

# The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613–1680

Edited by  
Heather Wolfe

To The Reader ❄



To owte-ronne, those weavie howers, of a  
sadder, and deepe passion: My melancholly, pen  
fell arriveth, upon this historiall relation.  
which speaks, a kinde, one of our owne, though  
one of the moste unfortunate, and shewes, y  
fall, of his inglorious misions. whose high-  
and pride, occasioned, many strange agitations  
in y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome, and finally, wrought their own  
destruction; and then, indulgent masters kine  
what time daies wrought, yo<sup>e</sup> may peruse in  
one, which may informe yo<sup>e</sup>, and excuse my errors.  
Such workes require, a quiet mynde, and leisure  
both w<sup>ch</sup> to me, I doe confess, are strangers. Some  
passages remarkable, may take, if yo<sup>e</sup> recente  
them, the rest may seeme, to make, the story fuller.  
lett Crittikes morallise, or Judge, their fange,  
I wright, to please the truche, not humor others,  
And in that sense, yo<sup>e</sup> may partake, my labors.



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ELIZABETH CARY, 1613–1680

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palgrave  
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*in memoriam*  
*Jeremy Frank Maule*  
*(1952–1998)*

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## ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

**Nadine N. W. Akkerman**, a graduate student at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, has published articles in *The Ben Jonson Journal* and *Early Modern Literary Studies* and is currently preparing her dissertation, "The Letters of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine of the Rhine, Queen of Bohemia: A Scholarly Edition of the Years 1632–1642." Besides a fully annotated edition of the years 1632–1642, the dissertation will include a census of all the letters, either to or by the Queen of Bohemia, many of which are dispersed in archives across the world and are mostly unpublished.

**Iiona Bell** is a professor of English literature at Williams College. She is the author of *Elizabethan Women and the Poetry of Courtship* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) as well as numerous articles and book chapters on Donne, Shakespeare, Herbert, Jonson, Elizabeth I, Milton, and Elizabethan women. She is the editor of *John Donne: Selected Poems* (Penguin, 2006). She is currently working on a biographical study of Donne's courtship and a critical interpretation of Donne's love poetry.

**Erin E. Kelly** is an assistant professor in the Department of English at Nazareth College in Rochester, New York. She is currently working on a book-length study of representations of religious conversion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drama.

**Karen L. Nelson** is the associate director of the Center for Renaissance & Baroque Studies at the University of Maryland. She has coedited the volume *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* with Jane Donawerth, Linda Dove, and Mary Burke. She has published essays on Elizabeth Cary, Henrietta Maria, and Elizabeth of Bohemia. Her research interests include pastoral literature, religious reform and counterreform in England, and women's writing.

**Curtis Perry** is a professor of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. In addition to essays on various aspects of early modern English literature and culture, he is the author of *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 1997) and *Literature and Favoritism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2006). He is also the editor of *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Brepols, 2001).

**Deana Rankin** is fellow and director of studies in English at Girton College, University of Cambridge. She is the author of *Between Spenser and Swift: English Writing in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) as well as a number of articles on drama, history-writing, republicanism, and Irish writing in the early modern period. Formerly a theater manager, she maintains close links with the Royal Shakespeare Company's education program.

**Margaret Reeves** is a sessional assistant professor in the School of Arts and Letters in the Atkinson Faculty of Liberal and Professional Studies at York University in Toronto. She has published articles on Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford*, Aphra Behn's fiction, and on the writing of literary history in relation to the novel. She is also one of three coeditors of *Shell Games: Scams, Frauds, and Deceits (1300–1650)* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), and is currently working on a book-length study of political satiric discourse in seventeenth-century women's prose narratives.

**R. W. Serjeantson** teaches history at Trinity College, Cambridge. He is the author of a range of studies in early modern intellectual history and the editor of *Generall Learning: A Seventeenth Century Treatise on the Formation of the General Scholar*, by Meric Casaubon (Cambridge: RTM, 1999).

**Alison Shell** is a reader in English at the University of Durham. She is the author of *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) and a number of articles on English Catholic literary culture. She is currently working on two books: a survey of Catholicism within the oral culture of early modern England and a study of Shakespeare and religion.

**Mihoko Suzuki** is a professor of English at the University of Miami and the author of *Metamorphoses of Helen: Authority, Difference, and the Epic* (Cornell University Press, 1989 and 1992) and *Subordinate Subjects: Gender,*

*the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588–1688* (Ashgate, 2003); and the coeditor, with Cristina Malcolmson, of *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Palgrave, 2002). She edited the volumes on Elizabeth Cellier and Mary Carleton for Ashgate's Early Modern Englishwomen facsimile series and is coediting a four-volume collection of women's political writings in seventeenth-century England with Hilda Smith and Susan Wiseman. She is also writing a book on gender, history, and the politics of civil war in early modern England and France.

