OUT OF COMPASS: ENGLISH WOMEN'S WRITING AND THE CULTURES OF TRAVEL, 1604-1680

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ABSTRACT

OUT OF COMPASS: ENGLISH WOMEN'S WRITING AND THE CULTURES OF TRAVEL, 1604-1680

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This dissertation argues that seventeenth-century women's writing provides vital perspectives on early modern cultures of travel. Though recent scholarship has begun attending to both the historical cases of women who traveled abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and representations of traveling women in canonical literature, these studies have thus far, with a few notable exceptions, neglected women's writing as a source of critical thought on the subject. As a result, our currently scholarly frameworks tend to categorize women's travel as either exceptional or transgressive. "Out of Compass: English Women's Writing and the Cultures of Travel, 1604-1680" challenges these frameworks in two ways. First, it provides an expanded historical survey of the various capacities in which women traveled, demonstrating that while travel was certainly uncommon for some classes of women, it was not rare for women in general. Second, different chapters of this dissertation engage with the literary and autobiographical writings of Elizabeth Cary, Mary Wroth, Margaret Cavendish, and a traveling Quaker minister, Alice Curwen, to demonstrate that while women were certainly aware of the social stigma that could be attached to their travels, they also understood that women's travel was necessary to social, political, and economic projects, both within England and its colonies. Thus, they do not necessarily consider women's travel to be transgressive. Each of these women critically engages with contemporary

social debates concerning a different form of early modern travel – educational travel, professional travel, commercial travel, and religious travel – to both critique the form and to explore its affordances and consequences for the lives of women. Thus, women's writing provides scholars an as-yet unexplored set of perspectives on the cultures of travel in early modern England.

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Introduction: Women's Writing and Cultures of Travel in Early Modern England

> We hired a boat to carry us up to Orleans, and we were towed up all the river of Loire so far. Every night we went on shore to bed, and every morning carried into the boat wine and fruit, and bread, with some flesh… we likewise caught carps, which were the fattest and the best I [had] ever eat[en] in my life. And of all my travels none were, for travel sake as I may call it, so pleasant as this; for we saw the finest cities, seats, woods, meadows, pastures, and champaign that I ever saw in my life, adorned with the most pleasant river of Loire (Fanshawe 132).

In a memorable passage from her 1676 manuscript autobiography, Lady Ann Fanshawe recalls the river voyage she took with her husband in the summer of 1650, between Nantes, in the Upper Brittany region of France, and Orléans, in the Loire Valley. Her exuberant account registers the pleasure she took in the act of journeying, lingering on descriptions of the attractive landscapes and cityscapes she viewed from the ship's deck, and the delicious local foods that were daily caught or brought aboard to be consumed at their leisure. Though she singles out this experience as the most pleasant of all her travels, she had many more like it. In a lengthy passage further on in the autobiography, she recalls her introduction to Spanish cuisine, which she describes in vivid detail and unequivocally praises for its excellence and plentitude (172). On another occasion, she recalls visiting the Alhambra, the famous ninth-century Moorish palace in Granada, Spain, where she viewed architecture and Moorish art that was "so glorious" it "cannot be expressed" (128). At the Alhambra, she even partook in a local superstition, pressing her ear to a locked grate located on the North side of the palace to try to hear the centuries-old sounds of sword fighting. Though she could not definitively make out what she heard, she nonetheless confirmed "that there is such a gate, and I have seen it,"

claiming first-hand knowledge that reinforced her authority to comment on the landmark's existence (129).

These, and other sections of Fanshawe's autobiography, read like the stories contained in early modern travel narratives, particularly those written by men in search of an education though travel. Educational travel was a practice growing in popularity among the English elite, where aristocratic men spent several years touring the courts of Continental Europe in their early adulthood, accruing knowledge of other countries' languages, customs, and political structures along the way. Of course, Fanshawe was no gentlemen on a Grand Tour, but she styled herself a traveler, laying claim to the cultural capital that first-hand experiences of foreign countries had afforded gentlemen of her social class for over a century. In 1645, she and her husband, Richard, had fled England to accompany Charles II's retreating army into Wales and eventually France. The couple lived in Europe in self-imposed political exile until the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, only returning to England for brief periods to conduct business and to aid in Royalist causes.

With a community of wealthy Royalist families living in Europe to call upon, but with limited personal resources themselves, the Fanshawes' experience of living abroad oscillated between periods of pleasurable tourism in France, Spain, and the Low Countries, and periods of serious hardship.[1] Perhaps to make the most of her time in

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[1] Though the Fanshawes were wealthy members of the lower aristocracy, their flight from England effectively cut them off from their lands and the rents they collected from tenants. They did manage to liquidate some of their moveable assets before leaving England, but that meant that they traveled for several years with a finite amount of money. The Fanshawes had to be strategic about their spending, but they were often hosted by wealthier Royalist families who afforded them temporary luxuries. After the Restoration, the couple led a comfortable life in the favor of

exile, Fanshawe adopted the lens of an educational traveler, a lens marked by her curious and consuming gaze toward non-English places, customs, and cultural artifacts, and by an apparent ease of movement through foreign spaces, without ever attempting true cultural immersion.[2]

Given the widely held, though recently challenged, belief in early modern studies that, with some notable exceptions, English women generally did not participate in the overseas travel that has come to characterize this period, Fanshawe's stories of touring Europe in 1650 may seem quite remarkable. And yet, to Fanshawe, adopting the role and perspective of a traveler is nothing extraordinary: she makes no excuses or apologies for co-opting a genre that was generally written by men, nor does she justify her suitability to travel as a woman, even in the few cases when she made transnational journeys without her husband.[3] Therefore, her autobiography not only provides valuable information about her activities abroad and the conditions under which she traveled – these include financial hardships, the unofficial diplomatic work she performed as the wife of a prominent Royalist, the access she gained to local sites of interest, and the effects of equestrian and maritime travel on her many pregnancies – but it also complicates our current scholarly

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Charles II, though Ann Fanshawe spent many years petitioning Parliament for the restoration of some of her husband's confiscated lands. In addition to their financial hardships, the Fanshawes experienced several personal tragedies while living abroad, including six miscarriages, the infant and childhood deaths of nine of fourteen children, and Richard Fanshawe's imprisonment in 1651. On several occasions, the couple returned to England, only to determine it was unsafe.

[2] For context, the Fanshawes resided almost exclusively with other English families in exile, which allowed them to sample and enjoy selected parts of the local cultures, while keeping their daily lives separate from them.

[3] Due to the dangers Richard Fanshawe faced in England (because of his loyalty to Charles II), Ann Fanshawe traveled without him on a few occasions.

frameworks that tend to view women's travel in this period as either exceptional or transgressive.

"Out of Compass: English Women's Writing and the Cultures of Travel, 1604-1680" argues that women's writing from the seventeenth century provides important perspectives on the gendered nature of early modern travel. Although recent scholarship has begun the vital work of recovering historical cases of traveling women, as well as attending to their representations in canonical literature, it has thus far neglected early modern women's writing as a source of critical thought on the subject.[4] While this owes, in part, to the relatively paucity of extant writing by early modern women, it has the less salutary effect of evaluating women's travel in this period through claims made by men.

[4] The major exceptions to this claim are the wealth of scholarship on late-seventeenth-century writer Aphra Behn, who sets some of her plays and works of prose in the New World colonies, and a smaller body of scholarship on Margaret Cavendish's utopic fiction, which I discuss in my third chapter. Both women published the bulk of their work post-Restoration and as such are often taken up by eighteenth-century studies. For scholarship on Margaret Cavendish and travel, see Jason H. Pearl *Utopian Geographies and the Early English novel*, University of Virginia Press, 2014, 43-58.; Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe*, Cornell University Press, 2004, 181-220.; Dyani Johns Taff, *Precarious Travail, Gender, and Narration in Shakespeare's Pericles, Prince of Tyre and Margaret Cavendish's The Blazing World*, University of Nebraska Press, 2019, 273-291.; William Poole, "Francie Godwin, Henry Neville, Margaret Cavendish, HG Wells: Some Utopian Debts." *American Notes and Queries* 16.3 (2003): 12-18.; and Line Cottegnies, "Utopia, Millenarianism, and the Baconian Programme of Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* (1666)," *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Chloë Houston, Ashgate, 2010, 57-78. For a selection of criticism relevant to Behn and the act of travel, see Elizabeth Bohls, "Age of Peregrination: Travel Writing and the Eighteenth-Century Novel." *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture* (2005), especially pages 98-101.; David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn*, John Wiley & Sons, 2008, 239-302.; Tara Ghoshal Wallace, *Imperial Characters: Home and Periphery in Eighteenth-Century Literature*. Bucknell University Press, 2010, 18-34.; Robert Markley, "Global Analogies: Cosmology, Geosymmetry and Skepticism in Some Works of Aphra Behn," *Science, Literature, and Rhetoric in Early Modern England*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007, 189-212.; David Cressy, "Early Modern Space Travel and the English Man in the moon," *The American Historical Review* 111.4 (2006): 961-982.; and Richard Frohock, "Violence and Awe," *Women at Sea: Travel Writing and the Margins of Caribbean Discourse*, edited by Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert and Ivette Romero-Cesareo, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, 41-58.

By engaging with an archive dominated by male-authored prose romances and theatre, both of which treated their traveling heroines with at least some degree of suspicion, and travel manuals, which framed women as physically and morally unfit to undertake voyages, the current scholarship on women's travel has understandably been poised to view women's travel as transgressive, or outside the boundaries of socially accepted behavior.

This dissertation revises this view in two ways. First, I suggest that many more women traveled than is supposed to be the case. In the latter part of this introduction, I offer an expanded survey of women who traveled in this period, particularly noting the roles they played in England's commercial and colonial expansion. Though exact numbers are impossible to gather, due in large part to inadequate or inconsistent record keeping, we can safely say that between 1600 and 1700, tens of thousands of women traveled to the Continent, the American colonies, North Africa, and elsewhere. This estimate is far higher than what we have previously reckoned with, and it indicates that travel, though perhaps uncommon for some classes of women, was not rare for women in general. Second, my dissertation engages with the way in which women depicted their own or other women's travel. Though few women wrote such stunningly clear accounts of their travels as Fanshawe, several of the prominent female writers of the seventeenth century depict traveling women in their literary and autobiographical writings. Different chapters of this dissertation engage with the work of Elizabeth Cary, Mary Wroth, Margaret Cavendish, and a traveling Quaker minister, Alice Curwen, to demonstrate that while women were certainly aware of the social stigma that could be attached to their

travels, they also understood that women's travel was, in many cases, necessary to England's social, political, and economic projects.

An additional intervention of this dissertation comes in the form of taking women's writing seriously as a site of critical engagement with the cultures of travel.[5] Each of the women I discuss critically engages with contemporary social debates concerning a different form of early modern travel – educational travel, professional travel, commercial travel, and religious travel – to both critique the form and to explore its affordances and consequences for the lives of women. I situate their representations of women's travel within contemporary discourses of travel, colonialism, and commerce. I also draw upon the insights of feminist geography to tease out how women understood, reacted to, and sometimes inserted themselves within the cultures of travel developing around them.

In the rest of this introduction, I provide critical and historical context for my arguments. I first situate my dissertation within a growing body of scholarship on early modern women's travel, paying special attention the ways that it is framed as exceptional or transgressive. I then discuss the many women that traveled abroad in this period, giving exact numbers wherever possible. Finally, I offer a revised framework for viewing women's travel in the period, one that is more attuned to the various roles that women played in England's colonial and commercial expansion into the larger world.

[5] I use the plural, "cultures," advisedly. English men and women traveled for a variety of purposes in this period and so faced a range of challenges, material conditions, and social expectations for their travel. Some travel manuals are written to all travelers (though they usually note the differences between merchants, gentlemen, and soldiers), while others are addressed to a specific type of traveler and detail the best practices for their specific journeys. There really was no one culture of travel, but rather many cultures with their own sets of issues.

Since the late 1980s, several influential studies have demonstrated the importance of travel to English culture and literature, including Jaś Elsner and Joan Pau Rubiés' *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh's *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, Anna Suranyi's *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England*, Alison Games' *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in the Age of Expansion, 1560-1660*, and Melanie Ord's *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature*.[6] However, as Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea

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[6] This is a short list of influential scholarship on early modern travel, but it is not exhaustive, nor does it include many critical works that discuss colonialism and commerce, which often implicate the history of travel in this period. It would be impossible to mention all these works, but notable monographs and essay collections include Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, Routledge, 1992.; Stephen Greenblatt, *New World Encounters*, University of California Press, 1993.; Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England*, Brill, 1995.; Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.; Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.; Roland Arthur Greene, *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas*, University of Chicago Press, 1999.; Andrew Hadfield, editor, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630: An Anthology*, Oxford University Press, 2001.; Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, Oxford University Press, 2002.; Benedict Scott Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625*, Oxford University Press, 2007.; Jyotsna G. Singh, editor, *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.; Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani, *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550-1700.* Ashgate, 2009.; Chloë Houston, *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*. Ashgate, 2010.; Bernadette Andrea and Linda McJannet, editors, *Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.; Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, editors, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Ashgate, 2012.; Carmen Nocentelli, *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.; Anthony Parr, *Renaissance Mad Voyages: Experiments in Early Modern English Travel*, Ashgate, 2015.; Helen Hackett, editor, *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, Ashgate, 2016.

recently argued in the introduction to their edited collection, *Travel and Travail: Early Modern Women, English Drama, and the Wider World*, these studies have generally neglected traveling women, at least those who lived prior to the eighteenth century. Partly because they employ a particularly narrow definition of travel that excludes the ways that most women traveled in the period, these studies offer Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who traveled in Ottoman Turkey between 1716 to 1718, as the earliest example of a woman traveler.

In *Voyages and Visions*, for example, Elsner and Rubiés define travel as "a culturally significant event, rather than as mere physical movement," but do not discuss what exactly might constitutes "cultural significance" (Elsner and Rubiés 7). As a result, they privilege the overseas journeys of men who are remembered for contributing to voyages of exploration or commerce.[7] But women also contributed to major colonial and commercial projects, even though their contributions were often undervalued in their own time and are thus not usually mentioned in travel logs and trading company documents. Amrita Sen, for example, has recently shown that three women – Mariam Khan, the Armenian-Mughal wife of an EIC operative, and her two English attendants, Frances Steele and a Mrs. Hudson – were instrumental to the success of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy voyage to India in 1619. Roe's journal, however, mentions the women by their names only once, otherwise referring to them as "the women" (which is easily misread as a reference to Mughal women), and dismisses their presence as a nuisance (Sen 202-210). Therefore, the sense that we get from Roe's journal – if the reader notices the women at

[7] Akhimie and Andrea first observe that Elsner and Rubiés definition of travel excludes the ways that most women traveled, and I am indebted to this observation. See Akhimie and Andrea, 2. The remainder of the discussion is my own reading.

all – is that Khan, Steele, and Hudson were merely inconveniences to Roe's mission, rather than key actors in it.

Similarly, Kamps and Singh's *Travel Knowledge* explores instances of "transculturation," an anthropological term for the merging of elements from two or more cultures that encounter one another, and thus focuses on encounters between England and foreign ambassadors, merchants, and colonial administrators. Thanks to recent work on women's travel, we now know that ambassadors' wives played a crucial role in transculturation, infiltrating women's social networks in their host country and even trading in commercial goods, either through private exchange or through gendered gift-giving practices. Yet, in the archives that are typically used to study the historical phenomenon of travel (travel logs, trading company documents, official state records, etc.), the "ambassadress" is not granted the same importance as her husband, even as she performed similar diplomatic functions.

