Women 'think round it'! - Writing and Publication in *Emilia*Jennifer Young, University of Greenwich

On the publication of her book, Emilia3 'clasps the book to her chest' as she triumphantly declares 'this moment of true representation is mine' (VQ 72, GQ 95). Acts and images of publication run throughout Morgan Lloyd Malcolm's *Emilia* (2018), a modern play that follows the life of the seventeenth century author Aemilia Lanyer. Each example of publication highlights the impact of representation. In the prologue, Emilia3 reads about herself in the published diary of the early modern astrologer Simon Forman. Described as 'daughter', wife, 'paramour' and by her likelihood to casually 'halek', Emilia sees herself depicted through Forman's bias that prioritizes her connections to men and makes no mention of her writing (VQ 1). Emilia3 dismisses Forman's depiction of her by tossing his book off stage, but the lines she speaks next (the first she speaks as herself) reveal the costs of this misrepresentation: 'For centuries these are the words they have used to describe me. Not any more [...] I am Emilia' (QV 1). Until that moment, Emilia was powerless to intervene as others told her story, but with the words 'I am Emilia', her name and her story are reclaimed in defiant self-representation.

In *Emilia*, publication is seen as a key to self-representation. When she vows 'I will never be at peace as long as I have no voice' (VQ 35-36) Emilia2's next action is to announce that 'I wish to publish my work' (GQ 49). However, at each instance, Emilia's efforts to write and publish are at odds with perceptions of acceptable behaviors and activities for her gender. It is not news that the early

modern English society in which *Emilia* is set is, as Alexandra Shepard notes, 'indisputably patriarchal in character', ascribing authority in most areas of life to men over women (2017, 331). However, publications by Aemilia Lanyer, Lady Mary Sidney Herbert, and other women from the early modern period offer evidence that although gender-biased restrictions may have challenged women's authorial aspirations and, in instances like Lanyer, temporarily erased them from literary discourse, they did not ultimately silence them. This essay examines intersections of early modern perceptions of gender and moments of writing and publication in *Emilia* in order to better understand how Emilia's quest for self-representation is in large part a response to this relationship. Part one uses examples from the play to examine how gender conventions made writing and publication culturally undesirable activities for women, part two then considers how publications in *Emilia* exemplify some of the tools and strategies women used to tell their stories in spite of these obstacles.

While situating *Emilia's* interests in writing and publication in an early modern context, this essay also offers new insights into the ways in which gender, publication and representation in early modern period inform this twenty-first century play. For instance, in the opening scene as Emilia3 reconsiders her identity beyond the gendered language which has defined her, she enacts a process described by Adrienne Rich as 're-vision - the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes' (1972 18). By 'entering an old text from a new critical direction' Rich argues 'we [can] understand the assumptions in which we are drenched' (1972 18). By incorporating selections of Lanyer's early modern writing into her twenty-first century play, Lloyd Malcolm creates opportunities

for re-visioning in which audiences not only reconsider the writing of Lanyer and her fictional counterpart through the 'fresh eyes' of modern awareness of gender-bias, they are also urged to critique similar assumptions that 'drench' their own lives. This essay concludes by connecting seventeenth-century issues of inequality and institutional bias with findings of "The Emilia Report": a study of gender inequalities in the modern publishing industry that highlights how the struggles of women writers in *Emilia* are shared by those who navigate the present-day publishing industry.

One obstacle in the play that Emilia repeatedly faced in her efforts to be recognized as a writer was the ideal of the Renaissance woman as chaste, obedient and especially silent.<sup>2</sup> Praise of submissive, silent women goes back to classical times, but for the early modern period its strongest origins are found in western Christianity where 'power of the Old Testament father over members of his family is practically absolute' (Jordan 1990, 3). Verses from *The Bible*, such as 1 Corinthians 14:34: "They [women] are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission," were often referenced in conduct books that advised women on moral behavior. The Mother's Counsel or Live within Compass, for example, was written as a mother's last will and testament to her daughter in which she instructs her to live in 'Chastity', 'Temperance', 'Beauty' and 'Humilitie', warning her against talking 'much to little purpose' and advising her to keep 'thy tongue short of thy feet' (M. R. 1630, 35, 33). If silence is moral, godly behavior then, as Lisa Jardine observes, 'to speak is negative virtuousness' (1989, 109).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, to speak becomes a double transgression as it not only subverts the quality of silence, it is an act of disobedience in itself. In this light, the efforts