**Jesse G. Swan**, an associate professor of English at the University of Northern Iowa, has published on authors ranging from Shakespeare, Cary, and Milton to Conrad Aiken, Flannery O'Connor, and Arundhati Roy and on topics in bibliography and textual studies, critical race studies, silence, and the state of the U.S. academy. He is working on an edition of both the folio and octavo versions of *The History of Edward II* and has recently published, with Richard Utz, *Postmodern Medievalisms* (2005), volume 13 in the series *Studies in Medievalism*.

**Heather Wolfe** is the curator of manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. She is the editor of *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters* (RTM Publications and Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001) and has published several essays on early modern manuscript culture and writing technologies. For the Folger, she has written the exhibition catalogues *The Pen's Excellencie* (2002) and *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (2005) (with Alan Stewart, and has edited *The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608* (2006).

**Marion Wynne-Davies** lectures in the English Department at the University of Dundee, Scotland. She has published two editions of primary material: *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents* (with S. P. Cerasano) (Routledge, 1996) and *Women Poets of the Renaissance* (J. M. Dent, 1998), as well as several collections of essays in the same field. She has written two monographs, *Women and Arthurian Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) and *Sidney to Milton* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), and her most recent work, *Women Writers of the English Renaissance: Familial Discourse*, is forthcoming from Palgrave Macmillan.

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## INTRODUCTION

*Heather Wolfe*

Once relegated to the status of a nearly forgotten playwright and eccentric Roman Catholic convert, Elizabeth Cary (1585?–1639) is now increasingly appreciated as a Renaissance woman historian, playwright, translator, and poet. The recent proliferation of editions and facsimiles of Cary's writings has given students and scholars the ability to place the writer in broader and comparative contexts with implications that take her far beyond the domestic sphere.<sup>1</sup> Essays, articles, and chapters devoted to the topical nature of her writings, and a recognition of the ease with which she moved between literary genres, has repositioned her in the milieu of many of her more illustrious male contemporaries. While her small surviving oeuvre prevents her from being considered a major Renaissance writer, she is an intriguing and remarkable writer whose richly complex work actively questions the meaning of political tyranny. As a female author she can be credited with a number of firsts: she is the first English woman to have an original play printed, the first woman to author an English history, and the first woman to publish a translation of a religious polemical work. Cary's resurrection is part of a much larger and rapidly evolving recovery process of women writers in general, spurred on by crosscurrents in literary theory, gender studies, new historicism, textual bibliography, and manuscript studies.

Now that Cary figures so prominently in the inclusive literary landscape of male *and* female writers in early modern England, where do we go from here? Cary criticism, plentiful and robust, has focused almost exclusively on *The Tragedie of Mariam, Faire Queene of Jewry* (London, 1613) and *The History of the Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II* (London, 1680). Building on the Cary scholarship that precedes it, this collection of essays includes new voices, new perspectives, and new discoveries, broadening our understanding of Cary as a writer by incorporating critical and historical analyses of her forays into other genres. Always mindful of the literary, political, and religious backdrop of early Stuart England, the chapters explore the

extent of her engagement in both the print *and* manuscript worlds of early modern England. The chapters address crucial questions about authorship, form, and reception and avoid generalizations about gender that would smooth over her consistently ambiguous portrayals of male and female figures and her complicated appropriations of typically “male” genres.

Cognizant of a much wider and more complex culture of literary transmission—often collaborative and anonymous—that operated outside the realm of the printed book, scholars are no longer simply interested in the fact that women wrote, but are now guided by the exciting and frustrating reality that the full extent and nature of women’s writing will perhaps never be known. Women writers tended to use the medium of manuscript, rather than print, to construct their public identities, and, as recent studies have shown, manuscripts could be as influential, and often more subversive, than printed texts. But manuscripts have a much lower survival rate than printed books, and women’s writing does not always fit neatly into traditional canonical categories. The true scope of women’s writing from this period is difficult to estimate.