In recent years, scholarship has begun to rectify the relative scarcity of women in studies of travel, pressing on the archive to extract references to English women abroad, while also reexamining literary works that represent women who traveled. We now know that women in this period did travel, over a range of distances and for a variety of purposes. This scholarship has also begun the vital work of establishing the linkages between power, defined broadly, and mobility.[8] For example, Sen's work on Khan, Steele, and Hudson shows that when the women were in proximity to the Mughal markets – and to Mughal women, who tended to take more active roles in commerce than

[8] The editors of *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* make this formulation in the introduction to their special forum on "Early Modern Women's Mobilities." See Andrea, et al, 1-2.

their English counterparts – they became savvy traders, securing goods that would fetch a hefty price in England. Hudson even demanded that she receive the same personal cargo space allotted to East India Company mariners so that she could transport the valuable commodities she had accrued through trade and gift exchange back to England, presumably for sale (Sen 196-199, 208-210).[9]

Akhimie's essay on Lady Catherine Whitenhall, who made a "proposal of travel" to her husband soon after their marriage and traveled with him to Italy in 1650, underscores how desire for adventure and for the cultural capital that such voyages offered drove Whitenhall's request. Although Whitenhall's premature death on the voyage back kept her from enjoying the fruits of her "worldly experience," we know that she was not the only woman to pursue educational travel for the sake of the experience. Lady Alethea Howard, a distant great-aunt of Whitenhall's on her father's side, allegedly had "a mania for travel," as her husband put it (Hervey 425). Though early requests to join her husband on his diplomatic missions were denied, she was included in the entourage that accompanied Elizabeth Stuart, eldest daughter of James I, to join her husband, Frederick V, in Heidelberg in 1613. After returning, she used her substantial fortune to finance a journey for herself, her husband, and famed architect, Inigo Jones, to France and Italy, following a similar route to that of educational travelers. Howard spent most of her later life residing in various cities in Europe. Though her time abroad was not without hardship, particularly in the 1640s, when she was compelled to flee England

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[9] Pamela Sharpe's essay, "Gender at Sea: Women and the East India Company in Seventeenth-Century London," discusses the cargo space allotted to each mariner, called "the privilege," and its impact on their families' finances. She also identifies cases where widows petitioned for the contents of their late husbands' privileges. See Sharpe, 61-62.

unexpectedly to escape the English Civil War, her travels nonetheless brought her into association with the prominent artists and writers of Europe, as well as with foreign royals.

In a less positive and certainly more complex example of the entanglements of mobility and power, women who traveled as indentured servants to the Jamestown Colony of Virginia in the 1610s and 1620s treaded an uneven and unstable landscape of gendered power dynamics. To begin with, many women did not indenture themselves willingly, but were either legally sentenced to “transport” or rounded up from London’s poor suburbs as children or teenagers. Those who survived the voyage were put to arduous manual labor for the young colony’s plantations and to serve higher-ranking settlers. In an effort to encourage women to emigrate to Jamestown, the Virginia Company decreed in 1620 that all servants, men and women, should receive fifty acres of land on their twenty-first birthday (earlier for women if they married). The prospect of land ownership did entice some poorer English women, who had few chances to ever own property in England, and with the absence of coverture laws in the first decades of the colony, which would have transferred women’s property to their husbands upon marriage, women saw the potential to build intergenerational wealth.

However, these opportunities were not all they were cracked up to be. The fifty acres granted to servants were typically of poor quality: infertile or uncleared, and far outside of the existing settlement, leaving those who claimed their acreage vulnerable to attacks from the local indigenous populations (Horn 67). Lindsay R. Moore has recently argued that despite the promise of financial gain and greater personal freedom, life in the American colonies was even more restrictive than in England, as coverture laws were

instituted soon after the colonies became more popular (545). Furthermore, Moore argues, the absence of ecclesiastical courts in the New World made it harder for women to retain their property, as these courts had historically recognized the legal identity of women separate from their husbands and had been a recourse for women to maintain some control over their personal property and fortunes (543).[10] Moore therefore argues that women in the colonies enjoyed less financial freedom than their English counterparts in this period.

These are just a few examples of how current scholarship has begun to dissect the linkages between women's mobility and power. We know that in some cases, travel could and did offer women greater economic or personal freedom, and furthermore that women sought out travel for that very reason. We also know that travel was not always positive for or even desired by women. A great number were forcibly moved in this period, whether transported as indentured labor against their will, relocated for political marriages, or banished from England with their husbands, to name a few examples. But although politically or economically motivated alliances were sometimes arranged against the wishes of the bride, they were not necessarily forced or arranged without the bride's input. Often, women often played an active role in choosing a suitable match that would benefit their personal, financial, and (for elite women) political futures.[11]

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[10] Moore's excellent article challenges a very old narrative in early American studies (beginning with Richard Morris' 1930 monography, *Studies in the History of American Law*) that framed the American colonies as a space of personal and financial liberation for women.

[11] For discussions of the various ways that women contributed to arranging their or their relatives' marriages, see Margaret J.M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family*, University of North Carolina Press, 1987, 20-34.; and Phyllis Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women*, Oxford University Press, 2005, 18-20.

Analogously, it is sometimes impossible to definitively determine whether or not women traveled of their own free will, although in other cases their desires can be clearly understood. For example, Lady Alethea Howard (mentioned above) clearly spearheaded her own travel, while vagrant teenage girls were captured and forcibly put on ships to the New World, but many cases fall somewhere in between. But how do we assess the willingness of a woman who traveled abroad to join her new husband when she had been socialized since birth to expect to do so? How do we assess the willingness of Quaker women who felt called by God to travel to the Americas, but also expressed fear at the prospect? Is there any agency (defined broadly) to be found in the cases of women who willingly traveled to the colonies as indentured servants, but who may have done so to escape their impoverished circumstances and who had to barter their personal freedom for a period of years for the chance at future prosperity? The issue of whether a woman's travel was self-willed, I suggest, is only important insofar as some women writers were preoccupied with their own desires for travel or, conversely, their fears of being forced to travel. Otherwise, the complex power dynamics of particular cases, and the material and ideological conditions under which women traveled, tell us a more complete story of women's experiences.

Current scholarship on traveling women tends to frame women who traveled as either exceptional or transgressive. For example, Akhimie and Andrea cite "a general ban on women's movement outside the domestic sphere," that is "reproached" by the exceptional cases of women traveling (1). In her essay on traveling heroines in early modern romance, Helen Hackett describes women's travel as tentatively allowed in special cases, at best, and transgressive at worst (126, 129). Amrita Sen's essay on Khan,

Hudson, and Steele notes that they were an "unusual case," while Karen Robertson's essay on the same three women frames them as an "exception" to the general rule against allowing women on company voyages.

These scholars are not wrong to highlight the cultural injunctions against women's travel in this period. In fact, women were generally socialized to understand that their place was within the home. Travel advice literature, a genre that had only emerged in the mid-sixteenth century, not only assumed an exclusively male readership, but in a few cases explicitly forbade women to travel, as Akhimie has recently observed (Akhimie and Andrea 1-2; Akhimie 123-126). Thomas Palmer's *An Essay of the Means How to Make our Travailes into Forraine Countries, the More Profitable and Honourable* (1606) counted women among those prohibited from travel, alongside infants, the mentally ill, and the physically disabled. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617) claimed that "women for suspition of chastity are most unfit for [the] course [of travel]," citing the example of "masculine women of the Low Countries [who] use to make voyages for trafficke, not only to their owne Cities, but even to *Hamburg* in *Germany*, and more remote places" (Moryson 312). The travels of foreign women were, in fact, often touted in these manuals as instructive examples of objectionable female behavior. Moryson recalls that the women of Italy "ride by the highway in Princes traines, apparrelled like men… likewise riding astride like men" and that he had seen "Curtizans (in plaine English, whores) in the time of shroving… goe masked and apparrelled like men all in the afternoon about the streetes…" (173). He tells a vivid anecdote about Dutch nuns who had disguised themselves as Franciscan friars to make merry in the streets, and who, after being caught, were forced to walk barefoot to Rome still dressed in

men's clothing (143-144). Palmer describes the reversed gender roles of "the people of *Africke,*" and of certain towns in the Netherlands, where the men remain at home and the women "do everie thing abroad for marchandize and husbandrie," exposing them to morally-suspect foreign merchants (Palmer 145).

Hic Mulier, the popular misogynist pamphlet decrying women who wore men's clothing, warned its female readers to "look to [their] reputations" and to abandon any fantasies they might have of imitating the traveling heroines of popular romance: "to be attired like Bradamant," to "fight like Marfiza," or to "ride astride like Claradiana," all characters who traveled widely to pursue adventure (B3a-b).[12] When women take on the "habits" (clothing and activities) of errant knight, the pamphlet's anonymous author explains, they will be ostracized from "all good societie" and "the noble affections" of men (B3b). In its characteristically scathing tone, *Hic Mulier* sketches an especially severe portrait of how English society will, or rather should, condemn a woman's pursuit of masculine travel. While it is unlikely that this accurately reflected the real experiences of journeying women once they returned home, it nonetheless contributed to a culture that restricted a woman's movements by threatening consequences for her reputation, her social life, and her marital prospects.

In moral literature and conduct manuals, women who strayed beyond their homes were customarily considered morally suspect and untrustworthy. Henry Smith's popular sermon, *A Preparative to Marriage* (published in 1591) took the term "housewife" to its

[12] Bradamant and Marfisa are characters from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, an Italian romance that was extremely popular with English readers in the seventeenth century. Claridiana was a heroine of a well-known cycle of Spanish romances, *Espejo de Principes y Caballeros* (in English, The Mirror of Princes and Knights). She is heavily referenced in Cervantes' *Don Quixote.*

logical limits, stating that "a good wife keeps [to] her house," citing Pauline doctrine that framed the home as "chastities keeper" (79). Puritan ministers John Dod and Robert Cleaver provided a remarkably clear articulation of this view in their coauthored 1598 conduct manual, *The Godlie Form of Household Government*. They contend that it is "the dutie of the husband" to "travel abroad to seeke [a] living," to "deal with many men," to "be entermedling," and to "dispatch all things without doore." Conversely, the wife's duties is to "keep to the house," "to talk with few [people or men]," to "be solitarie and withdrawn," and to "oversee and give order for all things within the house" (Dod and Cleaver 170-171). Here, Dod and Cleaver advocate for a strictly enforced boundary between a vibrant public sphere (where travel, business, and socialization happen) and the isolated private sphere of the home. Their advice to wives emphasizes withdrawal from society and physical containment: their reference to the door of the home, the threshold between inside and outside, evokes the physical boundary of a woman's movements.[13]

Cleaver often advocated self-containment for women. In his gloss of the Book of Proverbs, Cleaver offers a scathing condemnation of "foolish women," who "go abroad in the streets to meet with companions" (149). At first, his remarks appear to be aimed at prostitutes and generally promiscuous women, yet as the passage continues, promiscuity falls by the wayside as another issue with women who "go in the streets" comes into focus: namely, power. Cleaver writes, "And yet [the foolish woman] goeth not as an ordinarie strumpet, or a vagabond, but taketh state upon her like a courtizan. She sitteth

[13] For an enlightening discussion of doors as "thresholds" in early modern thought, see Orlin, "Women on the Threshold" and *Locating Privacy*, especially 152-192.

on a seat in the street, which was wont to be a signe of honour. The word [seate] signifieth a throne or chaire of estate, which was for Princes, or principall persons, and not for men of meane condition" (Cleaver 149-150). "Foolish women," for Cleaver, are a social problem not simply because they use sex for power or because they act on their own sexual desires, but because they lay claim to positions of power within their communities. The spatial dynamics of these remarks are striking, as they highlight the foolish woman's propensity to move through spaces that are not meant for her: not just to loiter like a "strumpet," or wander like a "vagabond," but to move strategically in ways that gave her power she was not meant to have. The foolish woman's mobility is condemned here, but it is because it upsets existing structures of power.

We also know that in more general terms, English women were enjoined to stillness, both physical (in terms of movement) and emotional (in terms of modesty and temperance). Gervase Markham's 1615 conduct manual, *The English Huswife*, urged wives to restrain their passions, even in the face of men's misconduct. "It is meet that our English Hous-wife be a woman of great modesty and temperance… on those occasions [that] mishaps, or the misgovernment of [her husband's] will[,] may induce her to contrary thoughts, yet virtuously [she is] to suppress them" (3). Markham goes on to urge women to "call" their husband home "from his error," framing women as the stationary emotional anchor to which their husbands, allowed to let their passions get away from them, are tethered (3). In *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), Richard Braithwait exhorted his female readers to "*enter your Chambers and be still. Still,* and yet *stirring* still. *Still* from the clamours and turbulent insults of the *World*; *still* from the mutinous motions and innovations of the *flesh*" (47, italics original). Stillness, for Braitwait, is emotional in

nature: women should be still against the turbulence of outside opinion and against their own and others' fleshly desires. Yet, in locating emotional stasis in an architectural space of privacy, the bedchamber, he also urges women to contain their bodies.[14] *The Mothers Counsell, Or, Live Within Compasse*, a 1630 conduct manual written by one M.R. (presumed to be a woman), urged its readers to "keep a narrow watch" over their hearts, words, and deeds, and to live within the "compass" of feminine virtues: chastity, temperance, beauty, and humility. The compass emblematizes the self-confinement and self-restriction prescribed to women throughout. The manual's frontispiece neatly literalizes this message: a circle with four quadrants, corresponding to the four virtues, circumscribes the bodies of two well-dressed women at its center.[15]

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[14] Even language used to describe women's "natural" propensity toward fickleness and untrustworthiness customarily drew on spatial metaphors that emphasized their figurative "mobility" through a vocabulary of physical mobility. The term mobility, even, referred simultaneously to "the capacity for movement or change of place" and the "ability or tendency to change easily and quickly: changeableness, instability, fickleness" ("mobility," *N.* 1 and 2).[14] Cross-referencing of an historical thesaurus and a literary database such as *Early English Books Online* reveals the widespread gendered usage of metaphorical phrases like "to be moved," "to gad abroad," "to flit," or "to have wandering thoughts."

[15] Several critics have addressed the injunction to women to restrict their movements and confine themselves to the home. In *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama*, Ania Loomba discusses the cultural discourses that stigmatized a woman's movements outside of the home, while pointing to the fact that English society had to allow for women's movement in some forms. See Loomba, especially pages 68-69, 73-74, and 108-110. Amanda Flathers' study of public establishments, such as taverns and markets, discusses at length how conduct manuals from this period framed a woman's presence in these masculine-coded spaces as dangerous to her reputation, her chastity, and her physical safety. See Flathers, especially pages 26-57. Paul Griffith's study of "nightwalkers," a legal class of vagrants that were associated with prostitution (even though many were not, in reality, prostitutes), explores how English legal doctrine increasingly stigmatized the movements of women, specifically poor women, who were found in the streets after dark. Griffith's study suggests that way partly motivated the cultural injunction to stillness and confinement was the desire to physically and conceptually separate other women from the lower-class, "lewd" nightwalkers. See Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England," *The Seventeenth Century* 13.2 (1998), especially pages 213-216 and 220-221. Though not about the early modern period, Daisy Black's exploration of "stillness" in the torture plays of late-medieval York, England, provides useful context for how the notion that stillness was a virtue derived from a Christianized stoicism dramatized on the medieval stage. See Daisy Black,

Given how strongly advice writers of the seventeenth century discouraged – even forbade – women from traveling, it is no wonder that the language of bans, rules, and exceptions pervades current scholarship. And to be clear, I do not argue that these discourses had little effect on the women who were socialized by them. On the contrary, Elizabeth Cary, the subject of my first chapter, was preoccupied with the implications of those very discourses for her reputation and her autonomy. Instead, I argue that these discourses offer an incomplete portrait of the conditions under which women traveled in this century and the extent to which that travel was deemed acceptable in society. We have, I think, overestimated the power of these misogynistic discourses on the real lives of women, assuming their dominance in a historical and discursive landscape that was far more complex.