of Emilia's mother to stop her daughter from reciting the poem she wrote for her father's funeral are more than the actions of a strict parent; they demonstrate concern that her daughter behave in a moral and virtuous way.<sup>4</sup> In addition, her mother's description of Emilia as being a 'wild and boisterous' girl who will need to be 'tamed' alludes to the double transgression mentioned above as she is also concerned that her daughter lacks obedience (VQ 3). The fact that this rebuke is in response to Emilia's outburst at her father's funeral, also reinforces the significance of silence as dictated by the Old Testament father in the religious sphere. Later at court, where 'the model woman was not only a silent woman but also the woman least talked about,' the cultural defiance of Emilia's sonnet writing becomes a liability for her social standing (Walker 1996, 11). Lady Katherine's suggestion that 'the more disreputable she becomes by writing like she's a man the less men will be interested' (VQ 9) emphasizes the broader social consequences of resisting these cultural conventions, as immoral acts (writing) also signal a disreputable character.

Lady Katherine's particular description of Emilia as writing 'like she [is] a man' highlights an additional challenge for women seeking to become published authors: a lack of representation. While Marcy L. North suggests that 'women were conspicuous enough in early print to make female authorship a relatively familiar, even conventional, phenomenon' male writers still far outnumbered women (2009, 68).<sup>5</sup> In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 'girls were generally excluded from the grammar schools and universities of England' where they might receive the literary education and writing skills that nurtured the professional male writers of the period (Ferguson 1996, 151). Lacking this formalized system of training, the numbers of women with the skills

to even become writers, let alone publish, was only 'a very small segment of the population' (Ferguson 1996, 150). Lady Katherine's claim that when writing Emilia was behaving like she is a man reflects the reality that at the time writers were predominantly men, and that until she met Emilia, she may have only encountered male writers.

Associating writing with men and masculinity was not only the perception of outsiders, it dominated the early modern book trade. In her book, The Imprint of Gender, Wendy Wall observes how early modern writing and print culture utilized 'a masculinized notion of authorship' (Wall 1993, 282). In short, not only was the default author male, but the characteristics of an author were aligned with conventional ideas of masculinity, affirming perceptions of men as articulate authorities and women as their silent, submissive opposites. We see this gendered perspective at work in the imagery members of the book trade used to describe their work. For example, when the printer John Day writes about his adventures printing and publishing the play *Gorbuduc*, he creates a story in which the text is a submissive 'faire maide' who was taken advantage of and 'thrust out of doors' as a 'wanton', only to be heroically rescued by Day himself (1570, 39c).<sup>7</sup> Once again, preference for the silent women results in the negative virtue of its opposite, as the personified text/speaking woman becomes a fallen woman with a blemished reputation. Literary forms and language in the early modern period similarly appropriate images of women as the feminine opposites of the masculine author. Classical images of muses who inspire the artist and the sought-after and admired beloved of the Petrarchan sonnet traditionally positioned women as inspiration for and/or the passive subjects of their male authors.<sup>8</sup> In *Emilia*, Shakespeare enacts this convention in act 1, scene

7, when trying to diffuse Emilia's anger at not being able to express herself in writing as he does, he promises to 'pour you into my work and immortalize your soul' (QV 30-1). Again, gender conventions make it difficult to see a woman in a new role; Shakespeare naturally sees Emilia as a muse, but it does not occur to him to see her as an author. In view of the lack of representation and their desire to write being in conflict with gender-based cultural conventions, the challenges for women who sought to write were considerable. As Wendy Wall posits:

If women were tropes necessary to the process of writing, if they were constructed within genres as figures for male desire, with what authority could they publish? How could a woman become an author if she was the "other" against whom "authors" differentiated themselves? (1993, 282).

Emilia poses a number of answers to these questions, beginning with the value of representation through role models as shown in Emilia1's meeting with Lady Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke. Like her fictional counterpart, Sidney was a literary force, a celebrated patron of writers and a translator and poet in her own right. Suzanne Trill (1996, 42) and Margaret Patterson Hannay (ODNB) separately note that Sidney served as a role model for the historical Lanyer and numerous other women writers who came after her. In Emilia, Sidney is an important first example of a woman writer who aspires to publication: 'I'm working on some Psalms my late brother did not complete and I hope to publish them when I am done. Is this something you would also strive for?' (VQ 14-15). The value of Emilia's meeting a role model like Sidney is affirmed multiple times in the play as Emilia goes on to inspire others to a new

idea or action. For example, Anne Clifford initially finds a lack of positive examples of powerful women in classical myth (VQ 49). Later, when she is praised for making the pivotal suggestion that Emilia3 disguise her advice to women in a religious text in order to get it by the censors, she credits Emilia as her influence, noting: 'I had a great teacher' (VQ 68). As a writer and teacher, Emilia also becomes a role model for the women of the Southbank, not only inspiring them to learn to read but to express themselves through their own writing (VQ 2.5). From Sidney to Emilia to Anne and the Southbank women, having a woman writer present leads to more expressive women: representation prompts more representation.