Cary’s autograph remains are limited to fifteen letters, her signature on two depositions, and a youthful translation of Ortelius, which she dedicated to her uncle, Sir Henry Lee.<sup>2</sup> But allusions to her works by others suggest that she was deeply immersed in a variety of networks that transmitted literary and controversial manuscript texts and that her printed corpus represents only the tip of the iceberg. The manuscript of *Mariam* was “stolen out of that sister inlaws (her frinds) chamber, and printed, but by her owne procurement was called in,” according to *Lady Falkland: Her Life* (written ca. 1645; hereafter referred to as *Life*; 110). Sir John Davies’s dedication to her in 1612 makes mention of “Scenes of Syracuse and Palestine” written by her, which he apparently saw in manuscript.<sup>3</sup> According to Sir James Hayes’s preface to the 1680 octavo of Cary’s *History of the Most Unfortunate Prince, King Edward II*, he found the source manuscript among the papers of her husband, Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland. While this manuscript no longer appears to be extant, two other contemporary fair copies of Cary’s *Edward II* (dated January 7, 1626/27 and February 2, 1627/28), both in the same scribal hand but of differing lengths, do survive. Cary alludes to her use of a copyist to prepare a manuscript of *The Reply of the most illustrious Cardinall of Perron, to the Answere of the King of Great Britaine* (Douay, 1630) in her “letter to the reader” (sig. [ã2<sup>v</sup>]):

If it gaine noe applause, hee that writt it faire, hath lost more labour then I haue done, for I dare auouch, it hath bene fower times as long in transcribing, as it was in translating.



Cary's epitaph "On the Duke of Buckingham" and its companion elegy were transcribed into dozens of poetical miscellanies and manuscript separates. Oft-repeated statistics culled from *Life* point to many other manuscripts, including an original polemical religious treatise, thought to be "the best thing she ever writ," a letter of advice to her oldest children, and "innumerable slight things in verse."<sup>4</sup> Of her verse, "that which was said to be the best" was "the life of Tamberlaine in verse"; she also penned verse lives of many saints, including St. Mary Magdalene, St. Agnes Martyr, St. Elizabeth of Portugal, and "many verses of our Blessed Lady."<sup>5</sup> In addition to her translation of Cardinal du Perron's *Replique* (only the first tome of which was ever published), *Life* cites her translations of Seneca's epistles (found by her son Lucius in her father's study), and the writings of Louis de Blois, a sixteenth-century Benedictine monk.<sup>6</sup> While only a handful of the manuscripts described in this paragraph are known to be extant, the fact that her Catholic children were aware of many of them in the decade after her death suggests that they had seen and read them when they lived with her in England, and that they perhaps took the Catholic writings with them to Cambrai.

*The Lady Falkland: Her Life* is a valuable tool for understanding Cary's *lived* life and the extent of her literary output. While it is a useful exercise to read it both as a hagiographically motivated conversion narrative of a mother and six of her children produced at a monastery in the Spanish Netherlands, and as a literary work that adheres to the prescribed format for early modern life-writing, in many cases biographical events can be distilled from providential explanations to corroborate and enhance details about Cary's life and conversion.<sup>7</sup> The utility of this multilayered approach is evident in several chapters included here: Richard Serjeantson begins his chapter with an examination of *Life's* account of the triangular relationship between Cary, her son Lucius, and his friend William Chillingworth; Deana Rankin reads *Life's* account of Cary's time in Ireland against the grain to highlight her emergence in the Irish public sphere; and Marion Wynne-Davies uses *Life* as a springboard for understanding Cary's influence on the surviving written remains of four of her children (Lucy, Anne, Patrick, and Lucius). As Alison Shell elegantly argues in her chapter, it is entirely plausible that Cary followed the Renaissance practice of interrogating her own life through an active rewriting of relevant historical exemplars. Thus, it has been, and will continue to be, a useful exercise to use what we know about her life—her extensive learning, the ways in which she defended her conversion, her financial and familial hardships, her active participation in a range of influential literary and religious circles—through *Life*, her letters, and other contemporary print and manuscript sources, to better understand the relationship between form and content in her writings.<sup>8</sup>

Part I of the collection is devoted to *The Tragedy of Mariam*. Printed in 1613 by Richard Hawkins, this Senecan closet drama was written roughly ten years earlier, when the newly married Cary was living with her mother-in-law while her husband honed his soldier-skills in the wars in the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>9</sup> Ilona Bell examines the ways in which the play's meaning is shaped by Cary's deployment of Renaissance lyric—nearly forty sonnets and countless sestets are embedded throughout the play. The use of Petrarchan sonnets and dialogic love poetry allows the female characters to respond to and transform a typically male genre, and in turn, allows the playwright herself to critique the contradictory rhetoric of the Petrarchan sonneteers of the Elizabethan period. The constant undermining and overturning of declaration and judgment by each character is central to the play's meaning and purpose, and Bell suggests that Cary unsettled her audience by providing both an ironic commentary on Renaissance literary conventions and on attitudes toward love, marriage, and women.