The fact was that England needed women to travel, whether to bear children in the colonies for population growth, or to attend their husbands in overseas professional

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"Commanding Un-empty Space: Silence, Stillness and Scopic Authority in the York 'Christ Before Herod," *Gender in Medieval Places, Spaces and Thresholds*, edited by Victoria Blud, Diane Heath and Einat Klafter, University of London Press, 237-250. See also Laura Gowing, "'The Freedom of the Streets': Women and Social Space, 1560-1640," *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, edited by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. Jenner, Manchester University Press, 2000, 130-151. The injunction to be still was closely related to the injunction to be silent. See Elisa Oh, "'[T]he Art to Desifer the True Caracter of Constancy': Female Silence in Wroth's *Urania*," *Early Modern Women* (2010): 45-75 and "Refusing to Speak: Silent, Chaste, and Disobedient Female Subjects in *King Lear* and *The Tragedy of Mariam,*" *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 34.2 (2008): 185-216.; Christina Luckyj, *'A Moving Rhetoric: Gender and Silence in Early Modern England,* Manchester University Press, 2002.; Joyce Greene Macdonald, "Speech, Silence, and History in the *Rape of Lucrece*," *Shakespeare Studies* 22 (1994): 77-103.; and Montironi, Maria Elisa. "'Silent, Not as a Foole": William Shakespeare's Roman Women and Early Modern Tropes of Feminine Silence." *Roman Women in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries,* edited by Domenico Lovascio, Ringgold Inc, 2020, 59-79.

appointments, or, as England faced an overpopulation crisis, to simply live elsewhere.[16] Though women who undertook travel that was directly or indirectly beneficial to the nation were not necessarily immune from criticism, their travel was generally accepted under certain conditions, which varied from case to case. Indeed, if we begin to tally the number of women who traveled outside of England between 1600 and 1700, it becomes clear that we are not speaking of some exceptional women or rule-breakers, but rather tens of thousands of women who traveled or relocated to the Continent, the Americas, North Africa, and India. The following section surveys the ways that women traveled, along with approximate numbers, in this period.

After the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1541, Catholic Englishwomen who felt called to the monastic life had to seek out convents in Continental Europe or, and this was more common, establish their own. The first English convent in exile was founded in Brussels in 1598. Twenty-one more orders were founded in France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Ireland in the century that followed, though the Irish convents were disbanded in 1652 under Oliver Cromwell's orders, forcing the nuns into a second exile. In his study of English convents in Europe, James E. Kelly identifies the names of 1,826 English women who traveled to the Continent to become nuns in this century. His number includes only those who took their final vows, excluding lay sisters and women who may have departed before completing their novitiate. It also does not account for Englishwomen who may have professed at a European convent, though this appears to have been less common (Kelly 28-29). It is likely, therefore, that the number of women

[16] For discussions of the overpopulation crisis of the early seventeenth century, and the ecological crises that exacerbated it, see Boehrer, 1-27.

who traveled to Europe to become nuns is much higher than we can glean from official English convent records.

The English nuns continued to serve England in their new homes, hosting Catholic families who were traveling abroad and, in later years, unofficially representing England's Catholic culture with visiting dignitaries. For example, Catherine of Sweden, the queen who famously fled her kingdom on horseback dressed men's clothing after she nearly bankrupted the Swedish monarchy, visited the local religious houses in Antwerp upon her arrival, including the English Carmelite order. On a financial level, the establishment of English convents abroad allowed Catholic families to continue the practice of sending their youngest daughters to religious houses, a practice that was necessary for large and financially overextended families. Anne Worsley, the co-founder of the Antwerp Carmelite order, cites this exact reason for her pursuit of a religious life: that her parents "could not maintain [her] as [she] desired" (quoted in Hallett 44).

Another group of Christian women traveled widely in this period: namely, Quaker itinerant preachers. From the movement's founding in 1647, the Quakers lived unsettled lives, traveling both regionally and overseas to preach their faith and to help build Quaker settler communities in the Americas. Unlike Anglicanism, which adhered to the Pauline notion that women should not preach or speak aloud in church, Quakerism encouraged its female members to travel – with or without their husbands – and to proselytize. The first Quakers to set foot in the Americas in 1656, in fact, were two women: traveling companions Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who first disembarked in Barbados and later were the first in Boston. Years later, Fisher joined a group traveling by land to the Mediterranean. She was eventually separated from them, but traveled by herself on foot

to Adrianople, where she demanded audience with the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed IV.[17] Fisher was the first, but many followed. Twelve of the "Valiant Sixty," the first wave of Quaker itinerants in the New World, were women. We have several testimonials written by and about itinerant Quaker women who traveled to the Mediterranean, to the English colonies in North Africa, the Caribbean, and to New England. In addition to the itinerants, who typically returned to England after a period of a few years, Quaker families increasingly settled in the American colonies. The exact number of Quaker women who traveled outside of England is difficult to calculate, due in part to inconsistent practices of record keeping. However, approximately eleven thousand Quakers had made America their home by 1700. Given the propensity of Quaker women to travel, and given the early Quakers' investment in the growth of their membership through proselytizing, we can safely speculate that the number of Quaker women who traveled in this century was at least in the thousands.

As I discuss in more detail in my fourth chapter, Quaker itinerants were not ideologically invested in England's colonial projects. Rather, the Quakers traveled in the service of their own expansionist vision, one in which they imagined "God's Empire" eventually enveloping the globe. Nonetheless, the Quakers did benefit from English sovereignty over New World spaces and they indirectly helped to strengthen England's presence. Using the English colonies to establish small communities of believers, the

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[17] For further reading on Mary Fisher and her travels, see Sylvia Brown, "The Radical Travels of Mary Fisher: Walking and Writing in the Universal Light," *Women, Gender and Radical Religion in Early Modern Europe*, Brill, 2007, 39-64.; Althea Stewart, "Public Justice and Personal Liberty: Variety and Linguistic Skill in the Letters of Mary Fisher," *Quaker Studies* 3.2 (2014): 133-159.; Bernadette Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 53-77.; Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England*, University of California Press, 1992, 168-170.; and Margaret Hope Bacon, "Quaker Women in Overseas Ministry," *Quaker History* 77.2 (1988): 93-109.

Quakers worked and lived alongside other colonists. In places where Quakerism was outlawed, such as in Boston or Dover, the Quakers were forced to the outskirts, where they built their own settlements that ultimately expanded the English presence on indigenous land. Though the Quakers and the Catholic nuns had little in common doctrinally, they both took advantage of travel for the sake of religion, which had been one of the few ways that women could journey, especially in pilgrimages, since the middle ages.

Travel was also built into the structures of marriage. Women were customarily expected to move to their husbands' houses or family estates after they wed. For the aristocracy, this often meant moving to different regions of England, where they ingratiated themselves with the social circles of local noblewomen and, in some cases, learned to blend their own regional identities with that of their new home. For example, Mary Wroth's mother, the Welsh heiress Barbara Gamage, had their family home in Kent decorated with some traditional Welsh furnishings.

In the case of royals, these marriages could be international. For example, the eldest daughter of James I, Elizabeth Stuart, moved to Heidelberg, Germany in 1613 after marrying Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. Charles I's eldest daughter, Mary, was married to William II, Prince of Orange, and though she had already fled to France with her mother to escape the turmoil of the English Civil War when she joined her husband, they were, in fact, already married: a legal but unconsummated marriage had been performed years earlier when Mary was nine years old. Thus, she had long expected to move to France. Charles' youngest daughter, Henrietta, also moved to Paris with her mother in 1642, but moved to Orléans permanently in 1661, following her marriage to

Phillippe I. Though it was more common for royal women to travel outside of the country for marriage, these women did not travel alone, but rather brought entourages of serving women to attend to their needs during travel and in residence.

Once married, women accompanied their husbands on certain journeys. For example, when civil war broke out in the 1640s, Royalist men fled England with their wives. Though only about seventy prominent Royalist families were exiles – as well as all Catholics who had fought on the side of Charles I – P.H. Hardacre's foundational study of Royalist emigrants estimates that several hundred families relocated to Europe by 1660 (354). Wives and unmarried daughters accompanied men in their exile, but they also had more mobility than their husbands in this particular situation. Royalist men could not return to England during the Interregnum without swearing fealty to the Commonwealth, but this condition was not extended to women, allowing them to return to carry out business on behalf of their families.[18] Margaret Cavendish, the subject of my third chapter, returned to England in 1651 to petition Parliament (unsuccessfully) for the restoration of her husbands' confiscated lands. Ann Fanshawe returned to England for a similar reason in 1653, her husband joining her in secret, but they both eventually fled for fear his imprisonment.

It also became more common for women to accompany men on their professional appointments abroad. The number of English resident embassies in Europe steadily increased over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As ambassadors

[18] For an overview of the "Oath of Allegiance" and its controversies, see Quentin Skinner, 'History and Ideology in the English Revolution', *Historical Journal*, 8 (1965): 151-178 and "Conquest and Consent: Thomas Hobbes and the Engagement Controversy," *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement*, edited by G.E. Aylmer, Macmillan, 1972, 79-98.

could be gone for three to five years, their wives began to move with them. Of the forty-six married resident ambassadors in Europe in the seventeenth century, thirty-five were accompanied by their wives and families (Allen 622). The "ambassadress" provided crucial work for her husband's mission, inserting herself in women's sociability networks to gather information and using gendered gift-giving practices to ingratiate herself (and her husband) to the local courts (Allen 625-628).

In the cases of colonial administrators in the Americas, it was not a given that their wives or daughters would accompany them, but it did occur. Women were present in some of the earliest settlements in Virginia. For example, Eleanor Dare, daughter to the Roanoke governor, John White, settled in the second colony of Roanoke in 1587, along with sixteen other women, married and unmarried. In 1608, a Margaret Forrest, the wife of a powerful Virginia Company financier, emigrated with him to Jamestown, bringing with her Anne Burras, her maid. The *Sea Venture*, a ship that wrecked on the shore of Bermuda on its way to Jamestown in 1609, carried several women aboard, including a pregnant Mistress Eason, John Rolfe's first wife, Sarah, who was also pregnant, a Mistress Horton (whose husband is curiously not on the list), and two maids.

In the passenger lists of early Virginia Company voyages, women's names are certainly in the minority, but there are more than one might expect. Often the names give us some clue as to their station and purpose within the colony: "Elizabeth Person, a maid," "Elizabeth Joons, servant," "Rose, laborer." There are almost certainly women who were not recorded. At least one passenger list includes the phrase "and diverse others" at the end, which indicates the presence of people of lower rank. Because emigration to the colonies became more popular after the 1620s, it becomes harder to

track precisely how many women were traveling each year, but by the 1630s, passenger lists for ships headed to Jamestown are made up of thirty to fifty percent women, including servants who later married in the colony.[19]

This brings me to the largest category of travelers, and by far the hardest to track: indentured servants. There were many paths to servitude. Some chose to indenture themselves in the hopes that their prospects for work, housing, and husbands would be better in the colonies. Additionally, imprisoned women could be sentenced to "transport" to the American colonies instead of further imprisonment or execution. As early as 1615, after James I decreed that petty criminal offenders should be released and put to "profitable service for the commonwealth," women convicted of crimes such as vagrancy or stealing were sent to the Irish and American colonies (quoted in Spierenburg 266). In May of 1620, Margaret Richardson was convicted of stealing a gold ring and some money and was "reprieved" to be sent to Bermuda (quoted in Coldham 19). In September of 1618, Elizabeth Abbot, a vagrant brought in from St. Tholyes ("an old guest" of the prison), Mary Ball, a vagrant brought in from Cripplegate, Ales (Alice) Okeley, a vagrant brought in from Cheap Ward, Ellen Johnson, a vagrant brought in from Bishopsgate, and Agnes Hinchley, a vagrant brought in from Smithfield, were all sent to Virginia (Coldham 10). The list goes on, and it is clear from the records that transportation became even more popular in the latter half of the century.

[19] My estimates of percentages come from reading through the passenger lists listed in Coldham. Coldham's documentary companion is a rich source of names of women who traveled to the New World, often including the names of the ships they traveled on. However, it should be noted that many more names have been unearthed and discussed in scholarship since Coldham's publication.

These were women from the deep margins of society. In some cases, conviction was not even necessary to legally force them into indentured labor. In May of 1614, a Helen Nutter of Charterhouse Lane was found not guilty of stealing, but was nonetheless returned to prison to be transported to the West Indies (6). Later that summer, a Joan Samson was also found not guilty of stealing, but was sentenced to go to Bermuda (7). In addition to the transport of prisoners, there was a much quieter and more disturbing phenomenon of relocation that began around the same time: namely, the rounding up of homeless children and teenagers to send as laborers. Some of these boys and girls are listed by name in the court records, but the letters that have survived from the early Virginia Company indicate that not all transportations were routed through the legal system. In 1618, John Chamberlain claimed that a hundred "yonge boyes and girls that had bin starving in the streetes" were set to be transported to Virginia (quoted in Horn 63). The same year, suburban constables were instructed to "press" impoverished maidens into transport to Virginia and Bermuda (Horn 64). In 1619, one hundred vagrant teenagers, of both genders, were sent to Virginia, with another one hundred and fifty following in 1620 (Blumenthal 67). The Company Minutes of October 20, 1619 recorded that a hundred "dissolute persons" would soon be sent to Virginia (Blumenthal 68).

These records indicate how uninterested the Company was in accounting for the names, cities of origin, or other identifying characteristics of the children they transported. One letter between the Virginian colonists and Company directors even referred to the transported children as "friendless boys and girls," reflecting the Company's view of these people as essentially untethered to social structures of filiation and affiliation (Blumenthal 67). This practice continued throughout the seventeenth

century, as the mass transport of society's marginalized was an inexpensive way to solve labor shortages and low populations in the American colonies: for the latter, in 1656, several hundred prostitutes were rounded up from London and sent to the West Indies to boost the birthrate (Blumenthal 70). With such inconsistent record keeping, it is nearly impossible to estimate the number of women who traveled as labor in this period. Lindsay R. Moore estimates that the number of women, free and indentured, who moved to the colonies over the course of the seventeenth century is seventy thousand, but this likely does not take into account those who returned to England, those who died on the voyages over, and those whose names were never written down (542).

The astonishing number of women who traveled in the seventeenth century indicates that it was far more common than current scholarship has yet reckoned with. It is worth pausing to consider why. In the Afterword to Akhimie and Andrea's *Travel and Travail* volume, Mary C. Fuller relates an anecdote about a colleague visiting the archives of colonial New Spain. Her colleague asked a fellow researcher if there were any women to be found in the records they were examining, to which the researcher replied, "there are no women here – only nuns" (331). Fuller acknowledges the strangeness of this statement – nuns are women, aren't they? – but ultimately pivots to explore the traces of another group of women in a similar archive, leaving aside the question of why nuns and women might be considered categorically different. However, the distinction made by the researcher in this anecdote is telling about how we conceptualize the category of "women" in our research.

It is not that anyone, I believe, would classify nuns as "not women," but rather that the nuns' religious profession overshadows their gender identity, especially as we

conceive of their status as travelers. Traveling as "the wives of Christ," and therefore subject to different social expectations and material conditions than secular women, the nuns are easily perceived as a fundamentally different case, unable to tell us much about the experiences of "regular women." Nuns are women, of course, but they are not women first, at least in this view. A similar slippage can occur when we look at indentured women: in passenger lists, they are sometimes listed simply as "servants," lumped together with men of the same station. The records treat them as servants first, and so it is quite instinctive to consider them to be a different kind of women, with a different kind of travel experience.

Because marriageable, middle- and upper-class women were the intended recipients of patriarchal discourses on the proper behavior of gender, and because theirs are the stories most available in the archive, current scholarship on women's travel still tends to focus on these women. And yet, the journeys of nuns and servants were as much a part of the spectrum of women's experiences of travel as those of Alethea Howard or Ann Fanshawe. For that matter, Howard's experiences and views of travel were different from Fanshawe's. In their recent edited collection, *Rethinking Feminism in Early Modern Studies: Gender, Race and Sexuality*, Ania Loomba and Melissa E. Sanchez insist in the importance of destabilizing the category of "woman" in early modern scholarship, as the complex intersections of race, class, sexuality, political affiliation, and religion undercut the possibility of uncovering any "essential female experience." Though we can make connections between women of various positions, and for my purposes, suggest the ways in which they travel was shaped by patriarchal structures that governed their lives, it is not possible to extract a unified account of how women experienced or thought of travel.

For all women, their gender shaped the conditions under which they traveled, as did their class position, their race, their political affiliations, their wealth, and their religion, but the intersection of these categories was always complex. Rather than focusing on whether women's travel was allowed or not, exceptional or transgressive, we might instead look to the capacities that a woman filled by traveling, or "what she traveled as." They might have traveled in an official position (as the wife to an ambassador) or they might have been part of a larger movement (as a Quaker itinerant). They may have wielded their considerable wealth to buy their way into travel (as with Howard), or been forced into servitude (as a vagrant).

