More responds, "Verely daughter, I never entend […] to pynne my soule at another manne's backe, not even the best man that I know this day living: for I knowe not whither he may happe to cary it" (136). [*you need to follow this quotation with analysis: "another man" is Henry, so More is saying that he is willing to go against the king in matters of conscience.]* At the same time, her father is also a loyal subject to the crown, despite his imprisonment in the Tower, for she reports More's statement that he has "good hope, that God shal never suffer so good and wyse a prince in such wyse to requyte the long service of his true faythfull servuante" (145). Roper's More is aware of his duties as a man living under the reign of a king: "Mystruste him, Megge, will I not," though refusal to submit to

Henry's Oath, Roper's More nevertheless praises the king (146).[19] His deference for hierarchy is clear, but More is ultimately loyal to God, the highest patriarch of all.

Roper is very careful to emphasize her father's piety and steadfast faith. He says to her, "I cannot, I saye […] mistruste the grace of God" (146). In this letter, Roper reports his many references to God's will, wisdom, and mercy. While Roper's More is passionate about his faith, he is more temperate in expressing his own emotions regarding his circumstances,[20] focusing instead, on assuaging his daughter's distress. He tells her, "never trouble thy mind,for anye thyng that ever shall happe me in this world" (147). Despite wishing his daughters to not worry so much about him, he wants them to know how much they occupy his thoughts. Roper's More tells her to "Commende me to theym all, and to my good daughter *Alington*, and to all my other frendes, sisters, neces, nephews, and alies, and unto all our servaunts, man, woman, and chylde, and all my good neyghbours, and oure acquayntance abrode" (147). More tells her that he will "hartely, praye both you and them, to serve God, and be mery and rejoyce in hym" (147). He not only wants his loved ones to be happy, but he wants to see them live moral lives so that they "maye meete together once in heaven, where we shall make merye for ever, and never have trouble hereafter" (147). The ultimate goal as a Christian patriarch was to guide his family towards eternal salvation. If More could succeed in this, he would be an ideal father, husband, and master of his household.

Margaret Roper's depiction of her father is just as affectionate in her letter addressed to him, maintaining an emphasis on affirming his saintly devotion. This letter is a bit more formal in its construction than the Alington letter. Unlike the Alington letter, which is more focused on

[19] Thomas More's faith in the king is also present in many of his letters, including a later letter written on May 2/3, 1535, just weeks before his execution. He writes, "my poore bodye is at the Kynge's pleasure […] Woulde God my death might doo hym good" (153).
[20] For more on moderation a defining characteristic of early modern masculinity, see Reeser.

preserving and reporting the conversation Roper had with her father than adhering to sixteenth-century epistolary conventions, this letter anticipates the outline recommended in the *The English Secretorie* (1586). She opens with a formal *saluation* ("Myne own good father"), an *exordium* to win favor ("to delight my selfe among in thys bytter time of your absens […] by as often writing to you, as shal be expedient"), a *narratio* conveying the central message ("[God] preserve you both body and soule"), and a closing *subscription* ("Your owne most loving obedient daughter and bedes-woman") (Roper 150). The letter is brief; Roper is letting her father know that she is thinking of him. While the Alington letter shows both the religious and philosophical Thomas More, focusing on his rationale behind his refusal to swear the Oath, this letter projects a more hagiographical father figure. Roper calls his "most fruitfull and delectable letter" the "messenger" of his "very verteous and ghostly minde" (150). His mind is "rid from all corrupt love of worldely thinges, and fast knitte onely in the love of God and desire of heaven, as becommeth a very true worshipper and a faithfull servant of God" (150). Roper's letter acts as a mirror for More; she reflects back to him a flattering but heartfelt image of himself.[21] Her open affection for her father is evident as well as reciprocal in the More-Roper letters.

In Margaret Roper's letter to her father, her performance as a daughter depends upon his performance as a father. She is deferential to him who performs a patriarchal role in her life as well as in her writing. Roper ends her letter as More's "owne most loving obedient daughter and bedes-woman" (150). She recognizes his authority as the male head of the family; part of More's

[21] Thomas More also provided a flattering and heartfelt mirror for Margaret Roper in many of his letters to her. His last letter, written the day before his execution, is addressed to her. He tells her, "I never liked your maner toward me better, than when you kissed me laste: for I love when doughterly love and deere charitye hath no leisure to loke to worldlye curtesy" (161). Both father and daughter had an openly affectionate relationship.

patriarchal role is to guide his family morally and spiritually. Her willingness to play a subordinate role to his dominant one is evident when she identifies herself as his "moste obedient daughter and handmaide" (Roper 150). Like most early modern women, Roper accepts her father's role as superior in the family hierarchy. Roper's father is so great a patriarch that she prays that she, along with her family and friends, "folow that that we praise in you [father]" (150), reflecting back to him the praiseworthy attributes she sees. She asks him a rhetorical question about what he thinks has been their comfort since he has been imprisoned; her answer is her memories of him. Here we see how she chooses to remember her father, through his attributes. She, along with her family, think back fondly on their "experiens" of his "life past" as well as his "godly conversacion and wholesome counsail, and vertuous example" (150). In this letter, she does not admonish her father in any way. Rather, Roper acknowledges his having played the part of both the "godly" and "vertuous" man as well as the part of the ideal patriarch well. She is confident that he lived his life in such a way that he will see "the blysse of heaven," the ultimate goal of a Christian (150).

Lady Anne Clifford's accounts of her father could not be more different. First of all, George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland and Anne Clifford's father, died in 1605 when Anne was only fifteen, and he spent a great deal of that time away from Anne and her mother.[22] She therefore lacked the opportunity to form a deep attachment to him as Margaret Roper did with her father Thomas More. However, even if time and proximity were on her side, the temperment of George Clifford may have prevented a deep, loving relationship with his daughter. He was widely known to have had many extramarital affairs,[23] and at his death he disinherited his wife,

[22] For more on the life of George Clifford, see "Introduction," D.J.H. Clifford.
[23] For more on this and how these affairs may have affected Anne's design of his burial monument, see Myers.

Margaret Russell, and stripped Anne, his only surviving heir, of his titles and estates until the death of his male relatives.[24] Is is not surprising, then, that Anne Clifford paints a critical portrait of her father in her writing. In her diaries, her father's death is described with indifference, and in her biography of her mother, George Clifford is depicted as a cruel, neglectful patriarch. Her description of her father is also utilitarian. Anne Clifford and her mother fought for her inheritance, and to further solidify her claim as heir, she offers a physical description of her father to assert her likenness to him. We see through her writing the darker side of masculine performance in a patriarchal world. Unlike Margaret Roper's father, who is a benevolent and loving authority in her life, Anne Clifford's father embodies the abuse that occurs within a gender hierarchy.

Most of Anne Clifford's writing about her father occurs in the biographies of her parents as well as her own autobiographical entries in her *Book of Records*. However, she also mentions him in her Knole diary. The earliest entries date to 1603 when her father was still alive. Unlike Margaret Roper's letter to Alice Alington, there is no affection evident; rather, George Clifford is one of many names listed in her day-to-day activities. She does, however, make a note of the discord between her father and mother: "My Mother & he did meet, when their countenance did shew the dislike they had one of the other" (Knole 26). The genre of diary-writing may attest for some of the scarcity of affection in her account, as this was a record of events to be kept private instead of offering a narrative of events to a specific audience as found in the Roper-Alington letter. However, Anne appears unimpressed with her father's behavior towards her. She writes, "he would speak to me in a slight fashion & give me his Blessing" (*Knole* 26). Here is a distant father, courteous but detached, performing the role of the father at the bare minimum.

[24] Anne Clifford records the many legal battles resulting from her father's will. For a complete transcription of these documents, please see Jessica L. Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Book of Record*.

As we see in Anne Clifford's *Book of Record*, her father fails in his performance of an ideal patriarchal masculinity. Men were taught to use moderation in their emotions, but to love their families, provide for them, and to act as their moral and spiritual guide. The patriarchy in the household was a microcosm of the patriarchal state; if a father failed in his duty to his family, it had the potential to disrupt the social fabric of society.[25] Marriage and fatherhood were critical to fulfilling one's gendered role as an early modern male; marriage was considered an antidote to the sexually damanding and immoderate impulses inherent in men.[26] Anne Clifford is clear in her records that her father did not adequately fulfill his role as a husband. She writes how her mother, the "verteous Margaret," at first felt the "extreame love and affection of her husband," but that this only "lasted about nyne or tenne yeares towards her and but little more" ("Married Womman" 722). Anne's great admiration and affection for her mother is just as clear in her records as her disapproval of her father.[27] The father in Anne Clifford's records is void of the affectionate expressions and playfullness seen in Margaret Roper's depiction of Thomas More.

In one of Anne Clifford's passages, the stark contrast between her depiction of her mother and the depiction of her father is clearly visible. Her father is made to appear even more cruel in his lack of affection by her mother's dutiful love towards George Clifford:

> She did with too much deare and passionate affection love her husband and her children so as itt proved a cause of much affliction unto her by

[25] E. J. Kent describes the negative effect of a failed patriarchy in the home on the surrounding community, as well as how masculine performance failures could disrupt the nuclear family, in the article, "Raiding the Patriarch's Toolbox: Reading Masculine Governance in Cases of Male Witchcraft, 1592-1692," *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, Routledge, 2011, pp. 173-188.

[26] For more about how marriage was seen as a "remedy" to men's inclination towards sexual sin, see Todd Reeser's *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture*, U of North Carolina P, 2006.

[27] Anne Clifford lavishes her mother with great praise throughout both sections in her Great Book entitled "The Course of her Life from the Time that Shee Came First to Bee a Widow Till Her Death" and "The Course of Her Life Whyle Shee Lived a Marryed Womman and of Her Children."

> […] the unkyndnesses of her husband towards her for some yeares before his death, which was the cause of much bitter griefe to her […] Yett when her husband parted howses with her for two or three yeares before his death and more yt went very nere her heart, for shee was a womman full of kynde affections. ("Married Womman" 724)

While Margaret Russell had "passionate affection" for her husband, George Clifford reciprocated with behavior that "was the cause of much bitter griefe to her" ("Married Womman" 724). According to this account, George Clifford was emotionally abusive towards his wife. Anne does not detail the "unkyndnesses," but the offenses were serious enough to allude to in the record. George Clifford officially separated from his wife around 1603 but he previously had abandoned her as he went on several sea voyages[28] and traveled extensively without her. While travel was a common enough practice for early modern noblemen who were busy cultivating their investments and doing service for the crown, the withdrawal of his affections as well as his physical removal from the household during the last years of his marriage made George Clifford a failure as a husband and father.

Anne Clifford's description of her father, however, changes when it serves a legal purpose. She uses the image of her father to further her claim to her inheritance. Her construction of her father then becomes utilitarian as she represents him as an affectionate father when it came to his bequeething of properties on his deathbed, a performance essential to Anne's claim on the Clifford estates: he may have failed as an actual father, but at least his image in her writing could convey this masculine performance as loving patriarch. In what appears to be a change of heart on his death bed, Anne Clifford writes that he "expressed high testimony of the

[28] Records of his multiple sea voyages and naval battles can be found in Clifford's *Great Book,* ed. Malay, 639-55.

vertue and goodness of his wife" ("Bee a Widow" 726). This uncharacteristic moment of praise is essential to establish why, despite his will placing his male relatives above both Margaret and Anne, George Clifford may have had a change of heart. Anne then recalls how he told them about "his beliefe thatt the antient lands of his interitance would returne to their onely daughter the Lady Anne Clifford for want of heires males of his brother" ("Bee a Widow" 726). His will leaves his wife, Margaret, nothing, and he leaves the entirety of his estates to his brother Francis; Anne, his only surviving child, was to receive £15,000 upon his death (D.J.H. Clifford 2).

The estates that Anne Clifford and her mother fought to regain after his death were vast. According to D.J.H. Clifford, the estates included nearly 90,000 acres in Westmoreland and Craven, which also included the castles of Broughman, Skipton, Appleby, and Pendragon (3). The legal battle to regain these lands was one of the main reasons Margaret Russell worked tirelessly to compile many of the legal documents found in Anne Clifford's *Book of Records*, and it was a powerful factor in the shaping of Anne's father in her writing. As the family historiographer, Anne Clifford strove to leave behind an accurate depiction of her own life, including the people in it, but also to solidify her claims to the Clifford estates as the only possible heir. This emphasized her blood relation to him while also granting the reader some insight into how he may have looked. Anne Clifford writes, "The collour of my eyes was black lyk my father's" and that she had "a peake of haire on my forehead and a dimple in my chinne like [her] father's full cheekes" ("Summary of the Records" 798). She also mentions having "an exquisite shape of body resembleing my father" ("Summary of the Records" 798). Physically, there was no question that she was his daughter. In a time when paternity could be questioned, the close physical resemblance of Anne to her father was essential in squelching any doubts to her blood connection.

Anne Clifford provides another description of her father in her biography of him, but in a less flattering light. Just as Margaret Roper painted her father as a saint, so too did Anne Clifford paint a saintly image of her mother. Clifford, however, was just as extreme in her veneration of her mother as she was in her condemnation of her father. She conveys then, the image of a sinner and neglectful patriarch. Like many biographies during this period, however, Anne is clear to note that he was "a very penitent man" on his deathbed ("George Clifford" 710). At first, she describes him in his biography as an ideal male courtier: "This Earle George was endowed with many perfections of nature befitting soe noble a personage as an excellent quickness of witt and apprehension, an active and strong body and an affable disposition and behavior" ("George Clifford 710). Here he is seen as bright, athletic, and charming, but tempered with caution; in short, he possessed many of the ideal masculine traits of the early modern period. He was also Elizabeth I's Champion, which denotes manly activities such as combat, weapons training, and war. In fact, Anne's father embodies the courtly manliness described by Baldassarre Castiglione, who should have the strength, speed, knowledge of weapons, and military prowess of a "man of warre" (sig. Diir-Diiiv).

However, Anne Clifford does not see these ideal masculine traits as defined by the courts to be a full definition of what would make an exemplary man and father. She follows the above description with a list of behaviors that Anne considers to be reprehensible:

> Butt as good natures through humaine frailty are often times misled, soe he fell to love a ladey of quality, which did by degrees draw and alienate his love and affection from his soe verteous and and well discerveing wife, it being the cause of many discontents between them for many yeares togeather soe thatt att the length for two or three yeares together before his

> death they parted houses, to her extreame griefe and sorry, and also to his extreame sorrow at the tyme of his deathe… ("George Clifford" 710)

For Anne, an ideal father would have remained loyal to his wife. His conjugal love, which he withdrew from his wife, and by extension, his daughter, was an essential component to his being an ideal father. She disapproved of his physical separation from his family in the last few years of his life.

Anne is additionally critical of her father's intellectual capabilities. As a nobleman, the Third Earl of Cumberland would have received a typical humanist education, but according to Anne, in this regard he fell short. While Margaret Roper and her father were able to communicate to eatch other in Latin, Anne pointedly notes her father's lack in this accomplishment. "Hee never attayned to any greate perfection in the Lattin tongue," she writes, "yett he had a generall knowledge and insight into all the Artes and especiallie into the Mathemetiques" ("George Clifford" 710). She acknowledges that he enjoyed mathematics so much that "it was thought to bee one principall cause of his applyeing himselfe afterwards to sea voyages" ("George Clifford" 710). There was no denying that her father was revered for his many successful navigations, and she writes that he became "the most knowing and eminent man of a Lord in his tyme" regarding the passages to the West Indies and other "new found lands" ("George Clifford" 710). Despite her predominantly critical description of her father, she gives him credit where it is due, and discusses at length the many places her father had sailed as he was neglecting his family ("George Clifford" 710).

As the description of her father was useful to Anne Clifford in solidifying her inheritance, she once again retells the story of her father on his death bed. Unlike in her other tellings, however, in her biographical writings of her father, she acknowledges that he had left his lands to

his brother and his male heirs, but that his intent was to ultimately have them pass to Anne, who was only fifteen years old at his death ("George Clifford" 712). Here Anne Clifford casts her description of this scene to read more like a legal document than a heartfelt remembrance of her father. At his deathbed, she writes, "a few howres before hee dyed hee tould them two and the companie thatt was there presentt thatt hee was confident all his landes wold come to his said only daughter and heire for want of heires male of his brother" ("George Clifford" 712). If he failed to provide her with her due inheritance while alive, his authority as a subject in her writing could. Anne further asserts, "This noble George Earle of Cumbreland left but one legitimate childe behinde him, which was his daughter and sole heire the Lady Anne Clifford" ("George Clifford" 713). Even if he fell short of being an ideal father in life, she could fashion a more ideal father in her writing, one with many flaws, but one worthy of remembering as well as one who truly intended for his daughter to inherit his estates despite the evidence that indicated otherwise.