Previous scholars have identified *Mariam* as a proto-Christian martyr. Erin Kelly problematizes this tag by comparing Cary's *Mariam* to other *Mariams* and to other descriptions of post-Reformation Protestant and Catholic martyrs by Cary's contemporaries. Cary wrote her play at a critical period in the history of martyrological discourse in England, when stories about Protestant martyrs were deployed by writers *not* to encourage spiritual zealotry and religious dissent, but rather, to encourage conformity. Thus, female martyrs were often depicted as meek and innocent victims, stripped of the rebellious facets of their personalities. Cary, instead, highlights the defiant actions of her *Mariam*, challenging contemporary readers to accept the heroine-martyr as a chaste, but not silent or obedient, female. The judgments that the chorus pass on *Mariam* therefore serve as Cary's implicit interrogation of her contemporaries' tendency to strip female martyrs of their rebelliousness, since to condemn this quality is to condemn the very quality that made them martyrs.

While critics have previously compared *Mariam* to Cary's source, Thomas Lodge's translation of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* (1st ed., London, 1602), Alison Shell focuses on the influence of Lodge's approach to history as spelled out in his preface, rather than on the source material itself. Historical exemplars were widely used in early modern England as a means for self-interrogation of the past and as a model for future behavior, and it could be argued that *Mariam* was in part a moral exercise in internalizing an exemplar that bore some relation to Cary's own condition. Autodidactic texts such as Cary's play and Lodge's translation did not require a point-by-point correspondence between writer/reader and character, but instead required the reader to be able to infer the moral utility from only one

character trait or incident. Cary's voracious devouring of history and moral treatises, as recounted in *Life*, strongly suggests her belief in the power of a historical text or play to provide matter for the correcting of one's faults. Moving beyond both the readings of *Mariam* as an exploration of female subjectivity and as a confessional work, and the subsequent downplaying of biographical criticism by later scholars, Shell argues that the play be read in light of what we know about Cary's own conscience, and that we fully appreciate the clash of exemplarities that she presents.



Part II turns to Cary's *History of Edward II*, extant in four different versions of varying lengths—two print publications of 1680 and two scribal copies made in the late 1620s. While the story of Edward II, his wife, Isabel, and his favorites Gaveston and Spenser, was taken up by many of Cary's contemporaries, including Marlowe, Hubert, and Drayton, what were Cary's motives in reviving and retelling the story of a king who had died 400 years earlier? Curtis Perry's chapter on the folio version of *The History of the Life, Death, and Reign of Edward II* focuses on the ways in which Cary's concern with domestic tyranny is intertwined with larger questions about the meaning of political tyranny and subjection. In the 1620s, comparisons of Edward II's favorite, Spencer, to James I's and Charles I's favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, were rife, interpreted as a warning against the dangers of favorites and, simultaneously, as a warning about the dangers of unchecked popularity and speech. Cary's adaptation of this deeply contested political fable evinces an interest in its moral ambiguity: the fact that, once the political balance has tipped, nobody in the story is completely innocent, and all actions and motives are suspect. Suggesting that the politics of passion and the lack of self-restraint are Cary's central concerns, Perry invites readers to subordinate character to theme as early modern readers were prone to do; that is, to think of the fundamental narrative structure of the *History* not in terms of the experiences of individual characters but in terms of an outward movement of intemperate passion beginning with Edward himself and then moving in sequence to his court and to the realm as a whole.

Mihoko Suzuki argues that *The History of Edward II* represents a significant intervention in the history of English and continental political thought and historiography. She examines Cary's use of and divergence from Machiavelli's *The Prince* and *Discourses*, and compares Cary's gendered critique of the hierarchical metaphor of the body politic to that in Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the Body Politic*. Suzuki then situates Cary in the tradition of English political thought that advances limited monarchy—whose

chief exemplars are John of Salisbury and John Fortescue—and examines her relation to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Catholic proponents of monarchical resistance. Not only does Cary use these political thinkers to shape her historical narrative, her analysis of the fall of Edward II serves as an exemplary narrative through which she tests political theories concerning monarchical prerogative and the claims of the subject, thus challenging the theory of absolute monarchy as put forth by James I. *Edward II* thereby participates in the contemporary dialogue concerning absolutism and parliamentary prerogative between king and parliament, while its posthumous publication during the Exclusion Crisis indicates its relevance for the similar debate between Charles II and his parliaments concerning his prerogative to name James II as his successor. Cary diverges from the traditional Protestant national historiography of Britain to advance a theory of nationhood based on an eclectic synthesis of political theory—both English and continental—that prioritizes the importance of the common good.