The same approach can be used for interpreting literary works. Women writers understood that conservative discourses stigmatized their moving outside of the home, but they also knew that members of their sex – at all levels of society – did step out, often traveling to distant places. In women's writing, depictions of traveling women vary widely in terms of the conditions placed on the female characters' movements and its acceptability in the world of the text. In these depictions, some women desire travel: for the experience, for the cultural capital it offered, to pursue their beloveds, for the chance to claim some social or political power in another land, to follow their faith, or to escape personally or politically oppressive situations. Others fear travel or are forced into it: married off without their consent, kidnapped at sea, or forced to flee the threat of sexual assault. Conservatives discourses against women traveling appear in some women's writing, but in others, they are barely mentioned.

In each of my four case studies, I consider the relationship of three elements of the work. First, I consider the geographies of the text, both real and imagined, international

and domestic, and how social relations between characters are arranged and rearranged across those geographies. I explore the circumstances under which characters are able to move through various spaces, and how gender – and its intersections with race, class, and religion – is redefined as a result of that movement.

Second, I consider the spatial dynamics embedded in the language employed by the writer. In my first chapter, for example, I examine the term "range" in Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*, which evokes images of wandering over great distances and was broadly used in travel logs to refer to coastal exploration. Thus, "range" reveals the heroine Mariam's desire for transport away from the confining Judean Court. Language evokes a geography of its own, and the writers I discuss encode socio-spatial relations through the artful use of specific vocabularies.[20]

Third, I situate each of these texts in their historical contexts. The seventeenth century was a period of political upheaval, economic transformation, and social reform for England, and women's writing engaged diverse debates about the large-scale changes

[20] Multiple scholars have illuminated how the language of a text evokes physical and conceptual space. Addressing closet dramas specifically, Carol Mejia-LaPerle argues that "spatial arrangements are apprehended through, in fact are never prior, to the act of reading," and thus "the reader perceives the play's landscape – the play's space – through the characters' language." See Mejia-LaPerle, 81-82. Donald Kimball Smith's discussion of the cartographic language of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* argues that the play's language encodes Tamburlaine's desire to conquer as much of the terrestrial world as possible. See Donald Kimball Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell*. Ashgate, 2013, 132. Though not about English literature, Jeffrey N. Peters' examination of allegorical cartographic language in mid-seventeenth-century French literature offers an illuminating discussion of the uses of spatial language. Cartographic language, Peter argues, allowed writers to map their subjects onto physical space, for example when discussing social discord, which took place in real space. It also was "called upon more or less explicitly to convey visually and metaphorically the conceptual flattening, straightening, and erasure that occur whenever ways of knowing describe the physical and abstract world." See Jeffrey N. Peters, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing*, University of Delaware Press, 2004, especially 22-29.

they were living through. I am certainly not the first to insist that early modern women wrote critically about political, economic, and social subjects, but it is worth repeating, as women's writing can often be interpreted as a reflection of either their personal concerns or of subjects traditionally associated with femininity, such as the family or the home.[21] This dissertation does not separate the political from the personal or familial. Rather, depictions of traveling women in women's writing demonstrate that travel had profound effects on structures of marriage and domestic life, as well as women's general autonomy.

In Chapter One, I explore the geographies of escape in the life and writings of Elizabeth Cary. The dedication of her little-discussed translation of Abraham Ortelius' pocket atlas establishes a gendered dichotomy between her male patron's freedom to undertake extensive educational travel and her own limited knowledge of the larger world, which she had garnered exclusively from books. This dichotomy bears out in Cary's other writings, especially in her neo-Senecan closet drama, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, where the male characters come and go from the Judean court, but the women feel bound to its walls and to the king's patriarchal tyranny. I explore the spatially-coded language Cary uses to counterpose her two main female characters, Mariam and Salome.

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[21] As Danielle Clarke reminds us in her discussion of early modern women's writing, to confine a text's meaning to the author's personal concerns is to restricts its potential political significances. See Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing*, Routledge, 2014, especially pages 1-15 and 208. Melissa Sanchez makes a similar argument in her discussion of Mary Wroth's poetry and prose romance, the *Urania*, arguing that critic's attentiveness to Wroth's representations of gender inequity and of personal romantic disappointments has unintentionally "circumscrib[ed] her work to an almost exclusive focus on the status of women," ironically marginalizing Wroth in the larger political debates of her time. See Melissa Sanchez, *Erotic Subjects: The Sexuality of Politics in Early Modern English Literature,* Oxford University Press, 2011, 117-118.

Mariam's sense of virtue and chastity is staked on her refusal to "be moved," not just emotionally but physically, as she rejects an offer to be made Empress of Arabia, which would put distance between herself and her abusive husband. On the other hand, Salome's propensity toward deceit, fickleness, and promiscuity is represented, in part, by her active pursuit of travel to Arabia, where she plans to usurp power. Noting the emphasis Cary places on Salome's racial difference – her identity as a dark, "mongrel," "parti-Edomite" – I argue that Cary accesses a fantasy about the personal freedom afforded by geographic mobility by locating it in a racialized woman character that she can simultaneously identify with and disavow.

In Chapter Two, I consider Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, a sprawling prose romance that ponders how social relationships are stretched and reorganized as men travel more frequently and for prolonged periods of time. In the *Urania,* characters of both genders travel widely for political and personal reasons, but it is specifically the male characters who become easily distracted (by other women, new adventures, etc.) and delay their returns to their country and their beloveds. The inconstancy of knights in Wroth's romance threatens not just their future marriages, but their countries' political and geopolitical futures. First discussing the trope of the "errant knight" in medieval and early modern romance, I suggest that Wroth exaggerates this old trope to contemplate quite contemporary fears about the growing popularity of men's travel. Focusing on the relationship between Pamphilia and Amphilanthus, which becomes strained whenever Amphilanthus is called upon yet another adventure and his affections wander to other women, I argue the romance register both personal and

political fears about the breakdown of social bonds under England's emerging cultures of travel.

Chapter Three considers the mobility of objects and women (as objects) in the writings of Margaret Cavendish. Several of Cavendish's philosophical texts engage debates about the social impact of England's luxury import trade, debates that disproportionately blamed aristocratic women. Though she openly critiques what she perceives to be an excessive importation of "vain luxuries," she also shows a keen understanding of the social capital that came with owning these expensive commodities. In three of her literary works, "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," "The Convent of Pleasure," and *The Blazing World*, she explores the limitations of that social capital, specifically demonstrating that while women may claim social status and power through their purchasing power, under the patriarchal structures of marriage in seventeenth-century England, women were themselves considered to be a kind of property. In each story, Cavendish uses distinctly economic language to describe men's desire toward women and the prospects of marriage, effectively framing her traveling heroines as luxury objects on an international marriage market. While each text works through the issues of the objectification of women differently, none reach a satisfying solution. In "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," the heroine ends up married to her pursuer. In "The Convent of Pleasure," the heroine loses everything when a foreign prince forces her into marriage. Even the Empress of *The Blazing World*, whose position at the end of the narrative is triumphant, can only achieve this position in a fantastical world.

Chapter Four explores contested geographies in the testimonial of Alice Curwen, an itinerant Quaker preacher who journeyed through New England and the Caribbean

between 1674 and 1677. Like much early Quaker writing, Curwen's testimonial oscillates seamlessly between the genres of autobiography, travel narrative, and prophetic sermon, which blurs the line between the physical terrain she moves through and the spiritual journey she perceives herself to be on. A zealous adherent of the Quakers' expansionist vision, her ability to write herself and her body into the temporal and spiritual realms simultaneously allows her to circumvent powerful contradictions in her worldview that emerge when she enters contested spaces in the New World. I begin this chapter by considering the Quaker notion of the "genderless soul," an idea that when embraced to its logical conclusion allowed Curwen to assume a universal notion of community. Turning to Curwen's comments on enslaved Africans in Barbados and the indigenous communities of New England, I show that the limits of her universalist model of community emerge from contestations over New World spaces.

In my Afterword, I discuss some of the writings we have from non-elite women to suggest further sites of study. Though we have few lengthy works by poor and middle-class women, I press on the archive, bringing together short, fragmented, and often non-literary texts (such as petitions and spiritual accounts) that were either authored by poor and middle-class women or that quote them. This serves as an imperfect, but nonetheless important exploration into how women of the lower classes conceived of their place within the larger world.

This dissertation intervenes on current scholarship in a few key ways. First, as a rule, I take seriously evocations of and references to travel, geography, and foreign places

in women's writing as purposeful engagements with the cultures of travel. In addition to teasing out articulations of desire for (or conversely, fear of) travel, I insist that women thought and wrote critically about the ways that travel impacted their lives as women, as members of a particular social class, as adherents of particular religions, and as subjects of England. Thus, my discussions of Cary, Wroth, Cavendish, and Curwen explore their writings' critical engagements with contemporary discourses of colonialism, commerce, and religious expansionism.

Second, my dissertation brings together historical cases of traveling women and depictions of traveling women in autobiographical and literary texts. The two categories mutually inform one another, not in any one-to-one equivalence, but rather because cultural messages about travel contained in imaginative literature shaped social ideas of what was appropriate and possible for women, and vice-versa. Though recent scholarship on traveling women has brought to bear the patriarchal discourses on historical cases of women traveling, my dissertation also includes the opposite, insisting that stories of real women engaged in travel no doubt shaped women's writing as it confronted the discourses that stigmatized their movements.

Third, I consider how complex notions of power and travel are when considering the historical and imagined travels of women. For many men, exploratory and commercial voyages were appealing because they promised adventure and wealth, and certainly we see in women's writing an acknowledgement of the allure of these kinds of travel. Yet, women understood travel could be advantageous or disastrous to them, especially because of their gender. In cases where women willingly sought out opportunities abroad, their travel did not always work out to their advantage. And

conversely, some women were forced to travel, yet found themselves in better circumstances than they had ever hoped to be in.[22] The point is not to determine whether travel was good or bad for women, but rather to acknowledge and establish the complex relationship between power and mobility.

Fourth, in exploring a range of genres in women's writing – from romance, to spiritual autobiography, to closet drama, to prose fiction – I explore the ways that early modern women both wrote within established forms and stretched and manipulated them to produce unique commentaries on gender, travel, and England's expansionist projects. Few women wrote anything close to a travel narrative or travel log in this period, Ann Fanshawe's autobiographical account notwithstanding, yet this does not mean that women did not write about travel. Rather, established literary forms provided space for women to think about contemporary issues related to travel in unique ways.

Finally, I bring the insights and methodologies of feminist geography to bear on the women's writing that I discuss. Feminist geographers have long insisted that spatial arrangements (the built environment we inhabit) and social arrangements (such as gender, race, or class) are fundamentally and reciprocally linked. Space, as we experience it, is never merely conceptual (or imagined) or merely physical. Rather, the two are mutually constitutive.[23] When I refer to "space," therefore, I refer not to a specific locale, but

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[22] This is especially apparent in the case of Balqees, a poor Englishwoman who was taken captive by Barbary pirates and sold into marriage with the Moroccan Sultan. Though her travels were forced, and no doubt traumatic, records suggest that Balqees came to wield a great deal of power as one of the Sultan's wives, enjoying luxuries that she could never have had in England. I discuss this case in my conclusion.

[23] This reciprocal relationship between space and society is key: as Shirley Ardener puts it, "no simple one-way 'cause and effect' [relationship] pertains, and [the] cumulative interdependence suggests that we should think rather in terms of 'simultaneities.'" See Ardener, 2. Pierre Bourdieu

rather to, as Amanda Flather puts it, "an arena for social action," one that is made and remade by the social relations performed in it (Flather 2). An individual's movement through physical space, therefore, is conditioned by the social construction of their identity.[24] This dissertation seeks to understand these conditions, to understand how women conceptualized their place within the larger world, what it meant and what it could mean for them to travel.

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suggests this in more philosophical terms in his discussion of the power of language. Bourdieu argues that our perception of social space is constructed, in part, by "the schemes of perception and evaluation susceptible to being brought into operation at a given moment, including all those which are laid down in language, are the product of previous symbolic struggles and express, in a more transformed form, the state of symbolic relations of power." See Bourdieu, 234. Put another way, our perception of the social space is guided by the ways in which we've bumped up against power (physical, symbolic, and linguistic) in previous moments. Those power relations set boundaries (that are socially constructed, but nonetheless real) that individuals then observe or challenge.

[24] While feminist geography has, since its inception in the late 1980s, expanded into a large field with a range of methodological approaches, what remains a constant impetus for its study is the desire to understand the multi-faceted nature of experiences of space. Notable works that inform my methods include Ardener, 1-21; Linda McDowell, "Women, Gender and the Organisation of Space," *Horizons in Human Geography,* Palgrave, 1989, 136-151.; Liz Bondi, "Progress in Geography and Gender: Feminism and Difference," *Progress in Human Geography* 14.3 (1990): 438-445 and "Gender and Geography: Crossing Boundaries," *Progress in Human Geography* 17.2 (1993): 241-246.; Gillian Rose, *Feminism & Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press, 1993.; Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, Duke University Press, 2006.; Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*. John Wiley & Sons, 2013. Linda McDowell and Joanne Sharp, editors, *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*. Routledge, 2016.

Chapter 1: Geographies of Escape in the Life and Writings of Elizabeth Cary

Sometime between 1597 and 1602, Elizabeth Tanfield, soon to be Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, presented an ornately bound manuscript to her great-uncle, Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley. The manuscript was titled *The Mirror of the Worlde*. It was Cary's English translation of Abraham Ortelius' popular pocket atlas, *L'Epitome du Théatre du Monde*. As a translation, the *Mirror* is remarkable for a few reasons, not least of which is that Cary was as young as twelve years old when she produced it.[25] It was, to the best of our knowledge, the first English translation of an Ortelius atlas cover to cover, written concurrently with or preceding John Norton's printed translation of the *Epitome* by as many as four years.[26] It was also a map-less atlas: Cary omitted

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[25] The *Mirror* is undated. Lesley Peterson, editor of the 2012 critical edition of the *Mirror* manuscript, argues that it could not have been written prior to 1597, because her prefatory dedication to Lee references a title of nobility he received that year. It was also not likely written after 1602, when she married Henry Cary and ceased using the initial "E.T," which appear on the title page. See Peterson, pages 8 and 16. Although this is a range of only five years, it has significant consequences for how we read the *Mirror*. If, as Peterson strongly suggests, Cary translated the atlas when she was a mere twelve years old, it is harder to definitely connect the themes and intellectual investments contained within it to the creative work she produced as an adult. Lengthy translation exercises were an integral part of aristocratic education, albeit usually for young boys, and so we are compelled to read the *Mirror* as an educational exercise, albeit an especially precocious one. However, if she produced it at the age of sixteen or seventeen, when she was socially considered an adult, then the *Mirror* should rightly be considered a part of her adult oeuvre, especially considering that her most famous work, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, circulated in manuscript as early as 1604, when she was only nineteen. Because Peterson's critical investment in the *Mirror* is the opposite of mine – her point is ultimately that we have underestimated just how intellectually curious and intelligent Cary was as a young teenager – she argues strongly that 1597 is the most likely date for its production. See Peterson, pages 7-22. I acknowledge that this might be true, and my investments admittedly lie in the thematic connections between Cary's atlas and her later work. However, I must concede that there is simply not enough evidence for scholars to make anything more than an educated guess about the exact date.

[26] Admittedly, the *Mirror* was not well known in its time. It was never published and, as a gift, it was intended for private readership. Though it likely enjoyed a modest readership among Lee's friends, given the culture of manuscript circulation among aristocrats in seventeenth-century

the 123 cartographic images contained in Ortelius' original, reproducing only its chorographical, or descriptive, portions.[27] To conceptualize the regions of the world, therefore, the *Mirror*'s reader had to rely on geographical description and on ethnographic descriptions of regional peoples, customs, and histories, the latter of which Ortelius had drawn from contemporary travel narratives.

This understudied translation attests to young Cary's investment in the genres of cartography, chorography, and travel writing.[28] It proves that the young aristocrat had not only read Ortelius' pocket atlas – in all likelihood, she had read more than one version in more than one language – but was committed to the painstaking labor of faithfully translating the over one hundred pages of text contained within it. The manuscript is carefully written in Cary's beautiful secretary script and stitched into an ornate binding: ivory parchment accented with gilt stamps on the cover and gilded edging on the pages.[29] It was costly, both in terms of the materials used and the time spent producing it, and that cost affirms that Cary was committed to thinking deeply about its subject matter.