While Margaret Roper perhaps evokes an ideal father in her writing, Anne Clifford crafts a terribly flawed father, one who is complicated by his mix of ideal masculine attributes and failure to suitably guide his family as their patriarch. If we view the family as a microcosm of the state, the outcomes for these two fathers remains in conflict with how the state responded to their two performances as men. While both men enjoyed great successes in the courts, the affectionate and religious Thomas More would be executed by the king for his beliefs, whereas George Clifford enjoyed accolades[29] and praise from both Queen Elizabeth I and King James I as first the Queen's Champion and later as a Knight of the Garter despite his failure as a father and husband. While both

[29] For a list of his accomplishments, see "The Course of the life of this George Clifford Third Earle of Cumbreland." *Great Book of Record,* ed. Malay, 709-13.

men had patriarchal authority over their daughters, and where Thomas More may have used this authority in a positive manner toward his daughter and George Clifford may have done the opposite, both men's legacies as fathers were preserved as their daughters saw fit, thus raising the question of to what extent women contributed to the construction of masculinity, shaping them for future generations.

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CHAPTER 2: WIVES AND HUSBANDS

Unpublished until 1806, Lucy Hutchinson's biography of her husband, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (1671), provides a very detailed, intimate view of her husband and married life. Included in this two-volume text is a brief autobiography entitled "The Life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson" (1671) where Hutchinson addresses her progeny and provides a detailed and laudatory description of Colonel John Hutchinson as a husband:

> [N]ever man had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteem of a wife; yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted he that just rule which it was her honour to obey […]. He governed by persuasion, which he never employed but to things honourable and profitable for herself ; he loved her soul and her honour more than her outside […] So liberal was he to her, and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of severed purses […] so constant was he in his love, that when she ceased to be young and lovely, he began to show most fondness ; he loved her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot express, yet even this, which was the highest love he or any man could have, was yet bounded by a superior, he loved her in the Lord as his fellow-creature […]. (30)

According to Lucy Hutchinson, Colonel John Hutchinson was an ideal spouse. Although he fulfilled conventional ideals of masculinity, such as being the head of the household ("which it was her honour to obey") as well as being a loving husband ("he loved her soul"), he also deviated from this norm in many ways. For one, "[he] governed by persuasion," even though it was perfectly legal for him to govern by force, as Thomas Edgar stated in *Lawes Resolutions*

Women's Rights (1630): "He shall neither doe nor procure to be done to her (marke I pray you) any bodily damage, otherwise then appertaines to the office of a Husband for lawfull and reasonable correction" (126-7). In other words, domestic violence was frowned upon if unprovoked, but was permitted if the husband used it for "corrective" or instructional purposes. As head of households, men also advised one another to be moderate in their spending,[30] such as in *A Godlie Form of Householde Government* (1598) where husbands are told they "must be frugall" and "sparing and saving" (Cleaver 76). However, Colonel Hutchinson was, as his wife Lucy describes him, "[s]o liberal […] and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of severed purses" (30). Lucy Hutchinson therefore praises her husband in ways in which he deviated from the male-defined role of husband, declining to exercise the power to which he was entitled.

In this chapter, I argue that Lucy Hutchinson was not alone in envisioning a new early modern masculine ideal in a spouse and suitor. Such imaginings of course, were accompanied by critiques of the failures of husbands to fulfill their roles to the satisfaction of women. Among other such wishful, though complex, imaginings of perfect husbands, I draw on the writings of two other women, Arbella Stuart and Elizabeth Cary, who also envision husbands that deviate from the male-dominated discourses about the emotional needs of women. Arbella Stuart fashions a fictional ideal lover in her letters, one letter (1602-03) created specifically to convince her intended audience that she had a suitor; whereas in *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), Elizabeth Cary re-envisions the character of Herod in her closet drama, challenging previous representations of him as a man above reproach, to render him a man who fails as a husband as

[30] In a time when misogynist tracts like Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Women* (1615) warned men that "a woman will pick thy pocket, and empty thy purse, laugh in thy face and cut thy throat" (14), men were thus encouraged to keep tight control of their wives' behavior and access to money. For more about Joseph Swetnam and misogyny, see chapter 4.

well as a ruler. While they were both imagined characters, they illuminate the workings of masculinity in both its negative and positive aspects within courtship and marriage, as seen through the aspirations of women in early modern society, specifically among aristocratic circles. These two fictional representations of an ideal lover/potential suitor and of a failed husband illuminate not only women's desires, but in doing so, offer a multifaceted view of early modern masculinity in relation to courtship and marriage, as I elaborate below.

Early Modern Closet Drama

When Elizabeth Cary published *The Tragedie of Mariam* (1613), women's closet drama was beginning to merge with Senecan tragedy (Cerasano and Wynne-Davies 45). This "neo-Senecan" drama in early modern England contained most of the same characteristics of a Senecan tragedy such as the five-act structure, violence and revenge as a theme, the use of asides by the characters, a marked absence of the gods, choruses featuring "detached" voices, and less emphasis on social themes with more focus on morality, philosophy, and fortune (Ker and Winston 11). For women, whose virtue would be compromised by participating in public performances of theater, Senecan drama provided an opportunity for a more "chaste" theatrical outlet. As Greco-Roman tragedy was an essential part of a Renaissance education for both sexes, Senecan drama was read, as well as translated, by most of the educated elite. For instance, Queen Elizabeth I translated Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* as a private writing exercise (Cerasano and Wynne-Davies 9). For other women authors, Senecan drama as a translation exercise was intended to result in a closet drama, a play meant to be read aloud in the home among a small group of intimate acquaintances. Mary Sidney, for example, translated Robert Garnier's Senecan tragedy *Marc Antoine* (1593) to produce *The Tragedie of Antonie* (1595) (Cerasano and

Wynne-Davies 15-7).[31] Closet dramas allowed women a way to preserve their virtue by eschewing the public stage while engaging in dramatic performance within the confines of their homes.

The early modern closet drama was a popular genre among aristocratic women writers for several reasons. As stated earlier, female performance on the stage was considered immodest during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Women were ideally silent and chaste, thus relegating women to private, domestic spaces. Not only did the public nature of the theater problematize the concept of a woman playwright, but so did the act of printing. "Constrained by the norms of acceptable feminine behavior," Wendy Wall notes in *Imprints of Gender* (1993), "women were specifically discouraged from tapping into the newly popular channel of print; to do so threatened the cornerstone of their moral and social well-being" (280). Printing a text for public circulation for a woman posed a risk to her moral reputation. Publication itself was considered an immodest act for women, which may account for Elizabeth Cary's claim that her manuscript was stolen and published against her will (Cerasano and Wynne-Davies 47). However, closet drama offered more than just a means of preserving modesty for early modern women; it also allowed them to grapple with political, theological, and gender hierarchies in a completely imaginative space. In *Dramatic Difference: Gender, Class, and Genre in Early Modern Closet Drama* (2001), Karen Raber discusses the usefulness of closet drama for women whose voices were otherwise circumscribed by standards of decorum:

> As a genre, closet drama gave space for the analysis of dysfunction within marriages, families, and governments. Women writers could thus appropriate the genre to critique gender relations in each of these domains. For women writers,

[31] S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies suggest that Mary Sidney finished her translation around 1590 (17).

> […] closet drama could function as a tool for achieving what was unobtainable in other genres more commonly adopted by women—an authoritative, public presence, and access to powerful commentary on the ideological uses of representation. (14)

The nature of closet drama, as both a performance yet private activity, lent itself to exploring the public versus private spaces, and thus allowed women to explore the "dysfunction" of both; in that fictional space, women could criticize institutions of power such as patriarchy, the monarchy, and religion, which was normally not possible due to their subordinate status within these systems; closet dramas also gave women a safe space to vocalize their own social concerns through characters who served as avatars to the males in their lives. Thus, we can see why this dramatic mode would prove an effective vehicle for a play such as *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613).

As Raber further suggests, other genres deemed acceptable for women prevented them from constructing men and masculinity within a three-dimensional imaginative space. Here, we can see how as characters in a play, men could have encounters with a variety of people and challenges; the fluidity and possible permutations, the shifting from prose to poetry to song, created a dynamic matrix in which women could explore various models of masculinity and male archetypes with more creative freedom than what another genre may allow. For instance, religious poetry, such as Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), limited women to biblical themes and characters. While women like Lanyer could use poetry to challenge patriarchy,[32] the conventions of the genre prevented women from creating few, if any, characters that deviated from the standard Christian canon. Likewise, polemicists such as Rachel Speght, in

[32] For more on Aemilia Lanyer, see Chapter 4.

directly addressing their target audience, wrote mostly in prose and generally relied upon logic, biblical exegesis, and classical references to challenge hegemonic ideologies; in the case of *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), Speght's mode was nearly entirely discursive, with the exception of a few poems in praise of the author and one vilifying her adversary, Joseph Swetnam. With drama, however, women could comment on ideologies and representations of men and women within an "authoritative, public presence" (Raber 14). In plays, the characters could function as avatars or antitypes for the authors, acting in a myriad of ways to best serve the rhetorical intentions of the author. When Elizabeth Cary wrote *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), she became the first[33] Englishwoman to write a closet drama that was a tragedy and history play (Cerasano and Wynne-Davies 45).

Before I discuss the two specific examples of women's representations of men as husbands and suitors, I further examine male writings on the subject. Dominant cultural constructions of male roles provide an important contextual framework for understanding how patriarchal power intersected with or deviated from marital and romantic affections. And in turn, we can learn more about women's negotiations of these networks of power.

Men, Masculinity, and Marriage

Early modern writing by men dictated how men ought to behave as lovers and husbands. However, not all advice manuals were in agreement, and even within a single manual there could be contradictions regarding how men should assert their authority within marriage, while balancing affection and discipline. Jared van Duinen, in "The Obligations of Governing Masculinity in the Early Stuart Gentry Family: The Barringtons of Hatfield Broad Oak," notes

[33] Cerasano and Wynne-Davies estimate that the play was written from 1602 to 1604 (45).

that “although the patriarch’s right to absolute authority was a given, men were also warned against too tyrannical an implementation of this right” (115). As seen earlier in Lucy Hutchinson’s description of her husband, husbands were expected to exercise firm authority in the home, responsible for the guidance and “correction” of their wives, and to temper their authority with love. Domestic violence, therefore, was generally frowned upon, as evidenced in pamphlets such as the anonymous *The Bloody Husband, and Cruell Neighbour* (1653) and *A Most Horrible & Detestable Murther Committed by a Bloudie Minded Man Upon his Owne Wife* (1595) that publically condemned husbands' murders of their wives. In *The Bloody Husband*, for instance, readers are reminded that “Against this sin of Murther, the wrath of God hath been revealed from heaven, by his just and daily revengings of innocent blood upon Murtherers” (1). These pamphlets, which usually ended with a public execution as well as a reminder of “the wrath of God,” served as exhortations against male violence. In *A Most Horrible & Detestable Murther*, the reader is instructed that such publications functioned as an “example to the world, thereby to put us in mind of our duties to God, & withhold us from like trespasses, by viewing their shamefull ends” (1). Husbands should love their wives, and in their “corrections” of their wives' behavior, they should restrain their violence lest they meet with a “shameful end.” If one “trespasses” against God’s will, he may ultimately be publicly shamed and upheld as a poor example of a husband. However, this public condemnation of cruelty by husbands did not prevent men from fantasizing about violence that could even lead to the death of their spouses.

Such a fantasy is clearly evident in Joseph Swetnam’s *The Arraignment of Women* (1615): “a married man hath but two good daies to bee looked for, that was the marriage day, and the day of his wives death” (5). Naturally, the fear of a brutal husband was most likely experienced by many early modern women, for its prevalence can be gauged in contemporary

drama. Shakespeare's Othello strangles to death his wife Desdemona; his antagonist Iago also stabs to death his wife Emilia. While Marlowe's Tamburlaine may not physically assault Zenocrate, he threatens her with slavery should she refuse him. Her response to his proposal, "I must be pleased perforce" (1.2.259), clearly indicates that she was not willing, but coerced. Suspicious of his wife Mariam's loyalty, Elizabeth Cary's Herod executes her, in accordance with his history of murdering her brother and father. In a counter example, Arbella Stuart seems to repress the shadow of domestic, marital violence at the hands of men, fashioning her imagined ideal lover as respectful of her, "teaching" her gently ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 126).

While men were accorded power as heads of families, for the most part, men were also consistently enjoined by other men to love their wives and treat them with a degree of care. Genesis was often quoted as the rationale, for example in Thomas Edgar's *The Lawes Resolutions of Women's Rights* (1632):

> God brought Woman to Man to bée named by him, hée found straight way that shée was bone of his bones, flesh of his flesh, giving her a name, testifying shée was taken out of Man, and he pronounced that for her sake man should leave Father and Mother and adhere to his Wife which should be with him one. (4)

As husbands and wives were considered one flesh, if a man were to abuse his spouse, it would be the same as harming himself. In Protestant England, despite patriarchal strictures, marriage was defined in companionate terms: a wife was an extension of her husband, not only being "flesh of his flesh," but also in the taking of his name. However, as he was also the "head of the woman," as stipulated by the Pauline epistle discussed in the Introduction, it was within his right to guide and correct her behavior, extending to corporal punishment, provided it was for the benefit of her

soul. Merry Wiesner notes that in "in both continental and English marriage manuals, the authors use the metaphor of breaking a horse for teaching a wife obedience" (28). Thus a man was provided with conflicting advice: to love his wife as he loves himself, as well as to exert physical punishment when appropriate.

Therefore, it is no surprise that early modern women would construct an ideal husband as one who would not only love them but also one who would refrain from physically harming them. Unlike in men's manuals to each other recommending moderation in their corporal punishments to their wives, as in the *Lawes Resolutions* already discussed, women like Arbella Stuart and Lucy Hutchinson evoked men who completely eschewed violence toward women. Unlike men who praised other men for their military prowess, women did not seem to value this quality as a marker of manliness. Rather, men's ability to care for and respect their wives seemed to dominate women's construction of ideal men.

Cary's Herod

In Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), Herod is less than an ideal husband. Having been written between 1602 and 1604, Cary's dramatization of Herod's story became the first shift in print from Herod as the centralized character to Mariam as the main protagonist, thus re-telling Herod's story found in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* (1602) from a woman's perspective (Cerasano and Wynn-Davies 45-6). [34] Herod's failings as a husband and Mariam's subsequent unhappiness echoed Cary's own experiences at the time. As a young bride in an arranged marriage, Cary struggled in her new role as a wife; her new husband, Sir Henry Cary, immediately left to fight in the Netherlands, leaving Elizabeth in the care of relatives (Cerasano

[34] Cary uses Thomas Lodge's 1602 translation as her source. See Cerasano and Wynn-Davies, p. 46.

and Wynn-Davies 43). Like Mariam, Elizabeth didn't marry for love; it was arranged for the financial and political benefit of others, namely for the benefit of her Tanfield family and the Carys. Like Herod, Elizabeth's husband was absent during a portion of these early married years; Henry left to fight abroad, whereas Herod leaves Mariam to go to Rome. It is during this absence that Cary opens her Senecan drama. With Herod away, Mariam is given the space to take stock of her feelings towards her husband. Although Cary's play is far from autobiographical, a certain catharsis can be seen through her creation of Mariam, where both author and character can ruminate over their lives as wives of absent husbands. In the opening act of the play, Mariam confronts her feelings towards Herod, who is falsely reported to be dead. Her response to the news is complicated. While Mariam admits how she "wished his carcass dead to see," his death brings to her mind "The tender love that he to Mariam bare, / And mine to him" (1.1.18; 1.1.32-3). As a new wife, we can imagine Cary struggling with her feelings towards her arranged marriage; in a woman's life cycle, the shift from daughter to wife, and subsequent shift from one household to another, could be abrupt and fraught with uncertainty over her new role in the home, a sense of loss through the leaving of childhood friends and family, and even a sense of fear as she faced the prospect of pregnancy and possible death in childbirth. It is from this vantage point, one grounded in women's experience, that Cary fashions Herod. In some ways, his failings as a husband are a result of his adherence to dominant ideals of masculinity, while others are in alignment with what the male-authored discourses labeled as unmanly behaviors.