Criticism on Cary's *Edward II* has traditionally privileged the longer of the two printed versions of 1680, the folio *History of the Life, Death, and Reign of Edward II*. Discussion of the much shorter octavo version, *The History of the Most Unfortunate Prince*, has always been speculative and dismissive: it is treated either as a redaction of the longer version made by a later publisher or as a spurious early version. The importance of the octavo, and its relationship to the folio, are taken up by Jesse Swan and Margaret Reeves, respectively. Jesse Swan provides a detailed postpublication history of the 1680 octavo. His discussion accentuates its importance as a witness to the literary work of Cary, as an independent production with an independent aim, rather than as a redaction of the longer 1680 folio text, and illustrates the perils of trusting later editions, beginning with the version of *The History of the Most Unfortunate Prince* included in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1744–1746). As Swan argues, the textual apparatus and other editorial interventions in these later editions introduce many misleading readings, solidify the erroneous attribution to Henry Cary, perpetuate the belief that the octavo was a redaction of the folio, and further, obscure the fact that the preface to the octavo was written by Sir James Hayes in 1680 and *not* by William Oldys in 1744. Swan demonstrates that commercial and bibliographical forces have led to the misrepresentation of the 1680 octavo since 1744, and describes the effect that this has had on twentieth-century scholarship on *Edward II*.

In the mid-1990s, the late Jeremy Maule discovered two manuscript versions of Cary's history of Edward II, which both enhance and complicate our understanding of the history's function and readership. The earlier, shorter manuscript (Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton MS 1) bears some similarity to the octavo version, although it is significantly longer, while

the longer manuscript (Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 361) and the 1680 printed folio exhibit a high degree of similarity to one another. Both manuscripts are in the same scribal hand and come from similar paper stock. In this volume, Margaret Reeves takes up Maule's arguments, convincingly linking all four versions to Elizabeth Cary and providing a linguistic comparison which shows that the two printed versions are neither expanded nor consolidated versions of one another, but rather two separate and distinct histories emanating from two additional, nonextant, sources. In successive surviving versions of the history, Reeves analyzes the shifts in tone and wording of Cary's preface to the reader (in which Cary explains that the history was written "to owtronne those wearie howers"), attributing the greater emphasis on Cary's emotional distress in the earlier manuscript's preface to the fact that she had just publicly converted to Roman Catholicism, resulting in the loss of financial support and familial bonds. The transformation of Cary's historical narrative of Edward II from the manuscript that informed the octavo version (no longer extant), to the Finch-Hatton manuscript, to the Fitzwilliam manuscript, indicates that Cary was an active reviser of her own work, and that her history was known and available to her contemporaries in at least two different manuscript versions long before its 1680 publication(s).



Cary's most influential work in her own lifetime was a translation of one of the key religious polemical treatises of the early seventeenth century, Jacques Davy du Perron's *Replique à la réponse du Serenissime Roy de la Grand Bretagne* (Paris, 1620). Cary's translation of the first part of this tome, *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron to the Answere of the Most Excellent King of Great Britaine* (Douay, 1630), was part of a multilingual dialogue between du Perron and various Protestant intellectuals that began its printed life in 1611 with a letter from Isaac Casaubon (writing on behalf of James I) to du Perron, and ended in 1664 with the publication of a new edition of the English translation of Pierre du Moulin's 1627 answer to *Replique*, titled *The Novelty of Popery, opposed to the antiquity of true Christianity. Against the book of Cardinal Du Perron*. Cary entered the debate at a time when interest in an English reformed and Catholic Church was high among her irenic, Arminian friends: the Gallican (French Catholic) Church was a useful model because of its delayed and partial adherence to the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) in 1615.

Cary's translation, which appeared in print shortly after two retorts to *Replique*—Pierre du Moulin's *Nouveauté du Papisme* (1627) and Lancelot Andrewes' *Two Answers to Cardinall Perron* (London, 1629)—and in between two new French editions of du Perron's *Replique*, in 1622 and

1633, earned her a reputation in Rome as a Catholic scholar.<sup>10</sup> The translation gained attention from her family and friends as well, including her husband, her daughters, her son Lucius and his friend William Chillingworth, her friend James Clayton, and most likely Queen Henrietta Maria herself.<sup>11</sup> *Life* notes that most copies of this tome were seized and burned by command of the archbishop of Canterbury upon their arrival in England from Douai, but that “some few copies came to her hands” (141). It is likely that six surviving presentation copies of *Reply*, all containing precise emendations and bound in fine morocco with remnants of blue silk ties, were among these few copies. Five of these include a tipped-in engraving of du Perron with a laudatory quatrain written in manuscript, and four of these five also contain a tipped-in manuscript sonnet addressed to Henrietta Maria.<sup>12</sup>

Karen Nelson situates Cary’s translation within the religious controversies in England in the late 1620s and 1630s, when English Protestants were increasingly dismayed by a visible and vocal Catholic population in England, by Charles’s French-Catholic queen, whose chapel was frequented by English Catholic courtiers, and by the growth of English Catholic colleges and monasteries on the continent. Nelson compares *Reply* to other works of controversy that were published at the same time, and explicates *Reply*’s voluminous preliminary material and the last section of the translation, which treats the necessity of the Roman Catholic Church’s schism with the Eastern churches. The fact that the translation closes with an argument for the king to submit to the pope’s spiritual authority, as England’s earlier kings had historically done, while maintaining his temporal authority, suggests that Cary was aware of a softening, or at least a more neutral stance, toward Catholics, and that she timed her translation to influence those people who might be sympathetic to a revival of James I’s irenic aspirations for a reformed Catholic Church.