England, we have no concrete evidence to verify that anyone but Lee read it. For the history of manuscript circulation in aristocratic circles, see Harold Love and Arthur F. Marotti, "Manuscript Transmission and Circulation," *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, edited by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller, Cambridge University Press, 2002, 55-80.

[27] "Chorography" was the art of "describing, or of delineating on a map or chart particular regions or districts," an essential component of early modern atlases ("chorography, n1"). For an excellent overview of sixteenth-century chorography, see Stan Mendyk, "Early British Chorography," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17.4 (1986): 459-481.

[28] Though several biographies of Cary mention the translation in passing, few scholars have discussed it in detail, with three exceptions. Lesley Peterson's introduction to her critical edition of the *Mirror* manuscript discusses its cultural significance at length. Deborah Uman's essay on Cary's two translations (the other is a work of Catholic theology she completed near the end of her life) explores how the *Mirror* portrays female communities of learning. See Uman, especially 84-87. Edel Lamb's essay on English girlhood briefly considers the *Mirror* as a case study of the role of translational exercises in young women's education. See Edel Lamb, "'This Girle Hath Spirit': Rewriting Girlhood Reading." *Reading Children in Early Modern Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 151-190.

[29] At this time, access to Cary's manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dep. D. 817) is restricted for reasons of conservation. Only a facsimile is available. Therefore, I have relied on the descriptions given by Peterson, who viewed the original manuscript to prepare her 2012 critical edition. For notes on the physical appearance of the text, see Peterson, pages 111-115.

Her obvious intellectual curiosity aside, Cary would surely have been aware of the *Epitome*'s cultural significance. Printed in French in 1588, the *Epitome* was extremely popular across Europe and by 1597, it had already been translated into Latin, Italian, and Dutch. As a condensed version of Ortelius' first atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), the lightweight *Epitome* was portable and relatively inexpensive and thus favored by merchants, mariners, statemen, and students, all of whom used it as a reference work. Atlases, in general, were also prized as status symbols, collected by European elites and given by them as gifts. Their status came from the growing importance of cartography to state affairs: as countries competed to find and conquer non-European territories, maps were used to guide explorers and colonists and to reify their territorial conquests in print.[30] But as demand for cartographical objects grew, few yet possessed the combination of artistic and precise mathematical skills needed to produce them, which increased their social value. As I discuss in further detail below, cartographers were commonly believed to be accessing a kind of quasi-divine sight, one capable of bringing an entire region – or the entire world – into a single view, a God viewed creation. The elite collected and gifted maps, then, not simply for reference, but as a marker of their ability to purchase access to the quasi-divine sight of cartography.[31] For Cary's well-traveled uncle, a translation of the

[30] The usefulness of mapping to reifying a country's territorial conquest is well documented. For a selection of criticism, see Brotton, especially 18-20 and 151-179; Ricardo Padron, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain,* University of Chicago Press, 2004; and Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900,* Cambridge University Press, 2010, 1-39.

[31] Lesley Peterson reminds us that men were more commonly collectors of maps, atlases, and globes, but Elizabeth Cary was certainly not the only woman to be drawn to maps for their intellectual and social value. See Peterson 31-33. Cary's contemporary, Anne Clifford, showed off her familiarity with atlases in the triptych portrait she commissioned from Flemish painter Jan van Belcamp, which depicts Clifford in adolescence surrounded by her books, including Ortelius' "Maps of the World" and William Camden's chorographical survey of English territories, *Britannia*. She also commissioned at least three regional maps, one of Harwood and two of "Southfield," or Suffield, regions that surrounded her estates. See Clifford, 237. Another of Cary's contemporaries, Alethea Howard (née Talbot), commissioned a portrait from court artist

Epitome was a fitting and impressive gift, meant to compliment his worldly knowledge while also showing off her familiarity and skill with geography.

Indeed, the *Mirror* translation seems to have been driven by Cary's desire to establish, at least to herself and to her uncle, that she was capable of understanding and wielding the specialized knowledge of cartography.[32] Throughout the atlas, she makes small but significant alterations to the original text, alterations that serve to center her as a producer – and not merely a translator – of the geographical knowledge contained therein. The most prominent of these alterations is the title. The full title of Cary's translation, *The Mirror of the Worlde Translated Out of French into English by E.T.*, makes two small but remarkable changes to Ortelius' original: it conspicuously substitutes the central metaphor – it is the "mirror," rather than the "theater" of the world – and omits Ortelius' name.

First, the "mirror." The distinction between the words "mirror" and "theater" may seem small, but on one level, the substitution indicates that Cary was familiar with more atlases than just her source text. Though "The Mirror of the World" would become a more popular title in the early and mid-seventeenth century, by 1597 it was already a popular choice for atlases and historical works containing geographical description. For example, William Caxton titled his 1489 encyclopedia, which featured a substantial section on the geographies of Europe, Africa, and Asia, *The Myrrour of the Worlde*. Dutch cartographer Peeter Heynes' titled his 1577 pocket atlas *Spieghel der Werelt*, or Mirror of the World. In 1593, English regional cartographer John Nordern published the first part of his *Speculum Britanniae*, or Mirror of Britain, a chorographical study of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Ortelius even published another pocket atlas in 1598 under the name, *Miroir du Monde*, which Cary may or may not have been familiar

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Anthony van Dyck, in which she sits beside her husband before a large terrestrial globe, her fingers poised with a drafting compass, as if about the measure the globe.

[32] This surely has a gendered component, as even in the most liberal of women's educations, map-reading was a skill taught almost exclusively to young men meant for state service or a career at sea.

with.[33] Thus, Cary's decision to rename her translation evidences her awareness of the genre at large.

On another level, "mirror" signified differently than "theater" in this period. Atlases drew the title "mirror" from the medieval *speculum* genre. *Specula* were essentially educational and reference works characterized by their attempts at encyclopedic knowledge of single subject: thus, Roger Bacon's thirteenth-century *Speculum Alchimiae,* or The Mirror of Alchemy, claimed to be a comprehensive text about alchemy. The most common subjects of the *speculum* genre were spiritual – how to be a more moral person – or political – how to be a good ruler - and they conventionally used narrative (historical, Biblical, or fictional) to lead their reader to an essential truth. For example, William of Pagula's *Speculum Regis*, or The Mirror for Kings, recounts the heroic deeds of English kings to lead his reader (in this case, Edward III) to contemplate what it meant to be noble and just ruler. In a similar fashion, Elizabeth I's manuscript translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir de l'Ame Pécheresse* (The Mirror of the Sinful Soul) recounts stories and parables to lead its reader to recognize the vital importance of regular penance.

Though early modern atlases are not considered part of the *speculum* genre, the two genres shared defining characteristics that clue us into the significance of the "mirror" to Cary's translation. Like *specula*, atlases made claims to totality, showing the world in its entirety in a single page.[34] They also claimed to provide a kind of meditation on the divine ordering of the

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[33] For many years, Cary's biographers assumed that the *Miroir* was the source text for her translation, though Lesley Peterson's comparative study of Ortelius' originals and the *Mirror* manuscript disproves that assumption. Ortelius 1598 *Miroir* was a substantially condensed version of the *Epitome*, and omitted several sections that Cary includes in her translation. Peterson's comparison shows that the *Epitome* and Cary's *Mirror* manuscript are nearly identical in length and content. See Peterson, 7-20.

[34] This was a major selling point for atlases. For example, see the opening poem of Michael Sparke's 1637 translation of Gerardus Mercator's *Historia Mundi, or, Mercator's Atlas,* which imagines an erotic union between four continents made possible by their proximity on the atlas' pages: "By [way of the atlas] fair Europe views the Asian shore / and wilde Americk courts the Sunburnt Moore" (Mercator np). The poem ends with a triumphant exclamation that "[The] Earths vast bulke [cargo] is lodge'd within one Sheete" (Mercator np).

cosmos. In both genres, the author was granted an elevated status, considered to be divinely inspired on the subjects they wrote about. As *speculum* literature was most often authored by theologians, this was a logical enough conclusion, but cartographers were also considered to have a kind of divine sight. As Bernhard Klein observes, maps were not considered to be a mere representation of the world and its topographical features, but rather an approximation of divine sight. They showed the world as God sees it, all at once (Klein 91). The divine's influence on cartographers is exhibited in the now-famous 1574 frontispiece of Gerardus Mercator's *Historia Mundi*, which depicts Mercator seated before a terrestrial globe. His left hand steadies the globe, as his right hand holds a drafting compass to it, presumably performing a measurement. Yet his listless eyes do not gaze at his work, but ahead of him, as if he is not performing this highly specialized work but is rather possessed by the divine spirit.

As a medium of divine sight, then, the atlas offered a quasi-spiritual meditation on the order of the terrestrial world, a "spiritual gaze that disclose[d] the beauty and order of the world beyond the shimmering of appearance and the limitations of human knowledge" (Brotton, 'Devious Course,' 104). The epigraph of the 1572 French translation of Ortelius' *Theatrum* frames this meditation as man's purpose: "Le cheval est creé pour porter & tirer: le Boeuf pour arer & labourer la terre: le Chien pour chaser & garder la maison: Mais l'Homme, pour consider & contempler des yeux de l'endenment la disposition du Monde universal," (The horse is created to carry and to draw [wagons]: the ox to plough and work the earth: the dog to hunt and guard the house: but man [is created] to observe and contemplate with the eyes of his understanding the arrangement [*disposition*] of the universal world (Ortelius, *Theatre de l'Universe*, epigraph).[35] To Ortelius, it is the purpose of lesser beasts to work upon the earth, but it is man's purpose to

[35] All translations from French are my own, unless otherwise marked. For further discussion of the atlas as meditation device, see Ayesha Ramachandra, *The World Makers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe*, University of Chicago Press, 2015, 55-59.

understand the earth in its entirety, to effectively zoom out to view the divinely ordered cosmos as God arranged them.

This was the meaning of the mirror, as it was used in the titles of both *specula* and atlases. Unlike our modern conception of mirrors, medieval and early modern readers understood mirrors not as simple tools of reflection, but as instruments of insight. Mirrors directed the viewer's gaze to an essential truth, rather than to the viewer's own image (Shuger 21-41). Rayna Kalas' study of the poetic conceit of "mirroring" in the early modern period shows that this particular idea of the mirror was based in contemporary technology. Prior to the invention and popularization of crystal mirrors, which provided relatively clear reflections of their subjects, steel mirrors were the preferred technology in early modern England. Steel mirrors generally presented a cloudier image and because steel gradually oxidized over time, they required regular polishing to maintain the clarity of the image. For writers of the *specula* genre, the work of polishing the steel mirror served as an apt metaphor for the meditations their readers performed by revisiting historical stories and parables. As Kalas puts it, by reading "the wisdom of [their] predecessors," the reader "polishe[d] anew the spiritual and ethical reflections that illuminate[d] the conditions of the present" (Kalas 116).

As a metaphor, the term "theater" lacked the emphasis on meditation and the elevated status of the author/cartographer held by the term "mirror." By the late sixteenth century, the idea of "the world as theater" had become popular in both literary and political texts. Early modern readers were delighted by the concept of the terrestrial globe – their knowledge of which was growing rapidly with each exploratory voyage – as a stage set for human action and performance. Though this metaphor also presumed that the world was divinely ordered, the role of the intermediary – in this case, the cartographer – was not particularly special. In the "mirror" metaphor, the cartographer may derive his knowledge from divine sources, but he is the central

conduit for divine sight. By contrast, the “theater” metaphor does not elevate the cartographer at all: he merely describes the divinely-ordered world he views.

What Cary achieves, then, in changing the central metaphor of the *Epitome* from “theater” to “mirror” is an elevation of her status as the translator/quasi-author of the work. She even further frames herself as a creator, not simply translator, of the *Mirror* by omitting Ortelius’ name, putting her own initials on the title page. Though in general it was not unheard of for translations in this period to omit the original author’s name – for instance, Margaret Tyler’s 1580 translation of Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra’s romance, *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, The Mirror of Princely Deeds, omits Ortúñez’s name in favor of her own initials – it was unprecedented among translations of atlases. Because Ortelius’ atlases, in particular, were instant successes in Europe, translations of his work had, without fail, prominently displayed his name on the title page, often omitting the name of the translator altogether. Though it is possible that Cary simply did not give much thought to how she presented the title page, the effort and care she put into all other aspects of the manuscript’s production suggest otherwise. Rather, the omission of Ortelius’ name seems to be a conscious strategy for emphasizing Cary’s role as a producer of this work.

Cary made several other small alterations to Ortelius’ atlas, most significantly around references to conquest. When describing the island of Terceira, part of the Azores archipelago 900 miles west of Portugal, Cary omits mentions of the island’s value as a colonial property. First colonized by the Portuguese in 1439, the rocky and uninhabited island had only became attractive to England, Spain, and France in the 1570s, when they realized that it was an ideal supply stop for commercial vessels sailing to and from the New World. In the 1570s and 1580s, these countries launched several landmark sieges on Terceira, passing into combined Portuguese/Spanish control in 1583.

Ortelius' description Terceira obliquely reminds his readers of its colonial history by including a warning about the inherent dangers of attacking the island. "Ses costes sont pour las plus part fort dangereuses & perilleuses á gaigner, pour etre pleines de rochers, & navoir gueres de ports que soyent proper a surgir & aborder" (The coasts are for the most part dangerous and perilous to win, for they are full of rocks, and they scarcely have ports fitting to surprise or attack) (Ortelius, *Epitome* 11). While Ortelius' warning lays out the physical difficulties of attacking the island, the lengthy explanation of these difficulties imply the reader's interest in that attack, simultaneously cautioning those who would invade the island and raising the possibility of that invasion.

In the *Mirror*, the line is cut short, ending abruptly after the phrase "the havens be for the most part perilous to come unto because they be full of rockes" (Cary, *Mirror* 130). The effect of this omission is that it reorients the sentence, replacing a colonial gaze toward Terceira island with a merely geographically curious one. As editor Lesley Peterson has suggested, Cary's translation evidences her discomfort with the morality of conquest. In addition to her alteration of the description of Terceira, she uses particularly harsh language (even harsher than the original French) to describe the wars waged by historical and contemporary empires. When describing Carthage, she adds the qualifier "cruell" to a description of the wars the Roman Empire led against it. In describing Ottoman Turkey, she again colors her translation with disparaging language against the rapidly expanding Ottomans and againt the countries of Western Europe, who in her eyes have become so distracted by self-interest and conquest themselves – "our intestine warrs & cruel dissentions" – that they fail to recognize the Ottomans' advance toward Europe.[36]

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[36] The *Epitome* reads "noz discordes et guerres intestines," literally translated as "our discords and civil wars." Not only does Cary use the literal translation of *guerres intestines*, to be a more viscerally affective, but she translates relatively neutral term "discords" to "cruel dissentions."

Conversely, as Deborah Uman has observed, Cary saves her most laudatory language for countries that (allegedly) practice nonviolence, who govern by rational consensus, and who promote education (Uman 13). Her description of Italy, for example, praises the culture as the preeminent example of "politique manners, lawes and customs," precisely because they are an intellectual and artistic center. Cary also praises the involvement of Dutch women in commerce, translating "les femmes ne sont moins rusees & occupees [sly or crafty & busy] que l'hommes" to "[at] Traffick and Marchandize… [the] Women are no less diligent." This effectively transforms the fact of Dutch women's relatively active role in commerce from evidence of their slyness into evidence of their work ethic (Cary, *Mirror* 162). A small alteration, to be sure, but one that highlights that Cary's sympathies lie with the women seizing the financial opportunities available through maritime commerce.

Cary indeed appears to have been fascinated with the many opportunities for personal, financial, intellectual, and social growth that had formed in the wake of England's commercial and colonial expansion. At the same time, she was keenly aware that many, if not most, of these opportunities were inaccessible to her due to her gender, class, and particular social situation. In her dedicatory epistle to Lee, she establishes a clear dichotomy between her access to "worldly knowledge" and Lee's.