For instance, Herod's absence and therefore negligence of Mariam is merely one of several flaws he embodies. Throughout the play, Mariam is critical of Herod's brutality. While dominant discourses on manliness encouraged men to be moderate in their behavior, in war this

moderation was not an eschewing of violence but rather a tempering of it. According to Todd Reeser, "the moderate man" was one who "did not rush into battle rashly, nor should he hold back from a necessary battle in fear" (14). However, Herod acts rashly and violently throughout the play. As part of a new dynasty established by his father, Antipater an Idumean, Herod needed to solidify his power; this he achieved by marrying Mariam, the daughter of the rightful king and priest, Hyrcanus; and slaying Mariam's brother, Aristobolus as well as Mariam's grandfather, also named Hyrcanus (Cerasano and Wynn-Davies 49). While the death of enemies is the usual outcome of war and subsequent shifts in political power, Cary illuminates how these deaths particularly affected women. The death of her brother and grandfather helps solidify Mariam's hate for Herod. While Aristobolus and Hyrcanus may be considered casualties of a political war by male readers, the manner of their deaths was an affront to masculine honor.[35] Where the duel, for instance, was considered an important marker of manliness and an acceptable form of violence, Herod's unnecessary cruelty and subterfuge casts his slaying of his enemies in a brutal light. For instance, rather than showing mercy to the father of a defeated enemy, Herod charges Mariam's grandfather with treason and executes him; later, Herod invites Mariam's brother to go swimming then drowns him (Cerasano and Wynn-Davies 49). The lack of honor in his actions and his brutality in killing his wife's relatives undermines his masculinity, and his continual acting on raging emotions rather than reason casts him as more effeminate to early modern audiences.[36] His continual lack of self-control further undermines his performance as an ideal man.

[35] Jennifer Low, in *Manhood and the Duel* (2003), notes, "In circles where fencing was values, skill in its performance was linked to honor; the chivalric ideal underlay the implication that duellying was a necessary skill for military men because their honor was so valuable to them" (187).
[36] In *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (1996), Mark Brietenberg notes that jealousy is a trait associated with the female body, for "The jealous or cuckolded man becomes what he most fears about

Herod is also driven by jealousy rather than reason or moderation, making him a less than ideal husband. His jealousy is so extreme that Mariam notes his "Jealousie / Had power even constancie it selfe to change" (1.1.23-4). Her observation is justified, for we learn in the opening argument of the play that Herod previously told his uncle, Josephus, to kill Mariam should he die while in Rome, because he is "unwilling any should enjoy her after him" (Cary 49). When Herod returns and discovers Josephus had told Mariam about Herod's arrangement for her death, he does not moderate his temper nor use his reason to uncover the motivation behind Josephus' action. Had he acted in an ideally masculine way, Herod would have discovered that Josephus told Mariam about the arrangement to prove how much Herod loved her. Instead, Herod kills Josephus, whom Mariam considered a friend, further demonstrating his brutality and lack of empathy for Mariam and her relatives (Cary 4). Importantly, Cary does not draw a distinction between what was considered honorable violence, such as found in dueling or in battle, and the violence of an unjustified murder. Rather, Cary refrains from praising violence performed by men; even when Constabarus and Silleus duel within the play, Constabarus refuses to fight over Salome, and when he is finally persuaded to engage in the duel, the fight is concluded not with death but with a benign injury and an overture of friendship (2.1.284-400). Cary's ideal masculinity diverges from the dominant gendered norm that embraces combat as a means of honor or politics as a manly pursuit; for the women in the play, manly concepts of honor mean little. Mariam shows more interest towards men who are willing to support her braving danger to themselves rather than absent on military and political campaigns.

As a counter-example to Herod, Josephus' son, Sohemus, becomes a close confidant to Mariam during the most recent departure of Herod and exemplifies a perfect companion in many

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love in the first place: the loss of self-control, potency, and castration; in short, he fears becoming like 'woman'" (54).

ways. Like his father, Sohemus was also charged with killing Mariam should Herod die to prevent her loving another. We discover, however, that Sohemus cares for Mariam so deeply that he could not kill her when the rumor of Herod's death reached Jerusalem. In a soliloquy after Mariam exits, Sohemus demonstrates the kind of self-sacrificing platonic love for a woman Mariam is missing in Herod. He states that he is willing to defy Herod alongside his friend, for he will "forfeit [his life] for her" gladly, thus declaring, "And if I die, it shall my soul content, / My breath in Mariam's service shall be spent" (3.1.203; 3.1.13-14). In his willingness to die for Mariam Sohemus provides a stark contrast to Herod, who commands that Mariam be killed in the event of his death. Sohemus' manliness is not grounded in his honor and duty to the crown, nor in his courage on a battlefield; rather, it is in his honor and duty to act selflessly, and his courage is demonstrated in his defiance of Herod's cruel orders.[37] In other words, as an ideal man, Sohemus is willing to stand up to his fellow men, and even to men in power, if it means supporting the women he loves.

Sohemus also acts in ways that provide counterpoints to Herod's cruel, jealousy-driven masculinity. While Herod is passionate towards Mariam—even obsessive—and loses control of his emotions, Sohemus is moderate in his relationship with Mariam. In an insightful study, *Virtue's Friends": The Politics of Friendship in Early Modern English Women's Writing* (2010), Allison Johnson notes, "Sohemus claims that Mariam's extraordinary beauty inspires in him not lust, but respect" (149). For Herod, however, his preoccupation with Mariam's beauty drives his desire to see her; when he finally arrives in Act IV, he wishes to see his wife, stating to Nunito, "I all your Roman beauties have beheld […] Yet saw no miracle like Mariam rare" (4.1.25-8).

[37] Allison Johnson notes, "Mariam and Sohemus also form a friendship based on their common refusal to remain silent in the face of the king's injustice" (128). For more on the friendship of Mariam and Sohemus, see Johnson, pp. 123-77.

Herod views Mariam as a beautiful possession, one that he owns completely to the point of destroying her so no other man can have her. She exists for his pleasure, and when it is suggested that Mariam was unfaithful and perhaps enjoyed by another, Herod acts impulsively on his jealousy and sends her to her death. He tells Nunito, "I had but one inestimable jewel,/ […] And therefore may I curse myself as cruel,/ 'Twas broken by a blow myself did strike" (5.1.119-22). Unlike Herod who sees Mariam as a beautiful "jewel" to possess and destroy at will, Sohemus not only marks Mariam's beauty, but he also notes her additional qualities. Her "eyes' grave majesty keeps all in awe," but she also is "chaste," "modest," and "so pure a heart" (3.1.205-11). As an example of a masculine ideal, Sohemus sees Mariam as a complex individual with several merits. He is also sure to temper any desire he might have for her, not because he fears Herod or knows she is married, but because he genuinely respects her. Mariam's "grave majesty" is what "cuts the wings of every loose desire," and thus Sohemus states, "Yet though we dare not love, we may admire" (3.1.209; 3.1. 212). In other words, Sohemus does not lust after Mariam despite her beauty; rather, he admires her for her chastity, and when faced with her virtue, any thoughts of physical desire are "clipped" short. The thought of a man not physically desiring Mariam, or not making him a cuckold given the chance, is incomprehensible to Herod. Again, as Allison Johnson aptly notes, "Mariam's husband, Herod, cannot conceive of friendship between a man and a woman and therefore reads her relationship with Sohemus as adulterous" (17). Therefore, according to Cary, men should ideally recognize friendship between men and the women in their lives not as a threat or attempt at adultery, but rather as a fulfilling component of an adult woman's life.

Arbella Stuart's Mystery Lover

Now let us turn to another fictional representation of a suitor, in this case, constructed in terms of an ideal, potential husband by Arbella Stuart. The circumstances surrounding this fictional paramour are complex, and to understand the dynamic, and the somewhat contradictory traits of her ideal mate, we must first elucidate Stuart's embattled situation and the events in her life preceding the creation of these letters. Sara Jayne Steen, the editor of *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*, explains why Stuart was sequestered at Hardwick Hall under the watchful eye of her grandmother:

> As a claimant who could bring the dowry of a crown, [Lady Arbella Stuart] was a commodity, one of high worth on the matrimonial market […] Elizabeth could pressure [King James VI of Scotland] by favoring Arbella, and she could use Arbella as a bargaining chip in foreign policy, tantalizing continental nobility with the prospect of marriage accompanied by the declaration of succession. (19)

In other words, Queen Elizabeth I had no intention of letting Stuart marry, and Stuart's position as a potential successor to the queen necessitated the tight control over the people surrounding her at all times (Steen 27). As a vibrant young woman, Stuart found life with her grandmother, Elizabeth "Bess" Talbot, lonely and dull. Steen aptly remarks how Arbella was "buried in the northern countryside, a virtual state prisoner" and by the end of 1602 "had not visited court in a decade" (27). Stuart found her life not only dull but also oppressive. The minutiae of her life were under the scrutiny of her authoritative grandmother as well as Sir Robert Cecil, who had been charged by Elizabeth to copy and forward to her all correspondences sent to and by Stuart. Arbella had no intention of living a perpetually single life isolated from the social circles at

court, and thus she made an attempt to escape just prior to writing the letter featuring her fictional lover.

Near the end of December of 1601/2, with the help of loyal servants, Arbella Stuart sent a letter to the Earl of Hertford that divulged her plot to escape to marry Hertford's grandson, Edward Seymour. Not only would she flee Hardwick and her grandmother's oppressive watch, but she would be elevating her status from daughter to wife, which would ultimately grant her more freedom. The plot, however, was discovered and foiled; the queen, as a result, was not pleased with Stuart's attempt to defy her commands. To help calm the situation, Arbella Stuart wrote a letter to Elizabeth in mid-January of 1602/3, apologizing for her attempted escape and clandestine marriage. This apology was not enough to satisfy the queen: Elizabeth pressured Sir Robert Cecil and Bess Talbot to explain in detail precisely what happened. Bess Talbot, mortified at her grandchild's disobedience, demanded that Arbella Stuart herself also write a truthful account of the plot for her, and it is in this letter written in late January or early February of 1602/3 that the obstinate Arbella Stuart first mentions her fictional suitor.

This suitor served the primary purpose of creating a scandal that would result in Stuart's "freedom from her grandmother's domination, the right to live where she chose, and the opportunity to marry" (Steen 30). Stuart had no intention of explaining her failed escape from Hardwick and attempted marriage. Rather, she saw the queen's interest in this event as an opportunity to draw attention to her plight and even elicit some sympathy from the court. She knew, for instance, that her letters at this point were being read by Robert Cecil and copied for Elizabeth's benefit. Stuart's suitor, therefore, had to be believable to both men like Cecil who most likely held male-defined, conventional expectations of masculine behavior as well as women like Elizabeth who would have been aware of what a woman might find appealing in a

man. The need to compose letters for multiple audiences was an essential part of navigating communication pathways between those in different social strata (Daybell 145). Ladies using an intermediary between themselves and heads of state, and especially their monarch, was a common practice. James Daybell explains this process as follows: "In the case of letters intended for the monarch, to whom access was most strictly controlled, suitors [i.e., petitioners] regularly used courtiers 'near to the throne' epistles directly to the sovereign's hands" (148). Thus, Stuart's letter had to be believed by Cecil if he was going to press the urgency of the matter to the queen as Stuart hoped. Additionally, Stuart also had to navigate questions of modesty and propriety, which meant her suitor not only had to follow the courtly customs of courtship but he also pose enough danger to cause Elizabeth some alarm.

The result is an ideal suitor who is unwavering in his attention to Stuart and constant in his love, one who loves her in spite of her mistreatment of him. He is well educated and wise, offering advice and guidance as a patriarch would, but who also hints transgression in his suggestions to Stuart. He concerns himself with the protection of her chastity, so he does not pressure her into sex or marriage, but he is also clear in his admiration and deep desire for her. Her anonymous suitor is not concerned with dueling or martial campaigns; instead, his time is spent in courting Stuart and attending to her emotional needs. Above all, he is fiercely loyal to the queen, but also poses a threat to her authority over Stuart.

In order to preserve her chastity, Stuart's unnamed suitor had to be an ideal gentleman, following the courtship rituals and standards of propriety. Stuart tells her audience how her suitor has "never requested anything but was more for my good an honour then his owne" ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 129). He embodies the self-sacrifice of a chivalrous lover, but also seeks to keep his own honor intact. Arbella Stuart says that she hopes "hir Majesty be acquainted and

fully satisfied that I have donne nothing foolishly, rashly, or falsely, or unworthy of my selfe" ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 131). In fact, she is careful to note that their clandestine meetings have been mediated by one who also served as a chaperone ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 131).

As an object of romantic interest, her ideal fiancé must demonstrate his unwavering love for Stuart if he were to pose a credible risk to Stuart's virginity and single status. To Arbella, her perfect man "knoweth <the valew of an oth>," and keeps his vow to love Stuart against all odds ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 129). Stuart explains that she has been won over by his love, and that his love was like "gold which hath binne so often purified that [she] cannot finde one fault" ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 129). At one point in the letter, however, Stuart claims that she had mistakenly thought that he no longer loved her. Arbella writes, "When I though his love converted into hate for I did him the wrong to thinck so a great while, or make him weary of his Jelousy by letting him see it was the onely way to make me fall out with him and anger him in the highest degree I could imagine" ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 130)). Here Stuart condemns jealousy, although she never fully explains the circumstances that would have inspired such an emotion in her suitor. In her fervor to create a fictional suitor, Stuart frequently fails to give the reader a context for her statements. We know her lover is constant in his dedication to her, for she writes that despite all the things in "rude and uncivill manner" she asked him to do, he still took "nothing ill at [her] hand" ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 130). Sadly, Arbella never reveals what these tasks were, but the inclusion of this statement is significant. Overall, her suitor moderates his emotions, not letting Stuart's ill treatment of him frustrate him nor lower his opinion of her, thus embodying the emotional stability, aside from the occasional flattering jealousy, found in the dominant discourses on love.

While her suitor is loyal to her and her well-being, her ideal suitor is also loyal to the crown. He seems to comply with her unspecified demands given in her "rude" manner, but there is a moral line that not even his beloved can persuade him to cross: defying the queen. Stuart confesses to her addressee that she had requested "that he would procure me remove from out of [*my*] your Ladyships custody" ("To Elizabeth Talbot," 129, Stuart emphasis added). However, this is the one request that her fictional suitor "protesteth;" he may have courted her, but he will not defy the queen's order and remove her from her grandmother's care. Arbella envisions this escape as an elopement, something that her fictional lover refuses to do; he will not marry her without the queen's consent. Instead of becoming an accomplice in Arbella's defiant aspirations, he takes on the role of the traditional patriarch, becoming Arbella's moral compass and teacher to which she accedes. Through this description, Stuart proves that he is a "worthy" suitor. He is prepared to act as the "head" of the partnership, reminding Stuart of her duties to the crown, while tempering her impulses with his reason.

Ultimately, Stuart's suitor is one who also supports her emotionally. In perhaps a departure from stoic masculine stereotypes, he affirms his emotional connection to her, in his willingness to divulge his heart and mind to her. She writes how he "trusts me with more than I would have him even the secretes thoughts of his heart hath not <nor ever hath so much as a promise that I would keep his counsel" ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 130). Their trust is mutual, and in this sense, they are intimately joined together. She writes how he can't "hide any thought[,] word[,] or deede" of hers from him ("To Elizabeth Talbot" 130). Notwithstanding some immoderate moments of jealousy, they seem to have forged a mutually supportive relationship. His worthiness as an ideal courtier as well as an ideal companion ultimately serves its intended purpose. This imagined suitor is seen as a viable threat by both Robert Cecil and Elizabeth, and

so an investigation is launched, bringing courtly attention to her isolated home at Hardwick, beginning the process by which her confinement finally ended.

Conclusion and Comparisons

Both Arbella Stuart and Elizabeth Cary had much to gain from the composition of their fictional men. In Stuart's case, her fictional lover had the desired effect: he was believable enough to get the attention of the queen, which is why Henry Brounker was sent to interrogate Stuart on March 2, 1603. Unfortunately, the interview proved fruitless. Frustrated with Brounker's unwillingness to plead her case to the queen, Stuart answers "the Kinge of Scottess" when Brounker asks her to identify the mystery suitor; the king of Scots proves to be a defiant but safe answer, as King James VI was nowhere in the region at the time ("Answers to Brounker" 141-4). After this irritating interview, Stuart continued to harass Brounker with emotionally-charged letters, some of which featured her fictional suitor, until March of 1602/3. Once Stuart was removed from Hardwick Hall and the custody of her grandmother, she stopped writing such unstable, fantastic letters (Steen 37).