Cary was also a controversialist in her own right. *Life* describes “the best thing she ever writ” as a now-lost treatise disputing the Protestant beliefs of her son Lucius, second Viscount Falkland. R. W. Serjeantson addresses the question: What would this treatise have discussed, and how does it relate to the larger debates authored by her son and his friends, the Catholic convert Walter Montague and the Protestant-Catholic-Protestant William Chillingworth? Serjeantson untangles the manuscript and print culture of religious controversy in early modern England to show Cary’s critical influence on many well-known works of controversy, and celebrates her as an author of original controversy, arguing that the context for Chillingworth’s epic *Religion of Protestants* (Oxford, 1638) was precisely the one that Cary herself was involved in: the controversy between Isaac Casaubon/James I and du Perron.

*Mariam*, *Edward II*, and *Reply* are not the only surviving fruits of Cary's pen. The popular epitaph on the Duke of Buckingham that begins "Reader, stand still and look, lo here I am," attributed to Cary in two contemporary manuscript sources, is consistently linked in poetical miscellanies to a 44-line elegy beginning, "Yet were bidentalls sacred." Nadine Akkerman examines the relationship between the epitaph and elegy and makes a convincing argument for Cary's authorship of both texts. After ruling out other possible authors—John Eliot, Richard Weston, and William Juxon—Akkerman offers a close reading of the elegy, written less than a year after Cary penned *Edward II*, another text that addresses the dangerous consequences of royal favoritism while giving the accused an opportunity to speak for himself. Akkerman highlights the contradictions and ambiguities of the poem, particularly its simultaneous defense and condemnation of Buckingham's actions, reading it against other satirical poems relating to Buckingham's 1628 assassination and in the context of miscellanized elegies in general.



Part IV of this collection looks at Cary's legacies: her patronage in Dublin and the literary legacy that she passed on to her children, many of whom went on to circulate their own work in manuscript and print. Deana Rankin's chapter on Cary and Ireland begins with Gaveston's banishment to, and return from, Ireland, as recounted in *History of the Life, Reign and Death of Edward II*. Cary spent approximately four years in Dublin (September 1622–July 1626), where her husband served as Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629. Her time there marks an important juncture in her life, Rankin argues, for it was when Cary began pursuing a public life and began moving and thriving between cultures and religions. She named her newborn son after the patron saint of Ireland, taught herself Irish, conversed with Irish Catholics, started a glorified sweatshop in which poor Irish children became apprentices in spinning and weaving, and became a patron to the Catholic Richard Bellings, who dedicated *A Sixth Booke to the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* to her in 1624. Rankin reads Belling's dedication and work against the political and religious climate in Dublin and London and alongside other dedications to Cary, considering the possibilities of her involvement "at the first birth" of Belling's narrative. The conclusive vision of reconciliation provided by Belling—Amphialus returning from banishment to be restored to grace and to marry and rule alongside Queen Helen of Corinth—perhaps reflected cautious optimism among the Catholic Old English, who strove to be reintegrated into Irish civil and military life, a liberty denied them in the aftermath of the

Elizabethan Wars. Belling's ending to Sidney's romance, dedicated to Cary, was consistently appended to all subsequent editions of *Arcadia* from 1627 onward.

Finally, Marion Wynne-Davies introduces us to the writings of four of Cary's children—Lucy, Anne, Patrick, and Lucius—exploring the ways in which they were influenced by, and negotiated around, Cary's attempts to convert them to Roman Catholicism. Both Cary herself and *Life* created a familial discourse that placed spiritual faith above family ties. Yet, Wynne-Davies notes, other writings by Cary's children reflect the tensions created by this dislocation. Their adherence to a dialectic of wordly inheritance and spiritual choice is common to religious discourse of the early modern period in general, and yet they enact it in unique ways. Wynne-Davies explores the language in the obituaries of Lucy and Anne, Anne's free translations of the psalms, Patrick's religious and secular poetry, and Lucius' poetry and his anti-Catholic treatises, including *A Discourse of Infallibility*.