> Receive here honorable Sir my humble presente, the fruits and endeavours of my younge and tender years, an acknowledgement of my bounden duty to you[,] for thoughe I can no way sufficiently expresse my gratefulness for many your great favours[,] nor presente to you any thinge worthy of your selfe[,] yet give mee leave I humbly beseech you to present to you this little treatise, the viewe of the whole world[,] as a thing best awnserable to your most noble disposition, leaving to your considerate judgemente & wise regarde the controule of what is herein amisse to be reformed by the experience of your many years travailes abroade in the worlde. And as riper years shall afforde mee better fruits with great judgement I shall be ever ready to present you with the best of my travailes (Cary 119).

Through the conventional displays of humility and expressions of gratitude, Cary makes a clear distinction between her uncle's knowledge of geography and her own. By inviting him to correct

what is “amisse,” presumably any translational errors or outdated geographical information, she privileges Lee’s knowledge, gained through “many years travaile abroade,” over her own, gathered entirely from reading books. Her repetition of the term “travail” serves to further this comparison. As a synonym for travel, for childbirth, and for physical or mental labor, travel was a slippery term. Lee’s travailes are clearly of the geographic variety, while Cary’s are limited to the mental labors she expends on reader and translating Ortelius’ atlas. The subtle references to pregnancy – riper years and better fruits – form a conventional metaphor of knowledge making as childbirth, but it also reminds us of her status as a marriageable woman, limited in the pursuit of her own intellectual interests by the social expectation that she would marry and raise children. Thus, the repetition of the word “travail” serves to yoke together the mental labor she is presenting to Lee in the form of the *Mirror* manuscript and his extensive experiences of traveling in a linked, but ultimately unequal pair.

As a wealthy male aristocrat, Lee had traveled extensively in his youth. Between 1559 and 1569, he made several journeys to European courts, gaining military experience by fighting on behalf of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, developing his skills in foreign languages, and infiltrating political networks. On more than one occasion, he was trusted with informal espionage for the English government, and he relayed information from within the Italian, Dutch, and French Courts to Elizabeth I’s counselors (Simpson 17-20).

No doubt Cary grew up listening to Lee’s stories of travel and adventure, but more importantly, she was surely aware the Lee’s experiences abroad had furthered his career and social standing immensely. After resettling in England, Lee was handsomely rewarded for the service he had rendered to Elizabeth I: in 1570, he was named Queen’s Champion, and from 1590 until his death in 1611, he served as Master of the Armories. And though his rank and familiar connections to the Tudor dynasty certainly helped his position – his father had served Henry VIII and his mother, Margaret Wyatt, had been a close friend of Anne Boleyn – it was his work abroad

that secured his constant upward social mobility. Even his eulogy, engraved upon a plaque that hung above his burial site in St. Peter's Church, cites Lee's return to England as "a well formed travailour adorned with those flowers of knighthood, courtesies, bounty and valour" as the catalyst of Lee's success (quoted in Simpson 214).

Cary, by contrast, had little hope of traveling as her uncle did, or of reaping the social benefits. The only child of a self-made barrister and his social climber wife, Cary was slated for a financially and politically advantageous marriage.[37] Married at seventeen, Cary lacked the time, financial independence, and social support to undertake educational travel. And though later in life, she would move to Dublin for a period of three years following her husband's appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland, this travel hardly offered her the same social currency as Lee's.

Cary's pessimism about the likelihood of her traveling should not overshadow the intellectual interest and desire that runs throughout the dedication. Indeed, the dedication ends on a relatively optimistic note, with Cary gesturing toward a future that might "afford[her] fruits with greater judgement." The "fruits" are simultaneously a nod toward her inevitable motherhood and a symbol of worldly knowledge, and as Lee's knowledge comes from first-hand experiences of travel, we can read this line as evidence of her desire for the travel she cannot access. Cary's dedication therefore illustrates a tension that also characterizes both *The Life* and *Mariam*: that between a desire to have the geographic and social mobility increasingly available to aristocratic men, and the limitations that English society put on women of her wealth and rank.

[37] My characterization of her parents comes from *The Lady Falkland, Her Life*, the biography Cary's children wrote of her in 1630, which I discuss more in this chapter. According to the *Life*, her father was born to the lower aristocracy but despite being the eldest son, was denied his inheritance by his mother and forced to make his own living. After many years, he became a successful barrister and gained the favor of the Elizabethan court, eventually becoming Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Her mother, though part of the distinguished Lee family through her mother's side, was technically part of the lower aristocracy, and allegedly complained frequently about her husband's disinheritance, despite their family being more than comfortable. They were wealthy, but Elizabeth's marriage was intended to solidify the family's social standing, and Henry Cary was selected precisely because his family was integrated into the English court. See Lucy Cary, et al., 105-106.

The *Mirror* is not the only evidence we have of Cary's deep interest in the larger world. In *The Lady Falkland, her Life*, a manuscript biography of Cary written by four of her children in 1639, we are told that from an early age, Cary was an avid learner of foreign languages.

> She learnt to read very soone and loved it very much,…whilst she was a child, she learned French, Spanish, and Itallian, which she allways understood very perfectly; she learnt Latin in the same manner (without being taught)… [Hebrew] she could in the Bible understand well, in which she was most perfectly well read… She then learnt also, of a Transilvanian, his language, but never finding any use of it, forgot it entirely (Wolfe, 106).

Scholarship on the *Life* generally agree that this passage serves to illustrate Cary's intellect and, more obliquely, her religious devotion. In the parallel genres of hagiography, or "saints' lives," and spiritual biography, on which the *Life* is modeled, the subject in their youth is conventionally endowed with either an uncommon intelligence about spiritual matters or a special devotion to God. Though the *Life* does not precisely frame Cary as a saint, her affinity for learning languages, particularly the original language of the Bible, serves as a mostly secular version of the religious devotion displayed by young to-be-saints.[38]

What is less discussed is how out of the ordinary Cary's language learning was for the period. If we trust this account, Cary was fluent in three Romance languages, plus Latin, Hebrew, and one Eastern European language that few people in England, let alone English women, were able to speak. Certainly, it was not uncommon for English women to learn foreign languages. Elite women at court often learned French and, to a lesser extent, Spanish, to be able to converse with visiting foreign diplomats. Humanist scholars recommended Latin and sometimes Greek for especially gifted young women who, they argued, could benefit from reading classical texts on morality. However, languages considered important for their use in commercial transactions or

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[38] Cary was raised and married into Protestant families. In her thirties, she explored Catholicism and eventually converted, convincing her daughters and some of her sons to convert and join religious houses in France as well. Her husband, who had built his career as a colonial administrator in Ireland on a reputation for being harsh with Catholics, abandoned her after her conversion.

for diplomatic relations besides French and Spanish, were generally considered unnecessary for women, who were unlikely to serve abroad in an official capacity. An illustrative example is Anne Cooke, daughter of Anthony Cooke, Edward IV's tutor, who despite her family's liberal views of women's education complained that her mother "reprove[d] [her] vain study in the Italian tongue, accounting the seed thereof to have been sown in barren, unfruitfull ground…" (quoted in Robinson, 160). Since Cooke's family considered her to be remarkably intelligent, it is unlikely that her mind was "unfruitfull" for the Italian tongue because of her ability. More likely, it was her gender that made her interest in Italian useless: young English men were frequent travelers to Italy for the purpose of education or commerce, while English women rarely traveled to the region aside from the occasional journey of leisure. Thus, as a woman, Cooke would be unable to bear the figurative "fruits" – that is, commercial and political gain - that speaking Italian offered the English.

As this example indicates, proficiency in foreign languages was increasingly useful to men who traveled to Continental Europe for education or business. Accordingly, travel advice literature encouraged travelers to learn languages while abroad. Robert Dallington's 1598 travel manual, *A Method for Travel*, gave its readers detailed instructions on finding a "reader" with whom to practice the language of a foreign nation. The "reader" should be a native speaker who will converse often with the English traveler, but he should not be a teacher. Rather, the English traveler is expected to chart his own course of study and use his conversations with the reader to pick up fluency. In this account, developing relationship with foreigners is central to becoming fluent. Thomas Palmer's 1606 *An Essay of the Meanes How to Make our Travails, into Forraine Countries, the More Profitable and Honourable* impressed upon his readers the necessity of speaking and understanding "the tongues of those Countries into which [they] travaile: for these are the instruments of knowledge and experience (Palmer 38). Thomas Coryat's 1611 manual, *Coryat's Crudities*, praised travelers who "by travelling in France, Italic, Spaine, Alemannie, and

the Netherlands, [did] learne the five languages of those noble countries," contending that "though gentility be of it selfe gracious, yet it is much more excellent when it is adorned with the experience of forraine countries[,] even as a gold ringe of it selfe is faire and beautifull but much more resplendent when it is decked with a rich Diamond or some other precious stone" (Coryat 8). In each of these travel manuals, fluency in foreign languages is framed as a mark of intelligence, nobility, and worldliness.

Cary did not travel as Dallington, or Palmer, or Coryat did, but her investment in language learning seems to share in similar cultural values. Her knowledge of a Transylvanian language stands out in the biography, not least because none of the five languages that were spoken in Transylvania (German, Hungarian, Slovak, Slovene, or Romanian) were typical hallmarks of a noblewoman's learnedness. This language also stands out because Cary learns it not from books, but from a sustained encounter with "a Transilvanian." So, like Coryat's, Palmer's, and Dallington's traveler, Cary's linguistic skills are built through in-person conversation.

We have no record of who the Transylvanian was, of how long he and Cary (likely Elizabeth Cary by this point) had contact, or of how he knew Cary's family. We can assume that he was likely a diplomat, given that the English government showed particular interest in Transylvania throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A borderland between the Catholic Hapsburgs and the expanding Ottoman Empire, Transylvania was commonly referred to as *propugnaculum christianitatis:* the "bulwark," or defensive wall, of Christianity. Transylvania was a Protestant state that had maintained relative autonomy and religious independence, even during periods of Ottoman occupation. Thus, Transylvania appeared to be a champion of Christian endurance against the Great Turk, especially to Protestant states like England. This view of Transylvania was bolstered by the fact that its neighbor, Hungary, had been carved up to be shared by the Hapsburgs and Ottomans in the early-sixteenth century, making Transylvania

appear to be an especially enduring and unified people. A story about Transylvania that was popular in atlases, including Ortelius', claimed that it was founded by Saxons: in the *Mirror*, Cary wrote that "the country taketh [its] name from the 7 Suburbs that the Saxons built there" (Cary 202).[39] This story established a common heritage between Transylvania and England, strengthening the latter's interest in the region. Additionally, the commercial interest that the Muscovy Company held in the Baltics led English diplomats to take an active role in the politics of the region during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, during which time several Transylvanian diplomats visited the English court.

There is no way to know who precisely Cary's "Transilvanian" was; Stephen Kakas, who visited the Elizabethan Court in 1593, and Matthias Quadt, who visited in 1623 but may have had earlier visits, are possible contenders. But I argue that the absence of the Transylvanian's identity is precisely the point, as it effectively erases his role the language exchange. If Cary had in fact learned his language, their interactions must have involved multiple conversations at least, if not some informal instruction or the exchange of books in the Transylvanian language. His labor and his role as a teacher of his language, however, is erased in Cary's children's account, as is whatever position of political privilege he enjoyed while in England. All details about the mysterious Transylvanian are missing, and therefore his identity is subordinated beneath Cary's own linguistic acumen. This kind of "soaking up" of a foreign language is similar in its articulation to the kinds of language learning that Coryat's and Dallington's respective manuals prized.

In general, Cary's intellectual investment in geography and foreign languages was rooted in her intellectual curiosity about the world outside England and her keen awareness of the value that English society put on both subjects. Likewise, the desire she expresses for travel in the

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[39] Cary translates "bourgs" as suburbs multiple times, though a more accurate translation would be "towns" or "villages."

dedication to the *Mirror* manuscript was a desire for experiences, and for the cultural capital that such experiences afforded (male) travelers upon their return. In her early life, Cary's intellect appears to have been valued by those around her. The informal patronage of her great-uncle attests to his support of her intellectual pursuits. Additionally, poets Michael Drayton and John Davies each mention her in prefaces to their published works. In the preface to his historical chronical, *England's Heroicall Epistles* (1597), Drayton praises Cary's skill in foreign languages and writing verse. "Sweet is the French tongue, more sweet the Italian, but most sweete are they both if spoken by your admired selfe. If Poesie were prayselesse, your vertues alone were a subiect sufficient to make it esteemed" (Drayton 43). In the preface to *The Muses Sacrifice* (1612), Davies praises Cary's willingness to engage with classical drama:
"Thou mak'st *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* (Davies 7, italics original).

However, Cary's language skills suffered after she married Henry Cary at the age of seventeen and entered life at court, as her husband and mother-in-law disapproved of her intellectual pursuits. While Henry Cary was away, his mother took umbrage with Elizabeth Cary's tendency to bury herself in books, and so confiscated her library and threatened to dismiss any servant who supplied the teenager with reading material. Cary then threw herself into her writing, and though her exasperated mother-in-law left her to her own devices, few came to visit Cary in the years that followed.[40] According to her biography, she was a lonely woman who faced constant opposition to her intellectual pursuits. Her husband had high expectations for her participation in courtly activities, such as horse riding – of which Cary was deathly afraid and

[40] According to the *Life*, Cary wrote at least twelve complete works of drama, verse, and history in this time, including a verse version of *Tamburlaine*. It would be fascinating to know how Cary portrayed the themes of expansionism and violent masculinity that we see in Marlowe's version, but like most of Cary's writing, this work is lost. Of the twelve works Cary is said to have written, only four are extant.

which nearly resulted in her death when she was bucked to the ground while pregnant – and elaborate dressing for court.[41] Her waiting women often had to curl her hair or add finishing touches to her outfit while she paced to and fro, "seriously thinking on some business" (Woolf 6). The life of study and writing that she longed for was consistently undercut by the expectations put on aristocratic women.

The theme of "gifts unused" is a hallmark of hagiographic literature. In hagiographies, the childhood of the future saint is marked by the undervaluing of his or her spiritual devotion by those around her; this creates obstacles on the saint's path to embracing a monastic life. In Cary's biography, her spiritual devotion comes later in life, but her devotion to intellectual pursuits stands in for it in descriptions of her childhood. Her desire to devote herself to reading and writing might have found its place in a monastic life, however, had she had the opportunity. In the *Life*, Cary is portrayed as longing for a community that supports women's learning and knowledge production, a community that her daughters eventually found in English convents in Continental Europe.

The Life, in fact, is a document that emerges from such a community. It was written primarily by Lucy Cary (religious name, Dame Magdalena), Cary's seventh child and the first of six to convert to Catholicism in the 1630s and emigrate to France. Alongside Magdalena's script are at least two, probably three, other scripts, which Heather Wolfe has argued belong to Anne Cary (Dame Clementia), Mary Cary, and Patrick Cary.[42] Her daughters' convent, the English Benedictine Convent in Cambrai, is remembered for the sheer number of original, translated, and transcribed manuscripts its nuns produced in the seventeenth century. The English convents in France were centers of women's religious learning, book and manuscript collection, and manuscript production. Jan Rhodes counts 3,953 books in the inventory of the Benedictine

[41] This detail is struck from the biography with a line of ink.
[42] The manuscript is littered with marginal notes, corrections, and struck-through lines, the signs of collaboration between her children as they craft their mother's story.

Convent at Cambrai, and over 2000 books at its daughter convent in Paris (Rhodes 7-25). Caroline Bowden argues that "sufficient manuscript pages survive to indicate a flourishing scribal production of texts for spiritual reading in many convents; indeed, so many were produced at Cambrai that it was described as having its own *scriptorium*" (Bowden 347). Nuns brought with them varying degrees of familiarity with different languages, and thus relied on each other to produce cohesive translations. Thus, translation and transcription were, by all accounts, communal activities, regardless of whether a work was written down by one woman.

What stands out about the *Life'*s conditions of production is that for her daughters to participate in religious spaces of learning, they had to go abroad. At a time when Protestant England had done away with convents, traditionally spaces where women could build religious careers and participate in monastic literary culture, the possibilities for women to access these spaces lay beyond England's shores. The *Life* notes that Cary urged her children, particularly her daughters, to go abroad in search of a monastic life. Thus, emigration – travel – had begun to symbolize for Cary an escape from patriarchal restrictions on women's minds and autonomy.