Elizabeth Cary's goals are not entirely personal; rather she provides commentary on contemporary cultural discourses concerning marriage and the relationships between men` and women. Not only is she able to reclaim Mariam from her usual depiction as a scheming murderess and make her a victim of patriarchal injustice, but she also voices a clear warning to men who abuse their power as well as the women in their lives. The final scene of the play takes place after Mariam's execution, and Herod cannot contain his guilt and grief, berating himself over and over for what he has done: "I am the villain that have done the deed" (5.187). In Herod's regret lies a cautionary tale for men who act tyrannically toward their wives. Elizabeth

Cary warns men, through the example of Herod, that their violent and rash actions towards their wives will result in their own misery. In the final passages of the chorus, Cary describes what a lifetime of guilt would be like for a man who mistreats his wife, for once he has lost her in a moment's rage, she will be gone and missed:

> Herod this morning did expect with joy
> To see his Mariam's much beloved face;
> And yet ere night he did her life destroy,
> And surely thought she did her name disgrace.
> Yet now, again so short do humours last,
> He both repents her death and knowns her chaste. (5.1.277-82)

In a moment's rage, he ended up punishing himself; instead of waking up next to his beloved the following day, he will now be tortured with waking up "expecting" to see Mariam but instead finding an empty bed. One night is all it took to "destroy" his beloved's life; he may have felt justified when he thought "she did her name disgrace," but instead of trying to moderate his "humours," he acted on his rage and now "repents."

Elizabeth Cary and Arbella Stuart differ in terms of the genres and context in which they wrote, but both create men that embody some of the complexities of early modern masculinity at the intersection of patriarchal power and marital or romantic affections. In both instances, they reveal the dissonances between male-defined and female-defined expectations of ideal male behavior. Men were conventionally supposed to be strong and adept at war, and yet while Elizabeth Cary's Herod excels in both, the murder of Mariam's family and ultimately Mariam herself makes this story a tragedy. Had he been more moderate in his "humours," he might not have destroyed Mariam and her family, but he would also not have been so successful in war.

Arbella Stuart's fictional lover is courteous, courtly in manner, a teacher, and a supporter of the crown. This fictional suitor is one who teaches and leads Arbella, but in his intense passion for her and his occasional jealousy, the fabricated lover sometimes deviates from the manly moderation of his emotions.

To conclude, men and women, for the most part, embraced the patriarchal rule in the home and supported the idea of love in marriage, but where men were testing their manliness by their prowess and power over their wives, women were envisioning a more caring husband in the home, one who heeds his wife's opinions and respects her as a person rather than just a subordinate. These tensions between public and private, as well as male-defined versus female-defined, performance of masculinity will be discussed in the next chapter, where wives become mothers, and as women give their sons advice on how to live their lives and maintain felicity in marriage.

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CHAPTER 3: MOTHERS AND SONS

When Bartholomew Dowe published his *Dairie Booke for Good Huswives* (1588),[38] he included this piece of wisdom from his mother:

Arise earelie
Serve God devoutly.
Then to thy work busily.
To thy meate joyfully.
To thy bed Merilie
And though thou fare poorely,
And thy lodging homelie.
Yet thank God highly.

This verse, although simple in its construction, is dense with motherly wisdom for her son. To have a verse like this from a mother inserted into a didactic tract was unusual; it validates not only the impact Katherine Dowe's words had on her son for him to have memorized her verse but also how sons could value the wisdom of their mothers to the point of imparting their wisdom to others. While getting up "earelie" and being "busily" industrious was good advice for anyone, Bartholomew Dowe also provides more practical lessons taught by his mother that go beyond a good Christian work ethic. While we cannot measure the overall impact of a mother's advice on her son, we can catch glimpses of her wishes for her children. Most motherly wisdom was not written down but was passed on daily in the home; yet the few extant documents we have can provide insight into how these women wanted their sons to be.

While Katherine Dowe's verse proffered advice on how one can lead a happy, healthy, and godly life that could be directed to anyone, her advice to her son about the specifics of dairy farming allowed him to perform a traditional marker of early modern masculinity amongst the

[38] Early modern spellings have been retained in this dissertation, but modern typeface has been used for convenience and clarity. The elongated "s" (ſ) has been changed to the modern "s"; the early modern "i" and "u" have been changed to contemporary "j" and "v" where appropriate.

educated class: to write and publish a book. Women writing texts specifically for publication were rare and their authors were often subjected to criticism for performing such an immodest act which inevitably necessitated preambles that asserted virtuous reasons for publication. Bartholomew Dowe, as a male writer, is free to offer his insights on the family business and the insights of his mother without worry of being morally tarnished by the act of publishing. However, it was Katherine's extensive knowledge concerning the operations of a dairy farm that made the masculine act of publishing possible for her son, for she "was the head dairywoman with seven maids under her, one for every twenty cows" (Stevenson and Davidson 62). With 140 cows and 7 maids in her charge (62), Katherine Dowe understood the dairy business well and imparted her practical advice to her son, who then grew up to write his instructional book and credit her for her contribution.

When a woman became a mother, she took upon herself an expanded set of responsibilities connected to her gendered role in the family. The fulfillment of her womanly role now required her to not only defer to her husband as the head of the household and honor her father but also to follow in the footsteps of Jesus's mother and raise her children. Part of a mother's duty was to ensure their children had the skillset to navigate a dangerous world. While a small handful of women wrote advice manuals to their children, most mothers relied on nonliterary didactic traditions, teaching their children through example, lecture, stories, and even song. Unquestionably, mothers had a profound impact on their children, and this impact can be seen through the many extant texts that praise mothers and mourn their loss. But what power did the average mother have over the shaping of her children's gendered selves? Were these advice manuals taken to heart by their intended audience or did they serve as more of a novelty? How did women's gendered experience as subordinates to fathers, then husbands, inform their rearing

of their daughters and sons? In a stratified gendered hierarchy, did a mother's words have a lasting impact on the character of a son? Did the shift in status and power when a woman produced her own children who were subordinate to her inform her motherly advice? I argue that women, as subordinates in a bifurcated gender hierarchy, used this experience to produce men that were more aware of their gendered privilege. Mothers not only instructed their sons in foundational skills essential to navigating the early modern world, such as deference to authority and understanding Christianity, but they also sought to make them better husbands, fathers, and countrymen to the women in their lives.

Mothers as Authors

When it comes to mothers writing advice manuals to their sons, women authors placed themselves in a unique space between public and private worlds as well as between gendered activities. On one hand, the domesticity of a mother advising a child made the advice manual a private and feminine affair. On the other hand, the publication, sale, and purchase of these manuals was a predominantly male activity. As Katherine Poole notes in "'The Fittest Closet for All Goodness': Authorial Strategies of Jacobean Mothers' Manuals," the intended audience for manuals by authors such as Dorothy Leigh and Elizabeth Jocelin were men. Poole notes how "Such mothers' manuals do not simply contain directives for toddlers: they engage in a discourse which in part determines the politics of the home, advising the adult males who supposedly dominate both the private and public spheres" (73). In other words, by addressing their advice to husbands and sons, mothers were attempting to shape the behaviors of the men in their lives, thus

complicating ideals of gender hierarchy and expression.[39] Not only are women advising the men in their lives how to be men, but they are also participating in one of the rare genres deemed acceptable by social norms. As Poole aptly observes, "This public advice is made possible only through the assumption of a private voice" (73). Because mothers were writing from the perspective of their gendered roles, their words could be introduced to public audiences and likewise circulated without fear of moral blemish to the author. Women performing the duties of a mother, such as advising and rearing her young, had a degree of recognized authority that made the writing and publishing of advice permissible.

At the heart of mothers' advice manuals was the private space between mothers and their children. As motherhood was a "legitimizing precondition" to the genre, it follows that "the mother-child bond" is what "triggers the writing process as a private expression of mutual love" (Tancke). However, women were doing more than just writing to their offspring out of motherly concern. They were leaving a legacy for their sons that they hoped would guide their behavior through childhood and adulthood. As she wrote, the mother had to envision the ideal man she wished her son to be. The author's ideal son was one that existed in the imaginative space of the mother's mind[40], and by constructing this image in words on paper and guiding her son in how to perform this version of masculinity, she engaged in a performative act herself. Her words

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[39] Men had long been trying to shape women through advice manuals. In *Mother's Advice Books: Printed Writings 1500–1640*, Betty Travitsky explains why so many advice manuals for women were written by men:

> The existence of these didactic texts by men demonstrates a desire to mold women according to an ideal—an ideal devised by a male society. Of course, the continued publication of these texts also demonstrates the failure of this discourse. Many of the texts written by men tried to convince women to adhere dutifully to the prescribed ideal. Apparently, the lessons had not been learned, since the lesson was taught again and again.(34)

[40] In the early modern period, the mother's imagination was seen as greatly influential on the development of her sons even prior to their birth. Juan de Vives \warns: "Since the power of the imagination is incalculable in the human body, pregnant mothers should take care […] so no harm may befall the child in their womb from unexpected sight" (268). Her thoughts on her son, therefore, should be as positive and holy as her thoughts ideally would be for everything else.

created the ideal son, and this ideal transferred into the imaginative space of her son when he read. This image, or guided lessons to conform to this image, could then be invoked in the mind of her son as he navigated his adult life. The mother's advice manual acted as a catalyst for this image, one that was reproducible and able to be circulated, which gave her more influence over the male mind than perhaps she would normally be afforded. What's more, the image she constructed in the text could be fortified in the mind of the male reader any time he revisited the text, giving a kind of longevity to her version of the ideal early modern man that was not possible by merely verbally reiterating to her sons her desired behavioral outcomes. As Juan de Vives notes in *The Education of a Christian Woman* (1524), an infant's "first sense perceptions and first information of the mind it takes from what it hears or sees from the mother[;] Therefore, much more depends on the mother in the formation of the children's character than one would think" (270).

What made the publication of these mother's advice manuals possible was the way the genre fit into the larger narrative concerning gender roles. Women "[drew] on the intimacy of the mother-child bond in order to defend themselves as writers in a culture that reacted to female authorship with apprehension" (Tancke). Adhering to early modern conventions of motherhood and "maternal love" allowed women to directly address their sons and comment on their behaviors, even attempt to shape them, with a social approval not necessarily afforded to contemporary proto-feminist pamphleteers such as Jane Anger or Rachel Speght . In fact, the narrative frame of writing as a mother to her children gave her a certain authority to speak her opinion and became a necessary feature of women's writing along with other rhetorical conventions of authority such as asserting one's virginity, professing loyalty to the crown, deploying classical exempla,and performing biblical exegesis. Early modern advice manuals to

women note that it is actually the "duty" of a mother to advise their children and shape their behaviors. For example, in *The Education of a Christian Woman*, Vives asserts, "The dutiful mother will counteract […] corrupt opinions with more high-minded ones worth of a Christian woman" as well as "instill good precepts and advice" (241). Another revered educator, Desiderius Erasmus, affirms the education of children as a mother's duty in his dialectic "The Abbot and Learned Woman" (1671); when the nun asks "Is't not the duty of a matron to look to her household business, and to instruct her children?" the abbot replies "It is so" (qtd. in Aughterson 168). The Bible itself praises women for teaching their children well and was invoked as proof of this God-ordained role. In Proverbs 31:26, a virtuous woman "openeth her mouth with wisedome; and in her tongue is the law of kindnesse" (KJV Bible [1611]). Likewise, parents are told, "Traine up a childe in the way he should goe: and when he is olde, hee will not depart from it" (Proverbs 22:6, KJV Bible [1611]). Writing motherly advice manuals to their children was seen as an important way to fulfill the maternal role.

These three mother's advice manuals represent a shift in early modern gender discourse. When Elizabeth I ascended the throne, debates erupted about whether a woman could, in fact, serve as effectively in a role traditionally held by a man. As we shall see in Chapter 4, Elizabeth was aware of her tenuous position, and along with her supporters and critics, navigated the amorphous idea of the "Renaissance Woman," invoking a variety of arguments to justify her hermaphroditic role as both woman and monarch. When James I ascended the throne in 1603, a backlash of misogynist pamphlets flooded the market, reasserting the gender hierarchy that placed men at the apex.[41] However, once public opinion began to shift and explore these rigid gendered structures, a space arose for women writers and male apologists to question previous

[41] For further discussion of this shift from Tudor to Jacobean gender discourses, see Lewalski.

sex/gender hierarchies and assert new forms of female authority. The ensuing gender debate, grounded in the *querelle des femmes*, was exemplified in the Jacobean pamphlet wars, but the discussions spilled over into other genres. It is in this revolutionary time that we see the rise of mother advice manuals written by women such as Elizabeth Grymeston, Dorothy Leigh, and Elizabeth Jocelin. With the recent opening to women of print publication, women writing mother advice manuals had to navigate these brackish waters by defending their actions while asserting their authority.

Mothers and Sons in Early Modern England

Another reason why this genre was so effective for women who wanted to shape their sons' behavior is that men were also being told to heed the advice of their mothers. This injunction to honor mothers, however, constituted an exception to the overarching patriarchal structure governing men and women's lives. The relationship between a mother and son, and the authority a mother had over her son, was tenuous at best, being threatened constantly by the predominant narrative of the subordination and inferiority of women. Advice manuals gave conflicting accounts of women: while mothers were revered as loving teachers in the home, women in general were also fragile, emotionally unstable, prone to sin, and in need of patriarchal guidance and discipline. The early modern son, therefore, had to navigate his relationship with his mother by adhering to biblical teachings to "Honour thy Father and thy Mother" but remembering "For the man is not [for] the Woman: but the woman [for] the man" (Exodus 20:12; 1 Corinthians 11:8, KJV [1611]). From an early age, men and women were taught to adhere to a stratified gender hierarchy that placed the male as the superior sex and the female as

the inferior. A young man had to navigate this confusing and often contradictory gender dynamic in his relationship with his mother.[42]

These tensions can be seen in *A Mothers Teares Ouer Hir Seduced Sonne* (1627), in which a mother responds to her son's letter with an epistolary dialectic.[43] The anti-Papist tract opens with a letter from a son to his mother, in which he begs his mother to convert to Catholicism; the bulk of the tract is the mother's admonishment of her son's letter, consisting mostly of Protestant biblical exegesis. This tract may be a fictional exchange, as Anne Haselkorn suggests in her *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print*, but the framing narrative provides insight into how early modern mothers and sons negotiated this unstable power dynamic. In *A Mothers Teares*, the son admits that he has a "Childs natural obligation" to his mother, but he finds his mother's request for him to relinquish Catholicism "unreasonable, nay unnatural" (23; B4).[44] The order of the son-mother power hierarchy depended on whether the author was interpreting the son and mother as "natural man" or the son and mother as "spiritual man." In the natural world, as a general rule, mothers raised their offspring, who learned from his mother how to survive. Here, the son in *A Mothers Teares* acknowledges that the "natural" order "obliges" the son to honor his mother for her efforts in raising him. However, as in the quoted passage above, he also acknowledges his spiritual obligation that may conflict with his

[42] For more on the male anxiety produced by conflicting advice in advice manuals written by men for men, see Van Gent.

[43] The full title of this text is *A Mothers Teares Ouer Her Seduced Sonne: or A Dissuasiue from Idolatry Penned in Way of a Dialogue, by Occasion of a Late Letter from the Sonne Now at Doway, to His Mother* (1627), whose author Early English Books Online lists as Anonymous. The 1627 edition is a reprint of *The Answere of a Mother Unto Her Seduced Sonnes Letter*, published in Amsterdam, STC 24903-24903.5 Reel no. 641. It is attributed to Ez. W. As Anne M. Haselkorn in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print* notes, the true sex of the author is unknown (356), but it can nevertheless lend valuable insight into the discussions of authority between mothers and sons.