As a role model, Sidney also imparts advice to the aspiring writer. Repeatedly using the word 'strive' in relation to writing and publication, Sidney warns Emilia of the effort and resilience it will take to write and publish her work (QV 15).9 Notably, her final suggestion that 'If you keep writing you'll conspire of an answer' is advice that the rest of the publications in *Emilia* will follow (QV 15). In the seventeenth century, 'conspire' means to think through, but as *Emilia* is a twenty-first century play, modern associations of the word with 'conspiracy,' and in particular the sense of subversion and non-conformity that comes from rebellion and challenge of the status quo, also resonate here. The idea that Emilia will need an unconventional approach to become a published author is urged again by Anne Clifford, who advises Emilia that to get her poems past the censors she must 'think round it' (VQ 68). Declaring that women are like 'wily upstream swimmers, jumping and diving,' Clifford, like Sidney, suggests the current systems of authorship and publishing demand that women know the

rules, but also be able to nimbly maneuver in spite of them (VQ 68). Sidney and Clifford's images echo the findings of scholars like Ann Rosalind Jones who have studied the tactics used by women to write and publish at the time. Jones's conclusion that women 'wrote within but against the center of the traditions that surrounded them' (1981, 135) exudes the same mixture of compliance and resistance as Sidney's 'strive' and Clifford's 'wily upstream swimmers'.

In *Emilia*, the pamphlets produced by Emilia and the Southbank women, and the printed edition of Emilia's poetry, illustrate some of the ways early modern women 'thought round' gender-based restrictions on writing and publication. Ongoing research is bringing to light additional ways early modern women writers expressed their ideas and that they communicated them to a variety of audiences. 10 Women like Lanyer and Lady Mary Sidney Herbert wrote in the literary genres of poetry, drama and translation that we traditionally identify with publication. But women across social classes also wrote in more domestic genres: advice books like Dorothy Leigh's *The Mother's Blessing* were opportunities to express personal positions on religion and morality. 11 Surviving diaries and journals show that women's writing could also take a more personal tone with 'domestic devotional writing' of personal prayers and meditations (Ezell 80). As in the case of the eight hundred pages of autobiographical writing by Alice Thornton, these religious narratives could also be interwoven with earthly concerns of women's health, marriage and childbirth. <sup>12</sup> Women also participated in shared writing, dispelling the idea that women were forced to produce their work in secret. Evidence of varied handwriting in written collections known as commonplace books, such as the one composed by Lady

Anne Southwell and her husband, show women openly contributing their opinions and perspectives to household histories and to preserving relevant records.<sup>13</sup>

By broadening our understanding of publication beyond the commercial publishing of literary work for profit, a range of participation is also visible in women's ventures into publication. For example, Louise Schleiner notes that early modern women published their work within households and amongst friends through shared readings and private manuscript circulation (1994 43). Women not only wrote but organised collections of writing from like-minded members of their communities. The poet Constance Aston Fowler compiled a manuscript miscellany (Huntington MS HM 904) which 'preserves poetry written largely to and by her ... predominantly Roman Catholic family and friends' (Burke 2014). From the 16th century, evidence of women advocating for issues important to them is found in letters to influential figures in family, government and the Royal Court. 14 By the second part of the seventeenth century, women would put their writing to more visible forms of written activism through the writing and circulation of petitions on religious and political concerns and, as we see in *Emilia*, to pamphlets advocating for issues including gender equality.

Pamphlets were an everyday feature of the London book market and a 'significant vehicle for women's self-expression' in the early modern period (Raymond 2003, 17, 320). One reason for this was their material form.