Cary's sixteen surviving letters (fifteen autograph letters, one letter copied out by her husband) are perhaps her most overlooked writings. Letter writing was an established literary genre in early modern England and Cary was master of the form, relying upon rhetoric, casuistry, friendships, and political and religious alliances to shape her pleas and responses to her husband, to the Privy Council, and even to the king. Though she had little bargaining power, her carefully worded explanations and appeals garnered the attention and response of her recipients. She deflected her husband's vitriolic condemnation of her as a bewitched, conniving, and spendthrift wife by portraying herself as an obedient wife and subject who was merely following her conscience. While many other noblewomen wrote carefully calibrated petitionary letters in the early Stuart period, Cary took extraordinary risks with the tone of her letters, deploying wit, sarcasm, and passion under circumstances in which humility and respect might have been more circumspect. She concludes a letter to Secretary of State Sir Francis Windebank by appropriating his earlier attempt to insult her: "If the seruice of a collapsed lady; as you called hir, may bee of use to you, you shall euer comand hir" (the word "collapsed" refers to both sexual and religious misconduct).<sup>13</sup> In a letter to Charles I, she chastizes him for thinking her so foolish as to believe that her conversion to Catholicism would lead to social advancement:

I heard by person of quality, that your maiesty was pleased to beleeeue, that I altred my <sup>^profession of^</sup> religion, upon some court hopes, but I beseech you,



how wicked soeuer you may censure mee, to bee, (as it is no lesse, to make religion, a ladder to clime by) yet iudge mee, not, so foolish, as to understand so little, in the state, of this time, as to thinke promotion, likely, to come, that way.<sup>14</sup>

But her most biting commentary turns up in a letter to Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester. In April 1629, Cary had learned from her friend Elizabeth Knollys, Countess of Banbury, that Lord Dorchester had been offended by the “impatience” and “incivility” of a letter Cary had written to him. In her follow-up letter to him, Cary recommends that he speak further with Lady Banbury so that he fully understands the extent of Cary’s “miseryes.” She blames the tone in her “incivil” letter on her incorrect belief that Dorchester had colluded with her husband in delaying her allowance, and does “acknowledge my mistakinge.” Instead of then referring to herself in the deferential generic terms appropriate to a petitionary letter in which the sender hopes to regain the sympathy of her addressee, she seeks to instruct him in the social and moral responsibilities of nobility by invoking a classical anecdote:

I am no scholler my lord, but I haue heard of a poore woman in macedon, that was much bolder upon a delay, with a great kinge, yet in that plaine age it was not excepted against.<sup>15</sup>

Cary’s self-deprecating assertion that she is “no scholar” is followed by a reference to Plutarch’s story of the poor old woman who tugged at Philip of Macedon’s gown as he walked down the street, begging him to listen to her.<sup>16</sup> When he answered that he did not have time, she cried out to him, “Leave, then to be no king.” Philip of Macedon was so disturbed by her outburst that he immediately returned to his palace and for many days devoted himself to listening to suits and petitions, beginning with the poor old woman. Cary cites this story to soften the perception of her own boldness and to invoke the spirit of that “plain age.” By drawing parallels to another king and another period in history (as she does in *Edward II*, *Mariam*, and *Reply*), she utilizes history, like many of her contemporaries, as a rich source of successes and failures that, in the retelling, can guide not only her own actions, but also the actions of her readers.

## NOTES

This collection of essays has been germinating for some time, inspired by a symposium on Elizabeth Cary organized by the late Jeremy Maule, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in June 1996. Jeremy and I had hoped to coedit a volume based on the papers presented there. Since his death in 1998, Cary

studies have continued to grow, and thus I have added additional contributors to reflect the current state of scholarship in the twenty-first century. I am grateful to the contributors for making this volume possible; to Richard Kuhta, Librarian of the Folger Shakespeare Library, for granting me sabbatical leave to edit it; to Kathleen Lynch and Jesse Swan for providing valuable advice on the Introduction; and to Quindi Franco for patiently waiting for me to finish it.