[44] Elizabeth Grymeston opens her advice manual to her son with an epistle that immediately invokes her "naturall" affection for her child.

obligation to his mother. While he is enjoined to "honor" his mother by the scriptures, he is also obligated to follow his religion. To go against Catholicism, for this son, is to go against the "natural" order of the universe with God and his Church at the apex. Furthermore, a mother's role in the life of the son is conflated with the role of God and Catholicism. As his first teacher in Christianity, she was also to be honored as his "natural" instructor in life.[45]

When the mother, however, does not follow Catholicism, the power hierarchy is disrupted, and the son is compelled to acknowledge an "unnatural" dynamic. We see both this "natural" spiritual and natural hierarchy, and also the tensions that arises when it disrupted, when the son in *A Mothers Teares* confronts his mother with his intention to convert her to his religion:

> Though it bee not common for a Sonne to teach his Mother, but rather to follow her in what shee should direct him, yet when parents misled from the way of truth, shall without knowledge, command what is contrary to Gods will, and their Childrens conscience. It may be, nay it is the part of a dutifull Sonne, to remember that their command is amisse, and cannot bee followed. (25)

Here the question of what constitutes a "dutifulle Sonne" is raised. Does a dutiful son admonish and "teach his Mother" when her "command is amisse"? Unfortunately for sons, the Bible did not provide a clear answer. Rather, men were issued warnings against disobeying their mothers, for example, "The eye that mocketh at this father, and despiseth to obey his mother; the ravens of the valley shall picke it out, and the young Eagles shall eate it" (Proverbs 30:70, KJV Bible

[45] *The Office of Christian Parents* (1616), an anonymously written advice manual, enacts this power struggle, for a parent "is not discharged of all dutie when he hath given his children in marriage: and that the child in a certaine degree is subject to his parents, after he is married, and hath children" (228). The "certaine degree" to which the child is obliged to follow his parent's advice after marriage is never defined.

[1611]).[46] The mother herself, in *A Mothers Teares*, calls her son's actions "unreasonable" and "unnaturall" (39; 19). We are left wondering who is more "outside" of the "natural" order: the son who disobeys the mother or the mother who does not heed her son's counsel?

The acknowledgment of maternal authority over sons created a space for women to participate in the larger conversations about the gendering of men. As motherhood was a god-ordained role for women, works that were written from this widely accepted position of female authority were successful for publishers by contrast to those by polemicists such as Jane Anger and Rachel Speght which did not enjoy nearly as many printings. According to Betty Travitsky, there were four editions of Elizabeth Grymeston's *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives* between 1604 and 1618?, and Elizabeth Jocelin's *The Mothers Legacie, to her unborne Childe* (1624) "was reprinted seven times before 1640 and translated into a number of other vernaculars." Travitsky also notes how the titles of *The Fathers Blessing* (1616) and *The Fathers Legacie* (1625), both written by men, sought to capitalize on the popularity of Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* (1616) and *The Mothers Legacie*. Additionally, both *The Mothers Blessing* and *The Mothers Legacie* were explicitly mentioned in the second edition of *A Mothers Teares* (1627). In fact, the author of *A Mothers Teares* begins the opening epistle with "CHILD, There are two bookes that goe under a mothers name; *A Mothers Blessing; A Mothers Legacie*: now thou see'st a *Mothers Teares* [,] And this last containes all" (3, emphasis added). The author of *A Mothers Teares* even dedicates the full first paragraph to re-appropriating their titles for his/her own purposes.[47] Other authors took advantage of the popularity of the works by Leigh

[46] Other biblical warnings against disobeying or dishonoring the mother can be found in Exodus 20:12, Proverbs 6:20, Proverbs 29:15, and Proverbs 1:8.

[47] The paragraph plays on the titles of Elizabeth Jocelin's and Dorothy Leigh's tracts:

In this a sorrowfull Mother pleades for her Child, begs for her Child, prayes for her Child: *That the good*

will of him that dwelt in the Bush, would incline his heart to feare the God of his Fathers,

and Jocelin when writing and publishing their mother advice manuals, as evidenced in Gervase Markham's *A Second Part To The Mothers Blessing* (1622), Richardson's *A Ladies Legacie* (1645), and B.L.'s *The Mothers Blessing* (1670) (Heller 9). An even larger number of mothers undoubtedly wrote advice manuals for their children that remained in manuscript. Some, like Grace Mildmay's extensive manuscripts given to her daughter in 1615 still survive, but Elizabeth Cary's legacy to her children written around 1613 did not (Heller 9). What remains is an archive of women's writing that was part of a robust tradition of mothers writing to their children, an archive rich with details that can help us further understand how women were shaping and critiquing men and their masculinities.

Mother's Advice Manuals as Genre

If we were to ask what the defining characteristics of women's advice manuals would be, we must first ask what it is to be a genre. In *Genre, Frames, and Writing in Research Settings*, Brian Paltridge discusses the concept of "prototype" as compared to previous attempts at categorization. Eleanor Rosch's prototype theory, according to Paltridge, asserted that people "categorise objects according to a prototypical image they build in their mind of what it is that represents the object in question" rather than previous models "where items were believed to be

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according to
the patterne of the wholesome words, call it, *A Mothers Blessing*. And because thy Mother, almost worne
out with *yeares* and *teares*, is now lying downe in sorry, and not likely to see thy face, unlesse thou wilt
hasten; shee bequeathes this unto thee as her last will and Testament. Call it a *Mothers Legacie*. (3,
author's emphasis added)
While the borrowing of another author's authority is a common practice in early modern writingrather than the traditional apology for the immodest act of writing suggests that the author, or at least, the author of the opening epistle, may, in fact, be a man. The identity and sex of the original author is currently unknown.

reducible to a number of essential components" (53). The idea that a core, or prototype, was an image in the mind that one could compare and build on allowed for "fuzzy" edges of genre to emerge. Indeed, when we look at early modern advice manuals, a didactic "prototype" lies at the center, holding a core of ideology deemed essential for living a moral, productive, and socially acceptable life. How the authors used the semantics of language to this end and what content they included differed from work to work. To break this down further, we can look to what Paltridge defines as "inheritance and intertextuality," namely what characteristics a text "inherits" from previous texts within the genre and how much a text is seen as an example of a genre (48). Advice manuals for mothers by women, such as *the The Countesse of Lincolnes Nurserie* (1622), can be seen as a subset within the larger genre of advice manuals for women. The "prototype" of the general advice manual is there, but the edges are sharpened to add additional characteristics such as being written by women who are or will be mothers to women who are (or will be) mothers themselves. This unique authority, to write from a gendered position of knowledge and experience, differentiates the advice manual as a distinct genre that warrants study. A subgenre of women's advice manuals would be mother's advice manuals addressed to their children, which continues to adhere to the "prototype" of early modern advice manuals at their core.

While mothers' advice manuals to their children is a subgenre of early modern advice manuals, they also share a common "core" or "prototype" with early modern women's writing as its own distinct genre. As the "second sex," women who were writing needed to overcome a common set of challenges within a predominantly patriarchal and rigidly gendered society. A common characteristic of the mother advice manuals, as in other genres taken up by women, is the opening apology of the author for undertaking the immodest act of writing. However, this

issue of modesty is generally, albeit awkwardly, countered by the invocation of scriptures or the husband who empowers mothers specifically to teach their children. These women also relied on their own authority as mothers as a way to authorize their voices. As Marsha Urban mentions in *Seventeenth Century Mother's Advice Books*, "their advice books focus on women from a perspective where no man could claim 'natural' knowledge—motherhood" (35). Another common feature of mother's advice manuals is the reliance upon ubiquitous gendered tropes that stipulate maternal love for the well-being and eternal salvation of her children, allowing her to overstep the usual rules of decorum.[48] These women also include spiritual guidance for their children, prayers for their well-being, and specific wishes concerning how they should lead an exemplary life. Additionally, according to Urban, "these women used a feminine voice when they did write, a voice formed in the domestic sphere" (35). Their shared experience as women and mothers inevitably shaped the content of their writing. These common tropes can be seen in three mother's advice manuals examined in this chapter: Elizabeth Grymeston's *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives.* (1604), Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* (1616), and Elizabeth Jocelin's *The Mothers Legacie: Her Unborne Childe* (1624). By adhering to these conventions, women were able to write advice to their sons, and consequently larger male audiences, in an attempt to shape their behavior as men and the development of their masculine identity.

As a genre, advice manuals are both helpful as well as problematic to the early modern scholar concerned with the question of gender. The nature of the advice manual was to give form to an ideal of conduct and moral living that existed more in the minds of parents rather than in the realities of children. Their mere presence and popularity speaks to how inconsistently young men adhered to these ideals. As Jacqueline Van Gent states in *Governing Masculinities in*

[48] The Pauline scripture forbidding women to teach was frequently countered by women writers by demonstrating a moral need to instruct and correct eternally harmful behaviors in their children.

the Early Modern Period, "Although it is now accepted that these domestic advice manuals were probably normative discourses describing models for emulation rather than the actual practicalities of married life, it is nevertheless difficult to see them easing the dilemma of the puritan governing male" (115). With their admonishments of human error in the form of sin and their advocating an impossible consistency of moral behaviors, it is unclear to what degree mothers expected their sons to follow their advice; or to what degree their descriptions of the ideal man constituted an ideal which the mothers offered their sons. Regardless, the prescriptions found in these manuals allows scholars today to peer into the minds of early modern mothers and extract images of how they wished the men in their lives to be.

Three Mothers Writing to Their Sons

While Elizabeth Grymeston, Dorothy Leigh, and Elizabeth Jocelin were mothers writing advice manuals to their children, they differed in their perspectives on the best methods to convey to their sons the ideal way to live their lives. Elizabeth Grymeston wrote *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives.* for her son Bernye; it begins with an opening epistle to her son, followed by a compendium of collected poems, sayings, and passages, both written by her and taken from others, that she deemed helpful to her son's moral guidance. Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* is more direct, providing honed chapters of didactic prose with occasional verse. Elizabeth Jocelin's *The Mothers Legacie: Her Unborne Childe* is perhaps the most intimate, writing in a less formal structure that maintains a sense of private domestic discourse throughout.

The earliest mother's advice manual of the three, Grymeston's *Miscelanea*, follows many of the usual conventions of the genre, but it stands alone in some surprising ways when it comes

to the discussion of men. Like most mother advice manuals, Grymeston ruminates about her inevitable death and worries about leaving her son without any guidance. Unlike Dorothy Leigh's husband, however, Grymeston's husband is still alive, but she fears he will not live long, not because of illness or old age, but because he was a victim of violence. She tells us that "God hath preserved [him] from eight severall sinister assaults" (Grymeston 3). This mention of violence in a mother's advice manual is unique, as they tend to focus more on men in domestic spaces, and the mention of the father's violent encounters registers more typical markers of masculinity. As early modern men were frequently reminded, "[p]assivity, in violent and peaceful situations, is a cardinal feminine virtue" (Spierenburg 2). Physical violence, especially duels, though illegal, was often a matter of masculine pride and honor.[49] Here Grymeston acknowledges the problematic nature of this masculine behavior by alluding to eight violent incidents her husband survived. She had to ensure her son had access to parental advice in the event his father died due to the violence synonymous with masculine life. For Catholic men living in a predominantly Protestant England, especially for Grymeston's husband who was known for his religious activism as a fellow at Caius College, Cambridge, the threat of violence may have been more prevalent (Martin 100). Grymeston's mention of a family record of violence is exceptional in the genre of mother's advice manuals, although Elizabeth Jocelin comes close, however, as she worries about her son getting harmed in a drunken brawl or duel. When advising her son not to drink to excess and "Never make choice of a Drunkard to thy companion much lesse thy friend," Jocelin notes that there have been "more examples of those who have been slaine by their friends in a drunken quarrel, than those that have fallen by the enemies sword" (112-13).

[49] On masculinity and violence, see Spierenburg, Low, and Leonard and Nelson.

Death, however, is not an uncommon theme in this genre, especially when it comes to the opening conventions of mother advice manuals. Grymeston, Leigh, and Jocelin all discuss the fear of death, the threat of death, or the death of a loved one in the opening pages. To be a man was to be mortal, and for the Christian male, impending death warranted reflection on one's morality as one's afterlife was determined by how one lived one's life. Grymeston not only expresses the apprehension she had over the possibility of her husband's violent death at the hand of another man, but she also reflects upon her own impending death. She writes that she is "a dead woman among the living" (3). Leigh writes for several reasons, one of the first mentioned being that she "sees" herself "going out of the world, and [her children] but coming in" (13). Likewise, Jocelin writes with "the apprehension of danger" in her pending childbirth "in respect of the painfulnesse of that kinde of death" (21). All three mothers vocalize their additional concern about what their deaths would mean for their children, especially when it came to their achieving eternal salvation. Of the three, Leigh is the only one whose husband was dead when she wrote.

For Christian men in the early modern world, their status beyond death would be the ultimate measure of how well they performed their gendered roles. As the Bible laid out specific roles for men and women, men were constantly reminded that their God-ordained position within the household was that of the head. Mothers proffered gender-specific advice to their sons, endowed with this patriarchal power, on how to navigate their education, business-dealings, and wives. As it was a mother's Christian duty to raise a son who would live an exemplary life, it was a son's duty to perform the offices of a man so that he may not only achieve heavenly reward but also guide his family to that end. The mother's advice manual expressed this desire as a matter of convention as well as motherly conviction. Leigh, for instance, tells her sons in

her opening pages that she wishes "to see you grow in godlinesse, that so you might meet your father in heaven" (13). Likewise, Grymeston she wishes for her son to be mindful of God's presence that he "maiest die in his favour, rest in his pease, rise in his power, [and] remain in his glorie for ever and ever" (8). Jocelin, in addition to a heavenly afterlife, hopes for an even greater role for her son in his community. She writes to her husband that if their child "be a son, I doubt not but thou wilt dedicate it to the Lord as his Minister, if he wil please of his mercy to give him grace and capacity for that great work" (28-29). Jocelin recognizes that, as a man, her son has the potential to take on a greater leadership role in the community. She leaves no such plans for her potential daughter.[50]

For the middle and upper classes, education was a marker of proper masculine upbringing. Literacy, and formal education in general, was seen as what separated man from animals. Grymeston, for instance, hopes that her son "provest learned" because "without learning man is but as an immortall beast" (5). The soul might make a man "immortall," but it was learning that made men Leigh iterates her husband's wish for her sons to be "well instructed and brought up in knowledge" (13), placing additional emphasis on how a good education is a prerequisite? to being a good man:

> For where I saw the great mercy of God toward you, in making you men, and placing you amongst the wise, where you may learne the true written Word of God, which is the path-way to all happinesse and which will bring you to the chiefe Citty, new Jerusalem, and the seven liberall sciences, whereby you shall have at least a superficiall sight in all things: […] when it shall please God to give both virtue and grace with your learning, he having made you men, that you may

[50] As for her daughter, Elizabeth Jocelin writes, "I desire her bringing up may be learning the Bible, as my sisters doe, good housewifery, writing, and good works: other learning a woman needs not" (29).

> write and speake the Word of God without offending any, that then you would remember to write a booke unto your children, of the right and true way to happinesse, which may remaine with them and theirs for ever. (34-35)

For many men in the early modern perioda "liberall" education was critical, and here Leigh explicitly expresses her desire for her sons to receive such an education. Their roles, however, do not end there. She further entreats them to "write a booke" for their offspring. To be an educated man was to ensure that they continue the tradition of educating their sons.

The core of these three manuals consists of advice that is not gender-specific, but even so the weight of these Christian performances most likely varied between the sexes. As living an exemplary life to attain heaven was the ultimate hope of every mother for her children, the advice given was tailored to this end, namely to moderate one's behavior. As moderation was codified as masculine, mothers warned sons to be cautious in how they acted. Drunkenness was a vice against which sons were particularly warned. Jocelin, for instance, describes drunkenness as "the high way to hell" and a "sinne that makes a man a beast all his life, and a Devill at his death" (111). Part of the offense was not merely the consuming of alcohol, but rather how inebriation prevents one from acting with discretion and moderation. Jocelin warns that a drunken friend "will have in his head, instead of wisdome, fild with wine" and any "secret thou shalt trust him with, thou maist be sure shall be vomited forth […] unwillingly" (113). This behavior runs counter to the advice she gives to her son about moderating his speech and holding the confidence of his friends. She tells him to "shunne multiplicity of words" (95) for "A wise man conceales knowledge […] and *hee that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life*" (98, emphasis added; Proverbs 12:13). Leigh gave similar advice when it came to drinking, as well as the observation that inebriation inhibited a man's ability to act rationally. She points out that those

who “sit up in the night swilling and drinking, until they feele sleepe call them to bed, and then they lie downe like bruite beasts” (107). Part of the challenge of being a man and choosing moderation was due to how easy it was to fall into excesses. Leigh points out that “Drinke is verie lawfull; yet how manie doth Satan take with the sinne of drunkennesse?” (236). Mothers worried that their sons would face eternal damnation should they act in any kind of excessive manner. “For thou mayest surfet and be drunken,” Leigh warns, “with anie thing thou takest care for in this world” (237). The temptation to act without moderation that her son continually faced was clearly a concern to Leigh.