Pamphlets were typically printed in small, quarto format (about the size of a

modern paperback) and cost only a few pennies. As such, they were seen as 'cheap print': low-cost publications that did not receive the attention or have the authority and influence of more official publications. In *Emilia*, the Southbank women take advantage of the pamphlet's low publication status to create an outlet for their opinions on controversial issues such as the rights of married women. In this way, they follow the publications of early modern women like Rachel Speght who turned to the pamphlet form to directly challenge arguments against women's equality.<sup>15</sup> The typical writing style used in pamphlets also made it a culturally acceptable format for women's writing. Joad Raymond cites a 'plain style' and 'brevity' in pamphlet writing, features which complemented the modesty and reserve typically desired of early modern women (2003, 321). In the pamphlet written by the Southbank women, Eve's poetry offers a sense of this style and its potential impact:

There is volume in my silence

If you stop to listen

Look into my eyes and you will

Hear quite clearly what i'm trying to say (VQ 71).<sup>16</sup>

The short lines and single syllable words create a physically small poem; it might be said that it modestly fills only part of the page.<sup>17</sup> The message and energy of the poem, however, are a different matter:

Be careful, I am saying

Be careful

What you have taken is not yours

And one day, loudly, I shall take it back (VQ 71).

Repeating 'Be careful' builds tension and a sense of rising anger while the final line, 'one day, loudly, I shall take it back,' is a bold promise of action. Thus, within the limits of the pamphlet style, Eve's poem 'thinks round' the rules to convey a message that is anything but small or modest.

The final text published in the play is Emilia's book of poems: 'We publish my poems. Properly. Officially' (VQ 69). As Emilia3's description suggests, there is a formality to print publication because, unlike the handwritten pamphlet produced by the Southbank women, printed texts required financial investment by professional printers and publishers. While it is unlikely that, as in the Globe production, the printer had to be chased down to secure their help, it was necessary to gain the services of professionals who faced considerable risk if they printed or published something considered inappropriate or unappealing to readers. Anne Clifford's questions: 'What can women write? What will get past the censor?' (VQ 68) and Emilia3's decision to write 'religious texts' reflect how both the fictional Emilia and historical Aemelia needed to 'think round' this system of official rules and market conventions to publish their verse.

The only extract from Aemilia Lanyer's published poem *Salve Deus Rex Judeaorum* (1611) to appear in *Emilia* is the powerful 'men like vipers' speech spoken by Emilia3 at the beginning of 2.7:

Men, who forgetting they were borne of women, nourished of women, and that if it were not by the meanes of women, they would be quite extinguished out of the world and a final ende of them all, do like Vipers deface the wombs wherein they were bred... (VQ 66-67).

With the emphasis on appropriate behaviors for women discussed above, one can wonder how this speech ever made it past the censors. However, examining the speech in its original context, as part of a much longer opening dedication to her book, reveals Lanyer's 'thinking round' convention. Entitled 'To the Vertuous Reader,' the dedication gives Lanyer a chance to speak to the reader in her own words. 18 She explains that she has written her 'little booke' 'for the general vse of all virtuous ladies and Gentlewomen' (ll. 7-8). Identifying her readers as the 'virtuous', she then condemns women who 'speak vnaduisedly against the rest of their sex' (ll. 16-17). In Lanyer's eyes, there is no worse flaw and she wishes that these misguided women would leave such a failing to 'be practiced by euell dispo- | sed men ...who like vipers...' (ll. 20-1). In this way, the viper image is embedded within a condemnation of a particular group of unvirtuous women. Framing it as part of a larger religious argument in favor of virtue gives the sense that although the viper image is describing men, it is actually meant to be about women. In fact, Lanyer argues that these disreputable women should serve as a lesson and 'spurres to vertue' for others (ll. 30-1). While the framing argument seems to contain the image of the viper-like men, it remains so vivid against the rest of the dedication that it is hard to think that Lanyer would include such a vibrant detail if she did not wish readers to

remember it. Again, creatively working within cultural constraints still produces a powerful and subversive message.

Throughout *Salve Deus*, Lanyer embeds challenging ideas and images within the conventional elements of religious poetry. Scholars, including Kim Walker, have examined how Lanyer repurposes religious and classical imagery in her poem to argue for the value of women. Noting that *Salve Deus* works to privilege women and their claim to knowledge and truth, the poem becomes a site of self-constructed identity, with Lanyer exhibiting the creativity and resourcefulness depicted in her fictional counterpart and the other women of *Emilia* (1996, 120). Moreover, by re-presenting the 'men like Vipers' speech as Emilia3's reaction to the unwanted aggressions of the men at the end of act two, scene 6, Lloyd Malcolm draws a direct line between Lanyer's words and Emilia3's anger. Freeing Lanyer's voice from the gender-biased propriety of early modern print to reveal the raw emotion underneath, Lloyd Malcolm re-visions Lanyer's writing to align with her play's interest in connections between gender-bias and women's rage.