Cary explored the idea of travel as a means to freedom in her closet drama, *The Tragedy of Mariam: The Faire Queene of Jewry*, published in 1613, but possibly circulating as early as 1604. Cary based her play on the stories of Mariamne, the second wife of Herod I, contained in two historical chronicles by the first-century theologian, Josephus: *The Wars of the Jews* (c. 75 CE) and *The Antiquity of the Jews* (c. 93 CE). The play opens on the court of Judea in 29 BCE. News has just arrived that King Herod, who had been summoned to Rome to answer for crimes of regicide and usurpation, has been executed. The news of the tyrant's death sends the court into a whirlwind, with many of Herod's relatives and courtiers reimagining their lives without Herod controlling every aspect of their lives. His sister, Salome, a cunning and self-interested outsider at court, decides to divorce her husband, Constabarus, to marry a visiting Arabian prince, with whom she plans to overthrow his father, the Arabian Sultan. Herod's closest counselor, Sohemus,

who had been forcibly betrothed to Herod's infant daughter, quietly marries the woman he loves. Mariam's mother, Alexandra, a shrewd politician, sees Herod's death as a political opportunity, and she urges Mariam to travel to Rome and seduce Caesar in order to secure an alliance between Judea and the Roman Empire.

Unlike the people around her, Mariam is unable to imagine a future for herself or her country. Throughout the first two acts, her mind is plagued by her ambivalence about Herod's death. We learn through her and her mother's speeches that Herod married her for her royal lineage (abandoning his first wife and their two children) and murdered Mariam's grandfather and brother to secure the Judean throne. We learn that he was exceedingly jealous and restricted her social life at court. We also learn that prior to traveling to Rome, Herod had ordered that Mariam should be killed if he were to die abroad, an attempt to keep any other men from having her. Though Sohemus refuses to carry these orders out, Mariam learns that Herod had hazarded her life. Despite Herod's psychological abuse and physical threats, however, Mariam initially wavers between a deep hatred of her husband and the feelings of love she believes are owed to him.

In the play's third act, Herod unexpectedly returns to court, proving reports of his death to have been false. Now clear on her feelings, Mariam laments his return and refuses to share his bed. Salome, who fights bitterly with her sister-in-law, frames Mariam for an assassination attempt on Herod's life. Succumbing to his jealousy and propensity toward erratic violence, Herod has Mariam executed, after which he descends into despair.

As multiple scholars have noted, *Mariam* teems with spatial language and metaphors that emphasize confinement. While the men of the play come and go from the Judean court as they please, the female characters repeatedly reference physical barriers, such as walls and doors, and the patriarchal structures of marriage and rulership that restrict their autonomy and movements within the court. A substantial body of *Mariam* criticism has explored the play's engagement with

issues of space, power, and gender. In her excellent essay, "Access and Agency in Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam*: Closet Drama and the Spatialization of Power," Carol Mejia-LaPerle argues that the play foregrounds the way that power – masculine power, in particular – organizes the characters' environments and mediates their access to particular spaces, literal and figurative, limiting their possibilities for expressing agency (LaPerle 90). Katherine Acheson examines the relationship between performativity and mobility in *Mariam*, arguing that Mariam's refusal to "perform" devotion to Herod upon his return, expressed as a refusal to "be moved," enacts "a conception of [the] world closed to the [male] gaze and to its power of interpellation… a conception of the world, that is, as a literal closet, an enclosed and private space to which to retreat" (Acheson 7). Lynette McGrath considers the language of movement and stillness in *Mariam*, arguing that the play encodes Salome's and Mariam's desires for mobility: in McGrath's reading, social mobility.

Though I diverge from these critics in my reading of the play, I am indebted to their readings for illuminating the interplay of material space and conceptual space, or what critical geographers like Stephen Daniels and Roger Lee have called "the two-way influence in the geographies in which we participate on the ground and the geographies we construct in our mind" (Daniels, 15). *The Tragedy of Mariam,* as Michelle Dowd has argued, carefully manages "onstage and offstage worlds," referring both to spaces that have clear analogues in the real world, like Judea or Arabia, and spaces that exist only in the mind, like the space of the past, desired places unseen, or a place in one's heart" (103).

Given that Cary displayed a keen investment in travel and the larger world, I read *The Tragedy of Mariam* as a meditation on the affordances and consequences of women traveling to escape the social structures that confine them. For both Mariam and Salome, who are stark opposites in almost every other way, Arabia, the country that lies just beyond the Judean border, captures their attentions and leads them to consider emigrating abroad. Emigration promises

personal freedom. For example, when Salome announces her decision to pursue a divorce from her husband, a legal privilege available exclusively to men both in the play's setting and in Jacobean England, she employs a navigation metaphor. "Ile be the custome-breaker:
and beginne to shew my Sexe the way to freedomes doore" (1.2.309-310). The spatial dimensions of this metaphor are straightforward, even commonplace. Freedom from marriage and from the Judean court lies beyond a threshold; that threshold is at a distance; Salome's mission is to blaze a path toward the threshold for other elite women to follow.[43] But while "showing the way" may be taken as a simple metaphor, it should not obscure the fact that her divorce, if successful, will lead her to emigrate to Arabia with Silleus, where she intends to rule.

The spatial vocabularies that pervade the play not only shape its constructions of gender, race, marriage, and personal and political power, but they evince a keen awareness of and interest in the ways that hierarchies of power shape spatial arrangements, and vice versa. As a work of closet drama, *Mariam* participates in a genre with a complex relationship to space. The term "closet drama" names a diverse set of plays that were, for a variety of reasons, never meant to be performed. Instead, closet dramas were traditionally read either privately or in small, exclusive groups. Named for the writing closet, a feature of Henrician and Elizabethan aristocratic architecture that gave the aristocrat a quiet space to read or study, closet drama of the early modern period presumed an exclusive, private readership. While closet dramas were private only in theory – Cary's closet drama was published, after all – their associations with enclosed space made them uniquely suited to troubling the boundary between public and private spheres, and to exploring the relationship between conceptual and material space.

In one sense, early modern closet drama had no space. Without the performative aspects of a staged play, closet dramas lacked the physical arena in which to play out their stories. Mejia-

[43] Salome makes it clear that only wealthy women may circumvent the law as she does. As this point is not germane to my current discussion, but does bring up the important issue of class, I discuss it more detail in my conclusion.

LaPerle has demonstrated that in closet drama, spatial arrangements are comprehended entirely through speech, allowing writers of closet drama to collapse the distance between material spaces and figurative spatial language (81-82). I would take this a step further to argue that by rendering material space comprehensible only through language, closet drama makes visible the reciprocal relationship between spatial arrangements and social arrangements. Essentially, I suggest, closet drama has the ability to bring material and immaterial spaces onto the same ontological level. When space is never prior to language, the spatial dimensions of social concepts and the social dimensions of physical spaces become more visible.

For example, in the third act, the play's chorus chastises Mariam's decision to forswear Herod's bed, lamenting that "When she hath spacious ground to walk upon, why on the ridge should she desire to go?" (3.3.221-222). The "ridge" is a provocative metaphor, one that conjures images of steep cliffs and perilous drops, as well as wide open vistas. The metaphor gives a distinct sense of space to what is essentially a psychic state. Mariam's refusal to dissemble, to feign adoration for Herod is rooted in a deep commitment to her honesty. The word "ridge" also invites the reader to feel the spaciousness of those vistas that draw Mariam toward the edge of the cliff. Though we might read this simply as a powerful metaphor, the "ridge" has a physical counterpart in the world of the play: if Mariam continues to refuse Herod, if she edges onto the ridge, she risks being executed by hanging, a sudden drop. Though this is just one potent example, the spatial language used throughout the play reinforces this confluence of physical space and conceptual space.[17]

Of course, staged plays also conjure imagined spaces. Nonetheless, the visual spectacle of movement onstage ontologically divides real space from imagined space. Since a closet drama's setting are produced entirely through language, all spaces are effectively imaginary, and all spaces also have a real presence. *Mariam* exploits this aspect of the closet drama, and is full of references to open vistas, free movement, exploration, and territorial conquest. While the play

may be set firmly within the domestic spaces of the Judean court, its spatial reach cannot be reduced to the domestic – as in the "the home," and as in "the national" – space. Rather, the possibilities offered by geographies offstage repeatedly capture the attention of the play's characters. While the play's men move freely toward those geographies, the women of the play struggle with the social limitations placed on their movements.

Throughout the play, Salome is referred to in the language of mobility. Constabarus chastises her "wavering thoughts" and her "wand'ring heart" (1.6.474, 1.3.321). He claims that her mind "to inconstancy doth run," and that "[it's] as good [to] go hold the wind as [to] make her stay" (2.2.318-323). At the play's end, Herod laments that had Salome just "been still," referring to her various schemes to frame Mariam for attempted regicide, Mariam would still be alive (5.1.157). This spatial vocabulary refers both to Salome's propensity for fickleness, or emotional mobility, and to the "moves" she makes to secure her future: throughout the play, Salome often pops up in places she should be, meeting secretly with Silleus and spreading deadly rumors about Mariam.

And while Salome's mobility is characterized as fickle or unpredictable (like the wind), it is worth noting that her scheming is far from directionless. Rather, Salome works strategically to obtain a better political position at court and her scheming mirrors the political machinations of the men around her. Herod's marriage to Mariam, for instance, is motivated not merely by possessive lust but by a desire for the throne. Constabarus, too, has chased political power: in a heated argument, Salome reminds her husband of the personal debt he owes her for saving him from execution after he attempted to wrest control of Idumea, an outpost of Judea, away from Herod. His marriage to Salome was also a political move, as the marriage granted him a modicum of protection from Herod's erratic violence. Analogously, Salome's affections have "wandered" up the political ladder: from her first husband, Josephus, Herod's uncle, to the social climber, Constabarus, and finally to a man who can deliver to her the throne, Silleus.

Like Herod, Salome's romantic desires are entangled with her desires for political power: the exchanges of loving words between Salome and Silleus evidence a complex web of erotic and political desires. Like many in the play, Salome often refers to Silleus as "the Arabian," conflating the prince and his country. Apostrophizing Arabia, she exclaims, "Oh blest Arabia, in best climate place, I by the fruit will censure of the tree: 'tis not in vain the happy name thou hast, if all Arabians like Silleus be" (1.4.269-273). Here, Salome playfully fantasizes that all men in Arabia are as desirable as Silleus – a notion she clearly finds erotic – and implies that that his desirability reflects positively on Arabia's climate. By attributing Silleus' personal qualities to the climate in which he was born, of course, Salome replicates a primary logic of race in the early modern period. She also effectively collapses the two objects of her desire: Silleus and Arabia, man and territory, lover and political domain. Throughout the play, it is unclear which Salome desires more.

Her reference to Arabia's "happy name" identifies Silleus' homeland as Arabia Felix, the southern and largest of three Arabian territories that sat south of Judea. Contemporary atlases and geographical texts lauded this region for its abundance of natural resources. For example, George Abbot's 1599 atlas, *A Brief Description of the Whole World*, explained that Arabia Felix earned its name from the "fruitfulnes of the ground, and convenient standing everie way towarde the sea," and that "it yeeldeth many things in aboundance, which in other parts of the world are not to be had" (Abbot 143). Abbot names some of the "fruits" of Arabia Felix as Frankincense, myrhe, fruits, spices, and some "precious stones" (44). In explorer Nicolas de Nicolay's account of the region, he claims it is "most pleasant and abundant of things pretious & Aromaticke," such as olives, corn, cinnamon, and timber (Nicolay 56).

Both Abbot's and Nicolay's respective accounts of Arabia Felix value the region for its natural resources and, in Abbot's case, the number of seaports that welcome foreign ships to transport those resources out. Thus, Salome's formulation that Arabia deserves the name "Happy"

because the fruit (Silleus) reflects positively on the tree (Arabia) evokes the natural resources (the fruitfulness) that Arabia holds for merchants. Thus, Salome again effects a slippage between Silleus and the land he represents.

In fact, the OED connects Arabia's root, "arav," to "arov," meaning "to exchange" or "to merchandize," associating the term with economic transactions ("Arab" n.1). This too informs Salome's desire for Arabia, given how she articulates her marriage to Silleus in economic terms in the first act: "Tis not for glory I thy love accept, Judea yields me honors worthy store: had not affection in my bosom crept, my native country should my life deplore. Were not Silleus he with whom I go, I would not change my Palestine for Rome: much less would I a glorious state to show go far to purchase an Arabian roome" (1.5.357-364). By likening her marriage and relocation to Arabia to the purchase of a dwelling, Salome emphasizes the transactional nature of her love affair with Silleus.

Of course, Salome insists here that her desires are purely romantic, claiming that had she not fallen in love with Silleus, she would grieve for her native country upon leaving it, but we are hardly meant to take her at her word. We know that Herod's violent and tyrannical exercises of power over his courtiers extend to his sister: when he unexpectedly returns alive, she exclaims that Herod "will give her foot no room to walk at large," indicating that her brother restricts both her freedom to move about freely and to make decisions. Her claim that if not for Silleus, she would never dream of leaving Judea, therefore, sits in tension with the intense political and personal scheming which she performs throughout the play.

Furthermore, we know from her vicious arguments with Mariam and Constabarus that Judea does not yield Salome the honor she references suggests it does. Though her kinship with Herod has secured her a place at court, Salome is positioned as something of an outsider, marked as a "mongrel" because of her mixed ethnicity ("parti-Jew, parti-Edomite") and insulted by other royal women.

As he reassures Salome of his love, Silleus apostrophizes to Arabia, "*Arabia* joy, prepare thy earth with greene, thou neuer happie wert indeed till now: now shall thy ground be trod by beauties Queene. Her foote is destin'd to depresse thy brow. Thou shalt faire *Salome* command as much as if the royall ornament were thine" (1.3.344-352). Although Silleus refers here to the weakness of his father, Obodas, a weakness that allows the possibility of a non-violent transfer of power, the lines which begin this apostrophe, describing Salome's foot pressing into the brow of an anthropomorphized territory, suggest a more forceful, dominating relationship between Salome and Arabia. Arabia does not merely represent a land to be traveled to, a land to be inhabited, or a dynasty to marry into, but a land to be conquered. If we compare Silleus' promise of Arabia to Salome's earlier railing, "Lives Salome to get so base a style, as "foot" to the proud Mariam?" (1.3.261-262), we see that Silleus' promise of territorial sovereignty compensates for her own degraded position in the court at Judea.

If Salome's portion of *Mariam*'s plot is preoccupied with emigrating abroad, Mariam's portion seems, at first, to be preoccupied with stillness. Indeed, Mariam insists on the stillness of her affections, and her refusal to dissemble is matched by her refusal to leave Herod, either through scheming or through legal means. I would argue, however, that Mariam has a far more complex set of feeling about mobility and travel than she first appears. Her view of travel is characterized by a conflicted set of desires, an acute awareness and fear of the social stigma connected to women's mobility, and a negotiation of this stigma through the mechanisms of race.

In the soliloquy that opens the play, Mariam recalls that Herod's jealousy restricted her social life at court. The soliloquy contains a series of pained contradictions, as Mariam admits to and simultaneously disavows her desires for a life without Herod. "Blame me not," she exclaims, "for *Herods* jealousie had power even constancie it selfe to change: For hee by barring me from libertie, to shunne my ranging, taught me first to range. But yet too chast a Scholler was my hart, to learne to love another then my Lord" (1.1.23-28). Here, Mariam admits that she was

driven to inconstancy, but immediately claims that she could never be inconstant. She desired to "range," but was too "chaste" to ever consider ranging. Another contradictory passage follows. "Why now me thinks the love I bare him then, when virgin freedome left me unrestraind: doth to my heart begin to creepe agen" (1.1.71-73). "Virgin freedom," like her former liberty, is aligned with a life before marriage, and it implicitly gestures towards a subjunctive future where Mariam *could* again be unrestrained, free to range again in the wake of Herod's death. Yet Mariam abandons this desire as soon as she states it, firmly insisting upon her own chastity.