An important way to ensure moderation of young men’s behavior, especially when it came to avoiding sins of lust, was marriage, which also constituted one of the key defining moments of a man’s life. In fact, marriage was the ceremony that marked the fruition of manhood where a young male entered into society as the head of his own household. Young men needed women to confirm their gender, acting as an opposite and complimentary sex. What’s more, a man who was not married was only “halfe a man” (Griffith 44). Mothers inevitably had lots of advice to give to their sons on such an important cornerstone to a man’s life, As their choice of wife and entering into marriage was vital to their masculinity, mothers in particular had advice on how a young man was to choose his partner in life. Grymeston recommends to her son to “Marrie in thine owne ranke, and seek especially in it thy contentment and preferment” (5). His duty as the head of the household would include providing for his wife, keeping the family honor, and producing a male heir. To assist him in these duties, Grymeston advises her son to choose a wife who is “neither be so beautifull, as that every liking eye shall level at her; nor yet so browne, as to bring thee to a loathed bed” (5). The wife should be pretty enough to be desirable but not so pretty as to invite infidelity. For Grymeston, the timing of the

marriage was also critical. It was better to be married before the age of thirty when her son would be "coming into the world" (6).

For Leigh, it was imperative for her sons to marry women who were moral and Protestant. She reminds her sons that "The world was drowned, because men married ungodly wives" (69; Genesis 6: 2-31). Leigh even goes so far as to tell her sons that she would rather die than have them marry "amongst the wicked" (71). She writes, "[i]f such a shame and sin commeth upon my Son, as can by no means be helped, nor I by no meanes comforted, what availeth me then to live?" (71). As for many mothers, her happiness is tied to her sons' leading a successful, happy married life. Leigh seems acutely aware of how a man's behavior impacted the women around him. In fact, much of the advice she gives her sons regarding marriage is advice on how to treat their wives. As a married woman, Leigh knew firsthand the challenges of being the "second sex" in the relationship, and thus instructed her sons to be cognizant of their masculine presence in the home. She tells them, "Marry with none, except you love her, and be not changeable in your love; let nothing, after you have made your choise, remove your love from her" (71). The ideal man was one who considers his wife's feelings and position in the household. What is more, he puts her happiness above his own; even if he does not choose a wife wisely, he must be sure to stand by his choice so that the wife doesn't suffer. Leigh makes it clear that if a man misuses his office to marry a woman whom he does not love, he must conceal his lack of love for the sake of his wife. If he lacks the "wit, discretion and policy" to love his wife or make her feel loved, then "hee is unfit to marry any woman" (73). In other words, he was unworthy of marriage, the social contract that solidified his rise to manhood within the community.

While advice on marriage was domestic in nature, Leigh stands out in her continued

discussion of how a man would execute his role as both husband and head of the household, dedicating an entire chapter to this topic. Not only is a man to love his wife, or conceal his change of heart if he no longer does, but he needed to be aware of the sacrifices his wife made to join his household. Leigh reminds her sons that a woman is taken "from her friends that love her" when she marries (73). An ideal man would "Doe not a woman that wrong" to marry her, remove her from her loved ones, and then "after a while to begin to hate her" (73). Additionally, Leigh reminds her sons that wives are "companions" rather than "servants" and "drudges" (74). While the Bible may have placed the man as the head of the woman, Leigh makes it clear that this role would not give men the authority to compel their wives to be subservient. "If shee bee thy wife," Leigh writes, "she is always too good to be thy servant" (74). Leigh does, however, recognize that women were not equal to men in moral aptitude, but the role of the husband is to be patient with his wife as she was "the weaker vessel." His moral strength was a compliment to her weakness; in fact, her female weakness allows his superior masculinity to exist. Leigh tells her sons, "it is her imperfection that honoureth thee, and that it is thy perfection that maketh thee to beare with her" (75). He cannot be the superior, masculine sex unless he be partnered with a weaker, feminine sex. Not only was manhood reliant on womanhood, but it was also a fragile social distinction for men. According to Leigh, her sons' title of "man" can be revoked should he execute the duties of his office as husband poorly. She downgrades them from men to children if they ever forsake their wives: "Shew not so much childishnesse in your sexe, as to say, you loved her once, and now your mind is changed" (76). Real men are constant in their affections; to not do so is to not be manly. Not only is one's masculine status jeopardized by poor behavior towards women, but so could their relationships to the women that they do love. She tells her sons bluntly, "if you have wives that you love not, I am sure I will forsake you"

(76). Failing to love their wives was grounds to be disowned as sons.

While it is unclear how closely young men followed the advice of their mothers, women such as Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Jocelin, and Elizabeth Grymeston sought to advise their sons regardless of the outcome. The hope for these women, and for most mothers, was to give their sons the guidance needed to live a moral, Christian, and successful life. We see evidence in mother's advice manuals of an awareness of the gender dynamics of the period; authors such as Leigh were aware of how masculinity relied upon definitions of femininity to shape and circumscribe definitions of manhood. These authors brought to the forefront women's experience of manhood in the home, and used their authority as mothers to not only command the attention of their sons but to ensure their awareness of how their roles as heads of households impacted the women around them. For these reasons, further exploration of mothers' writing to their sons can enable us to discern how women sought to impact the masculinity of their male children.

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CHAPTER 4: WOMEN AND PATRIARCHAL POLEMICS

"Then lacking a help for [man], GOD making woman of mans fleshe, that she might be purer then he, doth evidently showe, how far we women are more excellent then men. Our bodies are fruitefull, wherby the world encreaseth, and our care wondeful, by which man is preserved. From woman sprang mens salvation."[51]

- Jane Anger

When *Her Protection for Woman* (1589) was published, Jane Anger became the first Englishwoman to write a defense of women.[52] However, the authorship of this publication is not without controversy. Whether or not Jane Anger is a real woman or a man writing through a female persona,[53] this tract broke important ground for women writing in England. Published the year following the English victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588, Anger's contribution to the *querelle des femmes*, the dialectical attack and defense of women, set the stage for the rise of other protofeminist tracts that erupted during the Jacobean era, namely Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), Ester Sowernam's *Ester Hath Hang'd Haman* (1617), and Constantia Munda's *The Worming of a Mad Dogge* (1617). A critical tactic to defending women from misogyny in the *querelle* was biblical exegesis of the Creation. Jane Anger asserts that God, by making Eve from Adam's rib, has made "women are more excellent then men" (sig. Cv), suggesting that man, having been made from earth, was created with inferior material.

[51] See Anger, Sig. Cv.
[52] See Beilin, *Redeeming Eve*, 250.
[53] Randall Martin suggests that "The *Protection's* derivative quality suggests the possibility of male authorship, since in many ways it remains bound by the discourse of the male-dominated *querelle des femmes*, or controversy over the nature of women." (88). However, he acknowledges that "Jane Anger may be a real woman rather than a ventriloquizing man," citing evidence of several Jane Angers living in southern England when the tract was published (80). Elaine Beilin, in *Redeeming Eve*, however, asserts that Jane Anger is, in fact, a woman, but that Jane Anger uses a "persona of Anger" to build the argument, which may account for the assertive (masculine) quality of the work (248-53). Barbara Lewalski, in *Women Writing in Jacobean England*, states that "booksellers may have sought out, or been presented with, tracts which in fact were written by women" to be published anonymously or with pseudonyms, but concludes, "present evidence cannot decide these cases," such as Anger's (156).

According to Anger, women's "bodies are fruitefull, wherby the world encreaseth," and so it was through women's wombs that God chose to populate the earth. Anger recasts Adam in an inferior light, challenging standard patriarchal interpretations of Adam as the dominant, [54] more perfect sex. Adam, as the forefather of all men, was a critical figure for women to reconstruct for their audience: for if women supposedly inherited Eve's inclination to sin, surely men, as flawed creatures, inherited some less than perfect traits from Adam?

This chapter examines two women writers who broke conventions of modesty and published tracts that challenged patriarchal readings of Adam: Aemilia Lanyer and Rachel Speght. In *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611),[55] Aemilia Lanyer's portrayal of Adam challenges men's claim as the superior sex through their forefather by highlighting Adam's flaws and his role in the fall from Eden. Likewise, in *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), Rachel Speght constructs an Adam whose weaknesses are to blame not only for the fall from Eden but also for the suffering of women. Both women, while writing in a public capacity, directly speak to their audience, using Adam as an Everyman to critique the hypocrisy of misogynists who condemn women as the more sinful sex when men have committed numerous sins themselves. The ideal or desirable man who emerges from Speght's and Lanyer's criticism of Adam is an Everyman who accepts responsibility for his misdeeds, judges women based on their individual merits rather than condemning all women for the sins of one, and accepts his God-ordained role as a caring helpmeet to women, both publically and privately.

[54] Beilin discusses these misogynist tropes, pointing out that because Eve listened to Satan in the Garden of Eden, misogynist writers insisted that "women had followed their guilty foremother by being disobedient, talkative, lascivious shrews" (xix).
[55] I use the Henry E. Huntington Library edition, which differs from the British Library edition in that the Huntington Library's edition includes the prose epistle "To the Vertuous Reader."

Redefining Men in the *Querelle des Femmes*

The debate at the heart of the *querelle des femmes* may have openly challenged definitions of gender difference, but while authors pushed these boundaries, they often fell into predictable patterns of discourse. As Katherine Henderson and Barbara McManus note in *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts about the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640* (1985), "the controversy developed a set of conventions and motifs (stock examples and anecdotes, common interpretations, standard arguments) which were iterated and reiterated by authors on both sides of the question" (8). Defenses of women typically argued for women's equality in terms of virtue or worth rather than moral or physical strength, using biblical examples of female piety such as Rachel, Sarah, and Mary as women who embodied ideal feminine traits such as chastity, obedience, and modesty. Likewise, attacks against women used biblical figures such as Eve, Salome, and Potiphar's wife, to establish a history of women who acted on their sinful, disobedient, and immodest natures. Eve, as the mother of all women, was of particular interest to both sides of the debate. If Eve was to blame for man's expulsion from paradise, then reinterpreting her story could, in theory, alleviate some of the blame for the Fall that burdened all women under patriarchy.

The dominant gender discourse in a male-centered publishing market ultimately produced (and reproduced) a binary sex/gender system,[56] defining males/masculinity and females/femininity as opposites;[57] in proto-feminist arguments, these two sets of attributes were

[56] See Rubin 27-62.
[57] For more on Aristotle and male/female binaries, see Maclean 1-4.

complimentary,[58] whereas in misogynist readings, the sex/gender binary naturally created a hierarchy where men were superior.[59] The greatest equalizer, however, was Christ; all men and women were redeemed through his sacrifice, and through devotion to Christianity, both men and women had equal potential for spiritual redemption. Women's inferiority could be redeemed by her submission to the God-ordained patriarchal order and by embracing her supplementary role as a "helpmeet" to men throughout her life. In this way, definitions of masculinity that reinforced ideal male performances as moderate, honorable, and rational[60] were a social antidote to the feminine excesses of emotion, immorality, and general weakness. Ultimately this solidified the set of conventions used in the gender debate outlined by Henderson and McManus: misogynist tracts argued that men's superiority rested in their ability to be the rational, stronger force that moderated the disruptive, impulsive natures of women, whereas defenses of women argued that women were charged as helpmeets to man on his path to salvation, ultimately demonstrating through women's own virtue and obedience how men should be to the Lord. Both men and women were united in Christ, and by fulfilling their gender-specific roles on earth, both would be ultimately found worthy of heaven upon their deaths. For instance, if a woman lived a life where accepted man as "the head of the woman,"[61] she would be living in alignment with the scriptures, and thus avoiding the sin of not following God's will; the ultimate reward for both sexes for living for avoiding sin in life is eternal life in heaven. The proto-feminists exhorted

[58] Rachel Speght, a protofeminist polemicist, writes that Eve "not produced from Adams foote, to be his too low inferiour; nor from his head to be his superiour, but from his side, near his heart, to be his equall" (sig. Dr).
[59] Joseph Swetnam, a famous misogynist, reminded his readers that when "shee was no sooner made, but straightway her mind was set vpon mischiefe, for by her aspiring minde and wanton will, shee quickly procured mans fall, and therfore euer since they are and haue beene a woe vnto man, and follow the line of their first leader." (sig. B3).
[60] For a comprehensive study on male performances, see Reeser.
[61] See 1 Cor. 11:3.

men to live up to the Christian ideal of women, accepting women as their guides and helpmeets on their journey to Christ.

With the rise of the pamphlet wars in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, defenses of women by women evolved from being an embedded subject within literary genres, such as Christine de Pisan's *City of Ladies* (1405),[62] to being a genre in its own right. Jane Anger's *Her Protection for Woman* (1589) broke ground in English print culture as a solitary tract dedicated solely to the defense of women specifically responding to a misogynist tract.[63] Rachel Speght, Esther Sowernam, and Constantia Munda soon followed with direct responses from women's perspectives to a focus on specific misogynist tracts. While Sowernam and perhaps Anger were pseudonyms and thus the actual sex of the authors unable to be confirmed, Rachel Speght is recognized as an authentic female voice.[64]

What marks the turn of the discourse in women's defenses with Jane Anger's tract is a noticeable shift in the gender hierarchy. While many women writers may have agreed with the premise of women as the "weaker" sex and were quick to point out men's flaws, Anger's tract argued that women were superior to men because of their ability to procreate. According to Gerda Lerner, "Anger's extension of the argument for Eve's superiority through the act of creation to the results of the Fall—namely, that it is Eve to whom the blessings of procreation are given after the Fall—[…] appears to be original with her in this pamphlet" (151). The distinction that Eve was superior to Adam, since she was created from the more "refined" matter of Adam's rib than the earth from which he was created, would be an argument used by

[62] Bryan Anslay translated this work into English and published it in 1521.
[63] The tract to which Jane Anger was responding, Thomas Orwin's *Boke his Surfeyt in Love, with a Farewel to the Folies of his Own Phantasie* (1588), is now lost. See O'Malley ix.
[64] For the controversy over the identity of Jane Anger, see Martin 80-1. For Rachel Speght as the first Englishwoman polemicist to identify herself by name, see Lewalski *Polemics and Poems* xi.

subsequent women in their defenses (Lerner 151). Women continued to point out the flaws in men as a part of their defense, challenging ideas of male superiority and men's own definitions of masculinity while holding up their views of an ideal man.

While defending women by redeeming Eve, women writers like Aemilia Lanyer and Rachel Speght ultimately had to address the worth of Adam. Open criticisms of his role in the fall from Eden created a different image of Adam, one that was not the ideal, moderate, and rational male leader advanced in the dominant gender discourse.[65] Rather, the Adam that emerges from the protofeminist discourse of the *querelle* is one who fails in these patriarchal ideals—one who is flawed, the forefather of men who continued to be flawed. If women were to have inherited Eve's shortcomings, women writers argued that men could have inherited Adam's. The result, by contrast, was a new set of attributes that defined gender ideals of masculinity, in which Adam's descendants must perform their role as a partners to their wives by respecting them, acknowledging their worth, and listening to their counsel, for it is through the help of women that men are ultimately saved.

Gender and Early Modern Publishing

The reframing of Adam by women writers appeared in both public and private writing, but women who published had to navigate expectations governing early modern gendered performances. The social concerns of female modesty affected these published tracts in that they had to both defend the author's virtue as well as appeal to a male-dominated writer's market.[66]

[65] For early modern men's books focusing on courtly maniliness, see Castiglione and Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman*. For an overview of the core arguments of the gender debate, see Henderson and Barbara McManus.