In *Emilia*, representation at first seems impossible in light of how gender roles limit women's self-expression. However, by using the historical strategies of early modern women writers, the characters in Lloyd Malcolm's play remind us that progress towards artistic expression and representation through publication is complex, but not impossible. Perhaps most importantly the examples set by the women of *Emilia* and their historical counterparts urge us not to be deterred, but to continue creatively challenging convention. This

message remains important today as marginalized voices continue to face discrimination in the creative professions. In 2019, 'The Emilia Report' was commissioned to highlight how the experiences of women authors in the book industry differed from that of their male counterparts. Danuta Kean, the project's researcher, found striking similarities between the struggles of women in Lanyer's time and today, noting 'though the landscape of their lives may be different, the structures that inhibit their path to recognition and success are not' (2019, 3). In fact, many of the obstacles cited by women in Kean's research resonate with those faced by Lanyer and her fellow women authors. For instance, women authors in the study noted that they felt pressure to write in particular genres like 'chick lit', suggesting there is still the sense that there are certain kinds of writing that are appropriate for women (Kean 2019, 12). Thankfully, although they face similar struggles, Kean notes that Emilias then and now share a resilience: 'where women struggle for recognition they adapt' (2019, 15). Then, as now and into the future, clever women must continue to challenge convention and think round obstacles to their authorship, joining Aemilia and Emilia as proud women in print.

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NOTE to Copy Editor: on page 5 in the first quote from VQ 71 – the 'I'm' in 'Hear quite clearly what i'm trying to say' is lowercase in the text.

<sup>1</sup> To distinguish between the Globe and Vaudeville texts of *Emilia*, the Abbreviations 'VQ'= Vaudeville quarto and 'GQ' – Globe Quarto are used throughout this essay.

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Jarrin Tasmin for drawing my attention to this phrase.

<sup>5</sup> 'The very phrases 'woman writer' and 'woman author' usually imply that these concepts, when unmodified, are gendered masculine.' (Ferguson 1996,145). See also Caroline Criado Perez's *Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men* (2019).

<sup>6</sup> This number gets even smaller 'if we consider the 'population to include the Irish, Native American and African persons inhabiting (the later against their will) territories claimed by the English crown' (Ferguson 1996, 150)

<sup>7</sup> 'Publishing' is used anachronistically, describing members of the book trade who were involved in marketing and selling books. See Peter W. M. Blayney's 'The Publication of Playbooks' in *A New History of Early English Drama* (1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Trill 31, Shepard 331, and Walker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lady Mary Sidney Herbert was also prohibited on account of her sex from participating in the funeral of her brother the poet Sir Philip Sidney (Hannay 2008).

- <sup>8</sup> Happily, there are exceptions, see for example the sonnets in Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1621).
- <sup>9</sup> For more on feminist striving, see Sarah Ahmed's *Living a Feminist Life* 2017.
- <sup>10</sup> This overview owes much to the work of Margaret J. M. Ezell, 2002. 'Women and Writing' in *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* pp. 77-94.
- <sup>11</sup> Leigh, Dorothy (1616) the Mother's Blessing or The godly counsaile of a gentle-woman not long since deceased. (London, John Budge).
- <sup>12</sup> See Ezell 86 and also Hughes, Ann. 2004. 'Thornton [neé Wandesford], Alice'. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
- <sup>13</sup> See Klene, Jean (2000). "'Monument of an Endless affection": Folger MS V.B. 198 and Lady Anne Southwell.' In Peter Beal and Margaret J. M. Ezell (eds), *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol. 9 (pp. 165-86).
- <sup>14</sup> See for example, Rosemary O'Day 'Tudor and Stuart Women: Their Lives Through Letters' in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, ed. By James Daybell (Palgrave, 2001), pp. 127-142.
- <sup>15</sup> Speght, Rachel. *A Movzell for Melastomus.* (London: 1617)
- <sup>16</sup> The 'I'm' in 'Hear quite clearly what i'm trying to say' is lowercase in the text (VQ 71).
- <sup>17</sup> This poem doesn't manspread.
- <sup>18</sup> Quotes from *Salve Deus* from *Emilia* (2019, 79). Line numbers added for reference.
- <sup>19</sup> See Walker 1996, Chapter 5.