1. Editions and/or facsimiles of four printed works—*The Tragedie of Mariam, Faire Queene of Jewry* (London, 1613), the two versions of Cary's history of Edward II (London, 1680), and her translation, *The Reply of the Most Illustrions Cardinall of Perron to the Answere of the Most Excellent King of Great Britaine*—are readily available, as are her letters and the 1645 biography, *The Lady Falkland her Life*.
2. "The mirror of the Worlde translated Out of French into Englishe by E T," dedicated to Cary's uncle, Sir Henry Lee (Bodleian Library, Dep. d. 817). It belonged to the seventeenth Viscount Dillon, who gave it to Burford Parish in 1925; it was deposited at the Bodleian by the vicar of Burford in 1991 and is generally restricted to microfilm or photocopy consultation. Lesley Peterson's "Source and Date for Elizabeth Tanfield Cary's Manuscript *The Mirror of the Worlde*," *Notes and Queries* 249 (2004): 257–263, argues that this translation was of *Epitome du theatre du monde* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1588), but her evidence is not conclusive.
3. *Mariam's* existence in manuscript was noted by Sir John Davies in 1612, when he made Cary a joint dedicatee, along with Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and Mary Sidney, dowager Countess of Pembroke, of *The Muses Sacrifice*. In stanza 18 of "The Epistle Dedicatory" he writes: "Thou makst Melpomen proud, and my Heart great / of such a Pupill, who, in Buskin fine, / With Feete of State, dost make thy Muse to mete / the Scenes of Syracuse and Palestine" (sig. [\*\*\*3<sup>v</sup>]). Palestine is the setting of *The Tragedy of Mariam*, while Syracuse refers to the setting of another play by Cary, now lost.
4. *Life*, 214, 114, 213. All references to *Life* are to *Lady Falkland: Her Life*, in *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*, ed. Heather Wolfe (Cambridge, England, and Tempe, AZ: RTM Publications and Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).
5. *Life*, 110, 135, 141. Among her verses on the Virgin Mary were some "verses made on the Anuntiation of our Blesed Lady, and directed to my Lady of Banbury" (Elizabeth Knollys).
6. *Life*, 106, 111.
7. See Heather Wolfe, "The Scribal Hands and Dating of *Lady Falkland: Her Life*," *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 9 (2000): 187–217; Wolfe, "A Family Affair: The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland," in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts III*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 97–108; Judith H. Anderson, *Biographical Truth: The Representation of Historical Persons in Tudor-Stuart Writing* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984); and Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

8. For an account of the seductive possibilities of biographical criticism, see Stephanie Wright, "The Canonization of Elizabeth Cary," in *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing*, ed. Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen, and Suzanne Trill (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele UP, 1996), 55–68.
9. The dedicatory sonnet of *Mariam*, signed "E.C." and addressed to Cary's sister-in-law, "my worthy sister, Mistress Elizabeth Cary," makes reference to her husband's being abroad: "For when my Phoebus' absence makes it night, / Whilst to th'Antipodes his beams do bend" (sig. A1<sup>r-v</sup>). This poem, with the list of characters verso, is only present in the copies at the Huntington Library and the Houghton Library (Harvard). Cancelled stubs are visible in copies at the Eton College Library and the Bodleian Library (Oxford).
10. See letters to Cardinal Barberini, Innocent X, and others in Wolfe, *Elizabeth Cary*, 10–12, letters 96, 100, 106, 111.
11. According to *Life*, Henry Cary's copy of *Reply* "was found in his closet after his death, all noted by him" (151). Clayton, who authored one of the unsigned dedications to her (and to whom she owed £30—her list of debts is printed in Wolfe, *Elizabeth Cary*, letter 33), presented his copy to the Bodleian. Her daughter mentions the translation in several places in *Life* (131–132, 141, 151, 207). Chillingworth's and Lucius Cary's religious writings respond directly to du Perron's arguments (see Serjeantson's chapter). Du Perron converted Henrietta Maria's father, Henri IV, in 1593 (and du Perron's nephew arrived in England in May 1631 as the queen's almoner).
12. Cary acknowledges the queen's role in bringing du Perron to the attention of English Catholics, writing in the manuscript sonnet: "It is your heart (your pious zealous heart)/ That by attractive force, brings great PERROONE / To leaue his SEYNE, his LOYRE, and his GARROONE:/ And to your handmaide THAMES his guiftes imparte" (ll.5–8, Beinecke Library (Yale), Me65 D925+R4G 1630) and in the printed dedication, Henrietta Maria is "fittest to patronize the making him an English man, that, was before so famous a Frenchman" (sig. â2<sup>r</sup>). The other copies are at Harvard, UCLA, Oxford, Cambridge, and Downside Abbey. See Wolfe, *Elizabeth Cary*, 12–13.
13. Cary to Sir Francis Windebank, ca. June 22–30, 1632, National Archives, SP 16/219/58 (Wolfe, *Elizabeth Cary*, letter 78).
14. Cary to Charles I, May 18, 1627, National Archives, SP 16/63/89 (Wolfe, letter, *Elizabeth Cary*, 19).
15. Cary to Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, April [ca. 17–30], 1629, National Archives, SP 16/141/78 (Wolfe, *Elizabeth Cary*, letter 47).
16. From Plutarch's life of Demetrius, in *Parallel Lives*. For a contemporary English translation, see *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romaines, compared together* (London, 1612), 905. The story also appears in George Buchanan's *De jure regni apud Scotos* (Edinburgh, 1579). See Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.223, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>, for a ca. 1609 English manuscript translation of this passage. See George Buchanan, *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship Among the Scots*, ed. Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 173n54, for other sources.