[66] Merry Wiesner writes, "The vast majority of books for women, even midwives' guides and those discussing needlework, were written by men, and probably purchased by men for their wives and

Consider, for instance, this candid verse written in the commonplace book of Anne Southwell (c. 1587-1636?):

All married men desire to have good wifes:
but few give good example by thir lives
They are owr head they wodd have us thir heles.
this makes the good wife kick the good man reles.
When god brought Eve to Adam for a bride
the text says she was taene from out mans side
A simbole of that side, whose sacred bloud.
Flowed for his spowse, the Churches saving good.
This is a misterie, perhaps too deepe
For blockish Adam that was fallen a sleepe. (119-20)

This woman's complaint demonstrates how early modern writers would see evidence of their contemporary gender differences as being traits embodied by Adam and Eve, but the brevity and bluntness of the poem suggests it was not meant for publication. Southwell criticizes men in general for being hypocrites, expecting women to be "good wifes" but failing to "give good example" of how a "good" spouse should perform. She references 1 Corinthians 11:3, when the apostle Paul states how "the head of the woman is the man."[67] However, while Southwell acknowledges that men "are owr head," she indicates that men treat women more like they were "heles." When men perversely overturn this order and misuse women as their heels, the "good wife kick[s]" the man, causing him discomfort. Southwell hints at Genesis 3:15, in which God

daughters"(152). She adds: "The message they convey is, not surprisingly, not one promoting greater egalitarianism, but one in which gender and class distinctions are paramount." (Wiesner 152).

[67] This chapter uses Cornelius Bol's first 1611 edition of *The Holy Bible*, the Authorized Version of King James I.

says to the serpent who beguiled Eve, "I will put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heele" (sig. A3v.). Eve, as the mother of all women, has God-granted authority to "bruise" the head of the serpent, so if a man treats her poorly, he is no better than the serpent and deserves the punishment. Southwell hints that the taking of Adam's rib to make Eve was a prefiguration of Christ being speared while on the cross to save his "spouse," the Church, but that the profound role of women eludes men because Adam, being asleep and unconscious, missed this important lesson.

While Southwell's verse demonstrates the frustration women expressed about men and her contention that even Adam, the man made in God's image, is flawed, this entry in a commonplace book does not follow the conventions of most early modern women's publications such as an apology for breaking codes of modesty to defend virtue, dedications to readers and possible patronesses, and the rigor of explanation required to appease a male-dominated literary audience. While dedicatory epistles were common in early modern publications, women (and their publishers) were aware of how critical it was for a female author to appeal to powerful patrons and patronesses. Publishing as a woman was dangerous to one's reputation, and currying favor with the aristocracy could not only potentially secure patronage, but also would afford one some social protection. However, even if women writing for publication were acutely aware of the gendered expectations for their sex to remain silent, chaste, and obedient,[68] the apologies written within most texts both express the anxiety of women authors as well as offer virtue-based justifications for breaking customs of modesty. Unfortunately, women writing about even the most virtuous of religious topics were not free from public scrutiny. As Suzanne Trill, Kate

[68] See Wiesner p. 52.

Chedgzoy, and Melanie Osborne mention in their introduction to *Lay Down Your Needles Ladies, Take the Pen: Writing Women in England, 1550-1700* (1997), "As the corollary of women's expression was to call her virtue into question, even when women produced religious translations during this period they, or their male editors, were still impelled to justify their action and protect their reputation" (5). Thus, an apology for writing became a necessary component of women's publications in the early 17th century. As Patricia Pender, in *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (2012), notes, "The gynocritical impulse to read women's modesty tropes autobiographically, however, clearly subjects them to an untenable gendered double standard" (7). To avoid conflating a female author's preservation of modesty with her publication's thesis, the rhetorical conventions that women used to circumnavigate social limitations of gender must be examined as a force that shaped but not necessarily defined literary content.

Alice Sutcliffe's second edition of *Meditations of Man's Mortalitie* (1634) gives a prime example of the rhetorical components generally found in most women's publications in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[69] She opens the book with a dedication: "To the most illustrious and gracious princesse, Katherine, Dutchesse of Buckingham and the right honourable and vertuous lady, Susanna, Countess of Denbeigh her sister" (sig. A3v-A3r). The dedication afforded women writers certain protections; a reader who criticized a publication dedicated to such powerful figures might risk offending the honored individuals. In her dedication, Sutcliffe hints at the controversy of publishing as a woman, but hopes her readers are willing to forgive her bold act:

[69] The first edition was published in 1632, and the second edition was expanded to include further epistles, including praise from readers. For more information on the work's publication and textual history, see Bertolet, Levin, and Carney, p. 598.

> Where first, I must humbly crave of You to passe a favourable *censure* of my proceedings, it beeing, I know, not usuall for a *Woman* to doe such things […] I am assured, I shall meet with mocking *Ishmaels*, that will carpe at *Goodnesse*; wherefore, I runne to Your selves for *refuge*, humbly craving to bee assisted by your *Graciousnesse* […].(sig. A4r-A4iv)

The premise of Sutcliffe's *Meditations of Man's Mortalitie* (1634) is provide "Goodnesse" to her audience, but she hopes that the content of her publication will meet with "favourable" judgement; additionally, Sutcliffe asks the Dutchess and Countess to provide a "refuge" from those who would question her virtue for publishing. Indeed, Sutcliffe finds it necessary to assert the virtuous content of her book to further justify her publishing. She writes, "[M]y ayme is, that it may prove *Profitable* […] I have made choyse of this, as being perswaded thereto, by that truly Noble vertuousnes which hath evidently appeared in You, to the strengthening of *Goodnesse*" (sig. A4ir-A4iir). Her intention is to help her readers reflect on mortality; inspired by the virtuous example of both the Dutchess and Countess, she wishes to add to the "Goodnesse" of the world. Sutcliffe also uses biblical passages to further authorize her writing. Her message is inspired, but readers might disapprove of her publishing, so she reminds her detractors of Job 32:8, "Yet Eliha sayth, *There is a Spirit in Man, and the inspiration of the Almightie giveth them Understanding*" (sig. A4r-A4iv). She trusts that readers will see the "inspiration of the Almightie" within her work and perceive her intent with understanding.

Both Aemelia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) and Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617) also begin with dedicatory epistles and poems. Lanyer's book is dedicated to a sizeable list of powerful and influential women, beginning with Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth Stuart, then listing Lady Arbella Stuart; Lady Susan, Countess Dowager of

Kent; Lady Marie, Countess Dowager of Pembroke; Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford; Lady Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland; Lady Katherine, Countess of Suffolk; and Lady Anne, Countess of Dorset. Lanyer also addresses her work to "All virtuous Ladies in Generall" and "To the Vertuous Reader." Rachel Speght does not dedicate her book to specific noble women, but rather addresses her tact "To all vertuous Ladies Honourable or Worshipfull, and to all other of Hevahs sex fearing God, and losing their just reputation." The term "virtuous" features prominently. Of course, this term is flattering to readers and adheres to the formalities of public address, but it also creates a distinction to whom the authors envisioned reading their works. Virtuous women are being defended in these tracts; women who fall into misogynist stereotypes of being lewd, forward, and sinful are not. While these tracts are written for a female audience, the fact that men still controlled the publication market and held most of the purchasing power inevitably played into these dedicatory addresses. A man who purchased one of these works for one of the women in his life would not have to fear insulting the recipient; compare this to misogynist tracts that addressed women but were written specifically for men, such as Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women* (1615). The emphasis on women's virtue in dedications of these published works implicitly called upon men to acknowledge virtue as a central aspect of women's nature, thereby challenging standard misogyny of men like Swetnam. In Swetnam's opening pages, he calls women "vermine," "idle," and "necessary evils" (sig. A2v-A2r). These themes of equating women to sub-human animals, considering all women to be lazy and greedy, and believing women to be naturally wicked continue throughout his entire tract.

The justification for writing as a convention of women's defenses and publications was essential to navigating a male-dominated publication market, where the dominant feminine ideal

was the silent, chaste, obedient woman. Aemilia Lanyer is blunt about the source of her authority to write, not just in defense of women, but also in admonishment of men, for "God himselfe […] gave power to wise and virtuous women, to bring downe [men's] pride and arrogancie" (sig. f3v). In fact, Lanyer claims that she herself had been given divine authority for her work. The title of her work, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, "was delivered" to her in a dream, and thus she "was appointed to performe this Worke" (sig. I1r). Male writers often characterized women who critiqued and criticized men's behavior as shrewish; here Lanyer reclaims the practice of women attempting to correct men as a God-given duty of her sex. She reminds her readers that even Christ, God's son and thus the embodiment of masculine perfection, was not possible without women:

> [I]t pleased our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without the assistance of man, beeing free from originall and all other sinnes, from the time of his conception, till the houre of his death, to be begotton of a woman, borne of a woman, nourished of a woman, obedient to a woman; and that he healed woman, pardoned women, comforted women: yea, even when he was in his greatest agonie and bloodie sweat, going to be crucified, and also in the last houre of his death, tooke care to dispose of a woman: after his resurrection, appeared first to a woman, sent a woman to declare his most glorious resurrection to the rest of his Disciples. (sig. f3v)

If God saw women fit for such important roles in the life of Christ, and Christ confirmed this through his actions towards women, then men who mistreated women were the opposite of Christ-like. This was a direct challenge to men who devalued women to emulate Christ. If Christ could see the value, importance, and worth of women, even to the point of being

"obedient" to one (i.e., Mary), then logically men ought to acknowledge these traits in women and find them worthy of being heard.

Rachel Speght's dedicatory epistle logically arranges her reasons for breaking customary codes of modesty to publish. Like Lanyer, Speght also sees it her duty to not just defend women but also correct men's behavior. When Joseph Swetnam published *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615), Speght worried how his toxic masculinity may influence other men if gone unchecked. It is for the sake of these men that "the winde of Gods truth must needs cast downe to the ground" the misogynist claims within Swetnam's tract (sig. A3riv). Speght is the mouthpiece for this truth; it is her duty to not only defend women from Swetnam's attacks but to defend the minds of the "vulgar ignorant"— both men and women— from his influence (sig. A3iv). Both Lanyer and Speght had their own ideas of what constitutes the ideal Everyman, and both women established their authority as contributors to the surrounding gender discourse. They proposed a new kind of man, a "new Adam."

A New Adam

In *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), Aemilia Lanyer revisits the Fall and recreates an Adam that fails in his masculine role. As women were the "weaker" sex, strength was a characteristic associated with men. Lanyer interprets this strength not merely as physical but also in character. In this regard, Adam fails to live up to being the stronger sex, for "hee was most too blame;/ What Weaknesse offerd, Strength might have refused" (sig. Dv). Ideally, if Adam had acted as the "stronger" sex, he would have refused Eve's offer of the forbidden fruit. As the first human created, Adam should theoretically be wiser than Eve. Perhaps Eve was beguiled by the serpent because she was younger and thus more ignorant, but Adam, as the elder

and wiser of the two, did not have this as an excuse. Lanyer notes that Adam, "Being Lord of all, the greater was his shame:/ […] For he was Lord and King of all the earth,/ Before poore Eve had either life or breath" (sig. Dv). Not only did he fail in his role as a wise elder, but Adam also failed in his role as "Lord and King" over Eden, a distinction God grants him when he gives Adam dominion over all creation. Despite his duty as a ruler over "all the earth," Adam fails to "frame" his "actions" with "Gods holy word" as any effective state leader would ideally do (sig. Dv).

Lanyer acknowledges that Adam was created to be the ideal man. He was "fram'd by Gods eternall hand," as "[t]he perfect'st man that ever breath'd on earth" (sig. Dv). At least in his physical form, Adam was a paragon. Surely a great man with the "power to rule both Sea and Land" should be able to withstand temptation, but this was not the case; rather, Adam brought "all in danger and disgrace" because he could not refuse "one Apple" (sig. Dv). And why did Adam eat the fruit? Unlike Eve, he was "not persuaded" by the serpent nor driven "for knowledge sake" (sig. D2r). Adam's choice to eat the fruit was a superficial one: "The fruit beeing faire perswaded him to fall" (sig. Dr). The mere sight of temptation was enough to break the strength and power given to this man, causing Lanyer's audience to question whether strength was an ideal trait that should be praised in men.

Just as Eve was seen as an Everywoman, Lanyer reads Adam as an Everyman, whom she calls upon to live up to biblical expectations. As the forefather to all men, Adam's failure in his role as the "stronger" sex helped explain why so many early modern men also failed to live up to their patriarchal roles. Lanyer acknowledges that men "had power given to over-rule" all women by God (sig. C3ir), but even the supposedly perfect Adam did not perform well in this role. As the head of the woman, men were responsible for the guidance of the "weaker" sex, but in

Adam's case, "[h]e never sought her weakenesse to reprove" (sig. Dr). Her failure, in other words, was ultimately his fault. Lanyer demonstrates how early modern men continued to act with the flaws of their forefather, just as they accuse women of following in the steps of their foremother, Eve.

As Lanyer shifts from discussing Adam to directly confronting men in general, she constructs an image of men where patriarchy has brought out their worst qualities; the inverse becomes an ideal to which Lanyer, and her women readers, hope men would aspire. Lanyer reminds her readers that men were driven by "malice" when they crucified Christ (sig. Dr); therefore, had they acted in compassion and understanding, Christ would not have been executed. Men will "unjustly condemn" all women because of Eve's "small" sin (sig. Dr); thus, had men acted with justice, they would have condemned Eve and not all women for her sin.[70] According to Lanyer, if Adam was the perfect example of an ideal masculinity, he would act wisely and justly. He would show his strength by refusing to participate in sin, providing guidance for Eve, and tempering his judgment to fit the circumstances.

Lanyer's Adam does not fit this ideal. No man does, and yet she argues for a masculinity that would embrace these attributes consistently. At the heart of the perfect Adam is the acknowledgement of equality between the sexes. Lanyer demands of men to "let us have our Libertie againe / and challendge to your selves no Sou'raigntie" (sig. D2v). Adam, and thus all men, should not seek to control women and see themselves as "sovereigns" over the "weaker" sex. Rather, this new Everyman is one who recognizes that he "came not in the world without [women's] paine" (sig. D2v), and keeps this in the forefront of his mind as a "barre against […] crueltie" towards women (sig. D2v). He keeps women "free from tyranny" (sig. D2v). He does

[70] Lanyer writes, "If one weake woman simply did offend, / This sinne of [men's], hath no excuse, nor end" (sig. D2r).

not “disdaine” women for “beeing [his] equals” (sig. D2v); his masculinity is not dependent on a gender hierarchy. Rather, his masculinity relies upon how he treats the women in his life.

While Lanyer’s Adam was flawed, her version of Christ offers men a new ideal to aspire towards. Lanyer places emphasis on Christ’s emotional status the night before his arrest. Instead of embracing the “moderation” of emotions that early modern men were encouraged to practice, Christ “opened all his woe, / He gave them leave his sorrows to discusse, / His deepest griefes, he did not scorne to showe / These three deere friends, so much he did intrust” (sig. B2r). He entrusted those around him with “all his woe,” the fullness of his feelings, and instead of perceiving this as emasculating, Christ “did not scorne” being honest with those closest to him. Lanyer’s Jesus is also a man who not only eschews violence, but actually admonishes other men for using swords to attack or defend. When Peter draws his sword to defend Christ, Lanyer comments that “To draw thy sword in such a helplesse cause, / Offends thy Lord, and is against the Lawes” (sig. C2v). In mentioning that it was “against the Lawes,” she could also be referring to the practice of dueling, an act that was against the law but was a frequently seen as a marker of manliness. Lanyer also places emphasis on the women around Christ, for it is to them he first appeared after his resurrection, thus showing how much beloved and important women were to him. If Adam is the flawed Everyman, then perhaps a more emotionally intelligent, peaceful, and respectful Christ-like Everyman could be the solution.

In *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), Rachel Speght constructs an Adam who is physically incomplete without Eve. This definition of man is dependent on women, but not in a dichotomous way that results in gender hierarchy under a patriarchal system. Rather, man is a complimentary figure to woman; the physical difference in strength between men and women do not entitle men to a position of gendered superiority, but creates complimentary roles. According

to Speght, men's greater physical strength obliges them to perform more labor. Therefore, equality between the sexes is performative; the labor output may be different between the two sexes, but the ratio of physical strength to labor type remains the same. Speght's ideal Adam emerges as one who views Eve as an equal partner, who accepts gender difference not as a justification for hierarchy but as a result of God's plan for mankind. It is only *with* Eve that Adam is defined as a man, not because of contrast, but because they are designed to operate as a unit. To be a man was to fulfill his duty as a part of that God-ordained unit, namely as a married man.

According to Speght, Adam was created in God's image, but at first his body was not complete until God made one final alteration: the removal of one of his ribs to create Eve. According to Speght, this proves "that man was an unperfect building afore woman was made" (sig. Cr). Physically, he couldn't even be a man without the creation of woman. Eve thus becomes an extension of Adam, her body created from his, for only after she was created did God deem Adam to be complete (sig. Cr).

Speght recognizes women as "the weaker vessel," acknowledging men the stronger of the two. Speght's Adam is ambitious and perhaps greedy in his aspirations, for "his desire to attaine a greater perfection then God had given him" led to his eating of the forbidden fruit (sig. C2r). For this, Adam "was reproved," thus suggesting that the ideal man was one who was content with God's blessings and acted with humility. As Lanyer does in *Salve Deus*, Speght criticizes Adam for having failed in his leadership role: "[I]f *Adam* had not approoved of that deed which *Eve* had done, and beene willing to treade the steps which she had gone, hee being her Head would have reproved her, and have made the commandment a bit to restraine him from breaking

his Makers Injunction" (sig. C2r).[71] In other words, he would have corrected Eve if he were fulfilling his role correctly, and would himself have obeyed God's commandment. Obedience is not just an ideal feminine trait; it was ideal in men as well.

Ultimately, Speght reproves Adam for not taking responsibility for his own actions, and reprimands men who fail to take responsibility for their choices, scapegoating women for their bad behavior. "For if a man burne his hand in the fire," writes Speght, "the bellowes that blowed the fire are not to be blamed, but himselfe rather, for not being carefull to avoyde the danger" (sig. C3v). In other words, when a man sins, he only has himself to blame. As the stronger sex, Adam should have exercised this strength when confronted with temptation; instead, he failed in this test of masculinity. "To whom much is given," Speght reminds her readers, "of them much is required" (sig. C3v). Like Lanyer, Speght notes that Adam has been given dominion over all creation, but despite his power, he is unable to be an effective ruler. She notes how large his failure was both as the head of the woman and "soveraigne of all creatures"; when God punishes Eve for her transgression, she is given a sentence just specific to women, "but for the sinne of man the whole earth was cursed" (sig. C3v). As the stronger vessel, he was created, in theory, with a greater capacity for resistance to sin. For Speght, Adam, and thus all men, were created to be equal partners with Eve and her female descendants. Speght's evidence is in how Adam's body was used to create Eve. She writes how Eve was "not produced from Adams foote, to be his too low inferiour; nor from his head to be his superiour, but from his side, near his heart, to be his equall" (sig. Dr). Adam's body is not contained within the parameters of his skin, as Eve was an extension of his flesh, and therefore he must love Eve as he loves himself (sig. Dr).

[71] See 1 Cor. 11:3.

Thus, a marker of manliness is to love one's spouse; unlike Joseph Swetnam's misogynist tract that attempts to bond men over their shared hatred of women, Speght argues that misogyny contravenes manliness, for men, she argues, are created to cherish women. She quotes Genesis 2:23, where Adam himself says of Eve, "This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh" (sig. Dr). As such, men should "neyther doe or with any more hurt unto them, then unto their owne bodies" (sig. Dr). If men were to hurt women, thus "[hating] his owne flesh," he ceases to be a man, but rather "a monster in nature" (sig. Dr).

Speght ultimately argues for a domestic early modern man, one that gauges his manliness based on how he acts as a partner with women rather than how he rules over her. Speght uses the image of two oxen being yoked together to demonstrate how men are supposed to work towards a common goal: "to sustayne part of ech others cares, griefs, and calamities" (sig. D2r). Speght notes that men, as the stronger sex, is designed to "beare a greater burthen then his wife" just like the stronger of the two yoked oxen "bears the most weight" (sig. D2r). She challenges early modern definitions of masculinity that celebrate the strength of men in martial feats:

> The other end for which woman was made, was to be a Companion and *helper* for man; and if she must be an *helper*, and but an *helper*, then are those husbands to be blamed, which lay the whole burthen of domesticall affaires and maintenance on the shoulders of their wives. (sig. D2r)

Here, the man, as the stronger of the two sexes, should use his strength to help alleviate women's "burthen of domesticall affaires and maintenance" of the home. As an extension of himself, woman is merely his helper and yoke-mate; she is not his servant, and he is not her master. Speght offers another example of men's true role as domestic helpers in the natural world; the male "Cockrell" helps the female make the nest, brings her food when she is taking care of her

brood, and protects her even at the expense of his own safety (sig. D3v). Likewise, the man's role is to assist the woman in the care and raising of a family in whatever capacity is needed.

Ultimately, couples will quarrel and mistakes will be made. How a man dealt with his wife's flaws and mistakes revealed how he interpreted his role as the head of the household. When it came to men's treatment of women when women erred, Speght goes beyond merely advocating for moderation in his reactions. Instead, she imagines men proactively reacting to their wives with kindness, gentleness, and patience. Ideal masculinity is one that recognizes that men and women are "heires together" in life, and this respect for women extends to how he reacts when she makes mistakes (15). She tells men, "with all lenitie and milde perswasions set [women's] feete in the right way, if they happen to tread awry, [bear] with their infirmities" (15). Man is lenient, understanding, and mild; he uses persuasion, not violence, to correct his spouse.

In her epilogue, Rachel Speght posits a rhetorical question about how men are defined. Can men who are "rayling against women," who speak "against Gods handieworke," and who deny that "God hath made [men and women] equall […] in dignity, both temporally and eternally" really "be termed men" (sig. E3v)? Can a man who self-identifies as "being in a great choller against some women" (Swetnam sig. A2v) rather than moderate in his emotions and who blasphemously claims that God "made [women] only to be a plague to man" (Swetnam 31) rather than a divine helpmeet really be considered manly? Speght leaves her audience to answer her rhetorical questions. If a man, who depends upon social definitions from both men and women to collectively shape his masculinity, fails to perform her gender ideal as one who recognizes the worth of women, can he still be considered an example of manliness? I suspect Speght and Lanyer would say no.

"To be termed men," as Speght suggested, a male had to adhere to certain gender performances. As a socially constructed phenomenon, the gendering of males depended upon accepted definitions of manliness by their cultural groups. "Man," therefore, was not a title one is given at birth, but one that is earned as an adult, an accolade that was fully dependent on how well a male performed his role. As seen in previous chapters, men were the dominant authors of the gendering discussions, not only as the more prolific sex but also as the head of the sex/gender hierarchy. The early modern print culture presented several examples of men not being considered "men" because of their behaviors. *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* (1537) posits, "cursed is that man" who "maketh hym selfe lesse than a man by his vyce" (Guevara 49); the Queen of Carthage, in *Albion's England* (1597), tells Aeneas "these thine inhumaine Treacheries […]argue so farre off from a Godhoode, as thou shewest thy selfe less than a Man" (Warner 523). Therefore, a man who indulges in "vices" and commits "inhumane treacheries" falls short of being considered a "man." We see a more specific example of a vice in *The Holy Court* (1650), where the reader is told "A man is no longer a man" when he overindulges in alcohol (Caussin 86). Likewise, in *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1648), any man who "loses" himself in "brutishnesse, as he becomes void of reason[,]" when he is in this condition, "he is no longer a man, but a beast" (Languet 71). Reason, being one of the markers of masculinity, is essential to being considered "a man;" brutality in particular, as an extreme loss of control of one's emotions, is also not something a "man" would do. Men must be moderate in their emotions and avoid extremes, lest they be ruled by their passions and be nothing more than a "beast." Another example of the loss of a temper stripping a male from the title of "man" is in a 1611 translated volume of the work of Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, where men are told that "as a humane[,] Fury makes a man / Less than a man" (660). Of course, not just behavior but

also appearance is vital to being termed a "man." In *An Exposition Upon the First Chapter of the Second Epistle of Peter* (1622), men who do not dress themselves "according to his sexe […] are turned women" (Denison 50-1). "Men" defined themselves as emotionally moderate, rational, heads of households, leaders of wives, protectors of family and honor, and morally and physically superior to women.

However, as these chapters have shown, women were not silent recipients of male-created definitions of "man." Rather, women were actively constructing their own definitions of men and using these female-created definitions of "man" to assess the males in their lives. Women, like Speght and Lanyer, were openly critical of definitions of manliness that focused more on leadership in the home than respect for their wives, that condemned men helping in a more domestic capacity, and that asserted male superiority without acknowledging men's flaws. While women did agree with some of the male-defined masculine attributes, such as men having the divine authority to be patriarchs or being physically stronger than women, women were articulating a new early modern man, one who listened to the women in his life and supported his wife as a helpmeet. While it cannot be determined how influential women were in shifting the boundaries of masculinities, it can be asserted that women were actively participating in the robust print culture of the 16th and 17th centuries, and we can tell from both public and private writings that women *were* defining and challenging what constituted an early modern "man." As a social phenomenon, the gendering of men required *both* men and women to participate in its construction. We as scholars can no longer treat early modern men as the only contributors to the shaping of masculine norms; women, as we have now seen, were powerful co-creators of early modern masculinities, and as such deserve the rigor of scholarship needed to unlock how women as a group had "termed men."

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EPILOGUE

By reading men as a subject in early modern English women's writing across multiple genres and through the timeline of a woman's lifecycle, a new set of attributes of an ideal man and desirable masculine behavior emerges. Women were openly critical of men who were dismissive of women's opinions, verbally abusive towards then, and interested in dueling or going to war to maintain honor rather than focus on the family. Instead, they imagined and constructed a man who listened to a woman's counsel, who respected her role in the home and marriage, and who eschewed all forms of violence, including martial activities like dueling. Within a fairly large archive of women, ranging from the middle class to royalty, coming from diverse Christian backgrounds, from Catholicism to Protestantism to Calvinism, we can see how early modern women differed in their views of ideal men. These works lend special insights into the formation of gender roles when compared with male writings on the subject. Thus, when read collectively and cumulatively, the ideal man that takes shape is not a static or singular figure. These women writers seek certain ideal attributes in men, but only by constantly engaging with and interrogating masculine perspectives on manhood. Thus, these writings cast a keen eye on men caught up in a shifting and complex set of gender expectations as they become a part of women's life-cycles, rather than vice versa.

Through this arrangement of men as a subject based on women's life-cycles, a new perspective on patriarchal power also emerges, one not defined by dominant discourses that mapped men's lives as a universal for all sexes, but one articulated exclusively through women's experiences. Rather than moving through a male-dominated life-cycle from child, to suitor and husband, to a head of family, and finally a patriarchal figure in the community at large, this new

configuration is based on how women's experiences of familial and social relations shaped by patriarchal norms during their life alters this arc. Thus, when in relation with women, men can be viewed not as figures that grow in power but rather in terms of a patriarchy that diminishes in its authority and control of women over time. Thus, a child's first encounter with patriarchy is that of the father, who is at the apex of his social power. He has wedded a wife, thus being "given" a woman to be an authority over, and is financially independent as the leader of his own household. For a daughter, the father's authority is absolute, and where boys were given an example of patriarchy to aspire to, girls were presented with a formidable example of the patriarchal rule they would have to navigate throughout their life. As a young woman became sexually mature, she encountered courtship and marriage. Here she could exert more control over her status as the subjugated sex, being allowed for the first time some input into the type of patriarchy she would live under with her choice of spouse. Men, however, were in a diminished role here; for while they were independent, they did not have authority over a wife yet to solidify their position in the gender hierarchy, and they were completely dependent on the young woman to grant him his upgrade in status through marriage. When a woman became a mother, she was in a powerful position to shape, critique, and affirm masculine characteristics in her son; it is at this phase, as dependent children, that the men were at their weakest in the patriarchal system. As women grew within their community, and dared to publically challenge patriarchy through print or political rule, thay ultimately had to navigate gender-specific problems such as issues of modesty while engaging in polemics. This ultimately necessitated them to claim their own authority when speaking publically or publishing in ways that men did not. Men, however, when they left their domestic spaces, saw a diminishment of their power amongst other men. Without women within the home to establish their power, men were in a constant state of anxiety as they

continually challenged—and met the challenges of—other men within the greater patriarchal structure.

If we look at these individual male-subjects at each phase of a woman's life, we see how women were articulating a masculinity that best supported and complimented women on their life's journey. A father is key figure in patriarchal authority, thus viewing this role through the eyes of daughters depicts both the limitations and possibilities of fatherhood. Margaret Roper, for instance, thought an ideal father would be one who educated his daughter in all humanist subjects, whereas Elizabeth Jocelin felt that an ideal father would educate his daughter in a few simple reading and writing skills, but that she did not expect him to press her for more education. As a middle-class woman, Rachel Speght argued against the misogynist Joseph Swetnam and men like him, inevitably evoking a contrasting masculine ideal who was a helpmeet in the home and valued women as a whole. Compare this to the noble Arbella Stuart's ideal beau who was first and foremost a loyal subject to the crown.

As a group, women did not reject patriarchal rule, but they repeatedly and in a variety of exhortations, appeals, and creative imaginings, questioned how men should perform in conventional roles and how they should navigate these power structures, especially where it pertained to women. Not all women agreed on the characteristics of an ideal man, but as a whole women envisioned a man who was more conscientious about how he treated the women in his life. They seemed to be particularly concerned about how he was able to display moderation and affection, rather than coercion, correction, and sometimes violence. He was not only more supportive of women in the home, but also valued them as companions. These ideal men were present and active fathers. They supported their families, not just monetarily, but also in meeting their intellectual and emotional needs. The ideal male did not put his life on the line for honor;

rather, he thought about how his death might affect his loved ones first. Ideally, a man would listen to the counsel of his wife, respecting both her experience but also her role as a God-ordained helpmeet in life. He would publically praise her rather than defame her in the community. This ideal would not blame all women for the fall from Eden and use this to justify women's subjugation and mistreatment; rather, he would see Adam as he was, a flawed man, and take responsibility for his own flaws. The ideal man would be a son who listens to the advice of his mother and grow up to be a perfect father, husband, and leader in the community.

This assertion presents broader implications for ignoring women's writing as a source of early modern masculinity within patriarchal structures in early modern England. By failing to consult early modern women's writing, we risk having an incomplete and skewed portrait of the gender roles and arrangements, tending to universalize and naturalize an ideal manhood based on martial skills, political power, and domination over women families. This study posits that women were active participants in the affirmation, policing, and creating of masculinities, thus re-evaluating previous discussions of women as merely passive consumers of gender hierarchy.

As active contributors to the gendering of men, even today women are still vital participants in the challenging, upholding, and deconstructing of masculinities. Definitions of men cannot exist without definitions of women, but men and women are not seen solely as oppositional, but rather as complimentary products of a larger gender system, with ever-shifting boundaries but also shared attributes. As shown through this study, women sometimes agreed with dominant definitions of masculinity while others offered their own ideals. Just like women today, early modern women agreed and disagreed, thus creating a dynamic matrix of assessments of what it meant "to be termed men."

Overall, this study brings into question stereotypes of women as mere consumers of gender hierarchies. Also, it is important to recognize that women were articulating an ideal masculinity in print, an important part of the growing print culture, which demonstrates that women were active participants in the construction and policing of the boundaries of masculinity. A further study might find how women were also critiquing and construction their own definitions of masculinity in other extant artifacts of early modern life such as in paintings, textiles and fashion, music, and sculpture; exploring how women constructed men in other literary genres, particularly in lyric poetry with its emphasis on desire and emotion, may also prove fruitful. The rise of the English Civil war produced new discussions of martial performance and loyalties as tension between the Royalists and Parliamentarians, and thus a study of how women were articulating the subject of men in military roles could bring to light new formations of ideal masculinities. Additional usages of women's writing as an archive of masculinity studies could elucidate how women were defining masculine traits in brothers, uncles, soldiers, or male servants; likewise, examining women's writing about suitors as a separate study from women writing about husbands may shed light on how women were articulating masculinities in new romantic relationships as compared to long-standing marital relationships. Other historic literary period studies drawing on sexuality studies and queer theory may also benefit from searching extant women's writing for how women were challenging as well as creating boundaries between masculine and feminine. Additional studies on how class influenced women's articulation of manliness, as well as how different religious ideologies influenced women's gender definitions, may also be considered, such as how shifts from Catholicism to Protestantism potentially raised new Christian masculine ideals. And finally, when we observe the kind of man early modern women were desiring and compare him to our

contemporary ideals of masculinity, we are forced to acknowledge how women today express (with increasing impatience and anger) some of the same criticisms of men as our foremothers. For me, my study has led me to urgent questions pertaining to contemporary masculine behaviors and frequently misogynist attitudes. This dissertation reminds as to why issues of men's violence towards women, of domination versus partnership, stoicism versus emotional vulnerability, and dismissiveness versus respect are still central to debates about gender roles today.