While Mariam's desires to "range" and have "virgin freedom" are desires for the sociality she enjoyed in her youth, these desires have a distinctly spatial dimension. When Herod "barred" her from liberty, he was effectively confining her physical movements, restricting the spaces she could occupy and the relationships she could build. Mariam's desire to be unrestrained is partly a desire for freedom of movement. The term "range" especially evokes the latter. "Range" connotes a laterally wider and spatially dispersed area of movement than many of its synonyms (like "wander" or "ramble"). In the nautical sense of the term, ranging describes the exploration of coastal lines in uncharted territories and appears in several travel logs from the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. This sense is echoed in the aforementioned ridge metaphor: "Tis not so glorious for [Mariam] to be free, as by her proper selfe restrain'd to bee. When she hath spatious ground to walke upon, why on the ridge should she desire to goe? (3.3.219-222). Etymologically linked to the verbs "rank" and "arrange," ranging links both geographic mobility and social mobility through its implicit emphasis on categorization and charting (Range, *V.* 1a). The geographical resonances of Mariam's speech suggest that while she refers directly to marital arrangements and her life at the Judean Court, she indirectly invokes a desire for physical movement.

Yet, such desires seem wholly inappropriate to Mariam, who is keenly aware that in the social world of the play, women who show autonomy through their movements are considered

suspicious. The social stigma attached to mobile women shapes Mariam's relationship to the larger world, leading her to bury her desires for spatial freedom in insistences of her own constancy and refuse opportunities that promise greater personal freedom and political power. Early in the play, Mariam's mother, Alexandra, laments, "Where if thy portraiture had onely gone, his life from *Herod, Anthony* had taken: he would haue loued thee, and thee alone, and left the browne *Egyptian* cleane forsaken and *Cleopatra* then to seeke had bene, so firme a louer of her wayned face" (1.2.187-192). If only Anthony had seen Mariam first, Alexandra claims, she and not Cleopatra would have been Antony's love, and the power of Rome would have been in Mariam's hands. Cleopatra's "wayned face," a phrase which is rarely glossed but might equally refer to a loss of beauty or to a decline in her political power, contrasts to the portraiture of Mariam's face, which mobilized as a proxy for her availability on the marriage market breeds increase of political power. Mariam replies to her mother unequivocally, "Not to be Emprise of aspiring *Rome*, would *Mariam* like to *Cleopatra* liue: with purest body will I presse my Toome, and wish no fauours *Anthony* could giue" (1.2.199-202). Comparing her pure (as in chaste, obedient, and implicitly white) body to Cleopatra's brown one, Mariam activates a set of associations with dark-skinned women, and Cleopatra more specifically, that make both their mobility and their desire for power unwanted.

The association Mariam makes between Cleopatra, emotional mobility, and physical mobility was not new to texts of the period. A common story about Egyptian society was that their gender roles were inverted, with women attending market and working in trade and men staying at home, an idea that originated in the writings of fifth-century historian Herodotus (Loomba 266). In this inversion, men stay and women go, their spatial reach widened by their association with trade: the prominence of Egyptian ports in the Mediterranean trade offer the women access to the commodities and people of the larger world. The association between Egyptians and mobility is even more pronounced if you consider the slippage between

"Egyptians" and "gypsies" in early modern discourse. Gypsies, a term applied to a nebulous category of emigrants and vagabonds in sixteenth-century England, were considered a social ill because of their alleged propensity to lie, cheat, and steal, which certainly informs Mariam's derision of "false Cleopatra" (Loomba 274-275). Yet, their mobility also seems to have been a problem. Over the course of the sixteenth century, laws against vagrancy increasingly included gypsies, even English con-artists who allegedly disguised themselves as gypsies, as common perpetrators. Henry VIII's *Egyptians Act of 1530* describes the gypsies as "outlandish people, calling themselves Egyptians, using no craft nor feat of merchandise, *who have come into this realm*, *and gone from shire to shire, and place to place*, in great company" (quoted in Glahar 107). The threat of these Egyptians' mobility – and their sheer numbers – is subtended in the *Act* by the implication that they serve no productive function in England: they allegedly make nothing and trade nothing, and so by implication they add no economic value to the country.

In English representations of Cleopatra, who is certainly aligned with Egyptian women and gypsies but who is also a sovereign, her emotional mobility (her fickleness and her quickness to anger) is coupled with her desire for power. At the play's end, Mariam again names Cleopatra as an example of greedy and inconstant women: "The wanton queen that never loved for love, False Cleopatra, wholly set on gain, With all her sleights did prove, yet vainly prove, For her the love of Herod to obtain" (5.8.136-139). Cleopatra's falseness – her willingness to employ cunning is drawing the affections of a king – is integrally tied to her desire to increase her power and, implicitly, her territorial sovereignty, and it serves, in turn, as a foil to Mariam's presumed stillness.

Given the web of racial and gendered affiliations that attend to Cleopatra's representations in early modern literature, Mariam's rejection of territorial sovereignty is clearer. To seduce Caesar in a bid for power would not only be a transgression of her cherished ideals of

chastity, but it would be a transgression of the racial line she works to police throughout the play. For Mariam, to desire and seek out political power and to embrace what Lynette McGrath has called a "nomadic subjectivity," is to align herself with the play's dark women (171). Sara Ahmed's notion of being "orientated" may be useful here. Ahmed takes up the premise that bodies and communities are shaped through their situatedness in space and time, through what they are "orientated toward" and "orientated around." To be orientated toward something, someplace, or someone, is to face it, to take it in in our field of vision; this can be literal or figurative. To be orientated around something is, conversely, to be taken up by it: "To be orientated around something means to make that thing central, or as being at the center of one's being or action. I might be orientated *around* writing, for instance, which will orientate me *toward* certain kinds of object (the pen, the table, the keyboard)" (116).

Collectives cohere and emerge from the thing around which people are orientated. Ahmed's example is Orientalist literature: here, the Orient is the object toward which such literature gazes (with longing, excitement, fear, etc.), but it is the Occident that emerges as a collective that is doing the gazing. Collectives come to have "lines" or modes of following: to inhabit a collective might be to follow a line, as a line that is already given in advance" (119). Whiteness, for Ahmed, is one such "line," one that is continually reproduced through acts of alignment, a "straightening device": "…whiteness is sustained as a demand to return to a line, where the return takes the form of a defense. It is not that whiteness simply exists as a possession, but that it becomes a possession through this demand to return, which takes the form of *a defense against an imagined loss of a future line*" (128). We see Mariam performing these acts of alignment throughout the play, in her disparaging remarks to Salome, her rejection of Cleopatra's life, and even in the tiny self-corrections she makes in her opening speech.

In fact, Mariam clings so tightly to her ideals of "fair honesty" that she can scarcely recognize herself as a sovereign. One could argue that Mariam's tragedy is that she is persistently

unwilling or incapable of understanding her marriage to Herod as a political relationship that matters to the future of Judea and to the geopolitics of the Mediterranean under the Roman Empire. She may die a good woman, but she hardly dies a good queen. Alexandra describes Mariam's marriage in terms of transactions, recounting the gifts she sent and her strategic circulation of Mariam's picture among world leaders. Mariam responds to her in terms of love and morality, lamenting that Herod did love her, despite his violence, and insisting that she owed him her love. Alexandra busies herself with planning for the political future of Judea, over which Mariam now has great power: "Let us retire us, that we may resolve how now to deal in this reversèd state: great are th'affairs that we must now revolve, and great affairs must not be taken late" (1.2.203-206). Mariam is wholly consumed with questions of her duty as a wife and her propriety as a woman. In fact, it is hard to find an exact plotline for Mariam: she has no desires or plans of her own to pursue, and rather, the actions of the rest of the characters happen around her while she plays the role of moral arbiter.

Consider her response to Herod's counselor, Sohemus, who advises that for the sake of her children – the heirs to the Judean throne – she should hide her enmity towards Herod: "Oh what a shelter is mine innocence, to shield me from the pangs of inward griefe: gainst all mishaps it is my fair defence, and to my sorrowes yeelds a large reliefe. To be commandresse of the triple earth, and sit in safetie from a fall secure: to have all nations celebrate my birth, I would not that my spirit were impure" (3.3.171-176). Here, Mariam echoes her disparagement of Cleopatra and prioritizes the safety of her conscience over her physical safety. The Norton editors gloss the phrase "triple earth" as referring "probably [to] Rome, Egypt, and Jerusalem," the holy geography (28). Marion Wynne-Davies, on the other hand, traces it to classical mythology, arguing that the "triple earth" comprises the heavens, the seas, and the underworld (211). The phrase also bears similarity to the opening lines of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1608), in which Antony is described as the "triple pillar of the world transform'd," the "triple pillar" referring to

the triumvarite, the political association between Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus that made up the Roman empire. Finally, the phrase brings to mind the tripartite medieval T-O maps, which included Asia, Europe, and Africa circumscribed in a circle. Though these had been supplanted by Ptolomeaic maps in the sixteenth century, they would still have been familiar to those well-read in cartography in the early-seventeenth century, as Cary surely was. Regardless of the scope evoked in the phrase "triple-earth" (geographical or cosmological, three distinct regions or three continents), the position of power that Mariam rejects is rooted in territorial sovereignty. Adding that "all nations [would] celebrate her birth" underlines this, referring to the material or symbolic tribute individual countries would pay to their imperial sovereigns.

Her conflicted feelings toward territorial sovereignty are tested when, in a moment that parallels Salome and Silleus' plot, Herod offers to conquer Arabia for Mariam to rule. Sensing her unhappiness upon his return, he offers, "If thou thinke *Judaeas* narrow bound, too strict a limit for thy great command: thou shalt be Empresse of *Arabia* crownd, For thou shalt rule, and I will winne the Land." (4.101-104). Mariam answers, "*I* neither haue of power not riches want, *I* haue enough, nor doe I wish for more: your offers to my heart no ease can grant, except they could my brothers life restore" (4.1.109-112). Mariam's rejection of Herod's offer mirrors Salome's response to Silleus' offer, though with a more earnest tone. While Salome coquettishly claims to not seek glory, Mariam's outright rejection of "power and riches" accompanies a solemn reference to her brother's murder. Her refusal of this offer becomes clearer a few lines down, when she states bluntly, "I cannot frame disguise, nor never taught my face a looke dissenting from my thought" (4.1.144-145). Refusing to dissemble, like refusing power and riches, is again a rejection of the safe and beneficial position in order to maintain an ideal of moral purity.

Rethinking the spatial dimensions of Cary's play with an awareness of the expansive geographies evoked both literally and metaphorically allows us to locate the play in a context that

hasn't previously been considered: a transnational one. When Cary's two main female characters desire – and actively pursue, in Salome's case – freedom from their marriages, the space of that freedom is located outside the boundaries of Judea (even as it remains an unattainable specter in Mariam's case). *The Tragedy of Mariam* makes visible the potential that travel offered for reimagining one's life. It comes quite close to what Anthony Giddens refers to as the "lateral stretching of social relations" in modern globalization, even if globalization as Giddens understands it was not fully realized at this point in time. To Giddens, the heightened contact between local and distant social forms that is characteristic of globalization results in the nation-state becoming "too small for the big problems of life, and too big for the small problems of life" (112). Salome's and Mariam's respective gazes beyond the borders of Judea signal their awareness of the possibilities that travel holds for gaining territorial sovereignty and, perhaps more importantly, for gaining the self-sovereignty not available to them under Herod's patriarchal tyranny. In *Mariam,* the power to subvert the bonds of political marriage and escape oppressive governance lies in outward movement, in the fugitive migration of the female subject to areas beyond their reach. This anticipates Cary's decision to encourage her daughters' emigrations to learned convents in France three decades after the play was written. It also oddly anticipates the emigration of English political and religious dissenters to the Americas in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Despite parallels in their desires, Salome's and Mariam's respective fates could not be more different. While Salome is chastised by Herod for her part in Mariam's downfall, she presumably lives. Successfully uncoupled from Constabarus (he is executed for a political matter), she presumably is free to travel to Arabia with Silleus, where she will depose his father and assume rulership. Her horizon is significantly spatially broadened. Mariam, on the other hand, is executed offstage, her final resting place a "vault or some den enclose'd" (5.1.251). Mariam's final words are not directly depicted, but rather, Herod's agent, Nuntio, recalls her final

pleas of innocence: Mariam loses the space to speak to power herself. Mariam's tragedy, it seems, lies in her refusal to be moved across physical and conceptual boundaries, even to save her own life.

Rather than locate Cary's sympathies with either Mariam or Salome, I argue that the two women serve as counterpoints in Cary's meditation on the affordances and consequences of using travel as an escape. Though at the play's end, Salome presumably leaves to become Arabia's queen, she is remembered as a duplicitous woman who would stop at nothing to gain power. Mariam, on the other hand, stays within the boundaries of feminine propriety and is remembered as a virtuous woman, but is ultimately put to death.

Though Cary's bleak view of women and travel highlights how the discourses that stigmatized women's movements outside of the home enacted real restrictions on their lives and autonomies. On another level, *Mariam* portrays women fantasizing about escape from patriarchal tyranny through travel - even as they acknowledge the consequences - to provide an ambivalent view of women's travel as means of reclaiming autonomy.

Chapter 2: "Harts are Alsoe Travelours": Professional Travel and Inconstancy in Mary Wroth's *Urania*

In 1621, Lady Mary Wroth published the first part of her sprawling, two-part prose romance, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*. The *Urania* follows the adventures of fictional royals and aristocrats from the Mediterranean region: knights pursue quests abroad to prove their bravery, princesses are abducted and must therefore be rescued, traveling ladies are entrapped on enchanted isles or become imprisoned by giants, and throughout the romance, the characters fall in – and sometimes out – of love. The most notable of the *Urania*'s storylines concerns the fragile love affair between Pamphilia , Princess of Morea and eventually Queen of Pamphylia, and her cousin, Amphilanthus, Prince of Naples and eventually the Holy Roman Emperor.[44] Despite their family's approval of the match, the couple never marry and their relationship is plagued by Amphilanthus' inconstancy: as he adventures throughout the Mediterranean, Amphilanthus is repeatedly distracted from his love for Pamphilia, becoming

[44] Pamphylia was a former region in the south of Asia Minor (present-day Turkey), extending from the Mediterranean coast to the Taurus Mountains. In 1621, the region had been under Ottoman control for over a century. Bernadette Andrea's essay, "Pamphilia's Cabinet: Gendered Authorship and Empire in Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*" offers an astute reading of the imperial valences of the *Urania*, including how the romance imagines a Mediterranean region unified against Eastern threats. See Andrea, "Pamphilia's Cabinet: Gendered Authorship and Empire in Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*" *ELH* 68.2 (2001): 335-358.

romantically or sexually entangled with other women.[45] Both characters eventually marry other people, though their affair continues (at least emotionally) through the end.[46]

Scholars have generally agreed that Wroth is especially preoccupied with the nature of women's constancy and men's inconstancy. Amphilanthus is the most prominent example from the *Urania*, but he is hardly the only one: throughout both parts of the romance, many of Wroth's characters, mostly men, find themselves distracted from the beloveds they have left behind as they pursue quests. Conversely, most of Wroth's female characters remain steadfastly loyal to their beloveds, even in the face of egregious infidelity and even when they are the ones adventuring.[47]

This chapter considers the conceptual and historical relationship between travel, specifically travel that was undertaken for the purpose of fulfilling professional missions, and the *Urania*'s depictions of inconstancy. As Helen Hackett has noted, early modern romances conventionally used travel to bring characters together, which allowed for the

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[45] In Part Two, Pamphilia and Amphilanthus are symbolically married in a private ceremony, but this marriage is not considered legal and it is never mentioned again.

[46] Both parts of the *Urania* end in mid-sentence. Part One's abrupt ending has captured the fascination of critics, who have suggested various theories as to why it may be intentional, but Part Two appears to simply be unfinished. Therefore, there is no way of knowing how Wroth might have resolved the relationship between Pamphilia and Amphilanthus if the manuscript was properly concluded. For discussions of the ending of Part One, See Jennifer Lee Carrell, "A Pack of Lies in a Looking Glass: Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* and the Magic Mirror of Romance." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 34.1 (1999): 84.; and Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640.* Oxford University Press, 2006, 318-331. For discussons of Wroth's general hesitation to conclude her literary works, see Margart P. Hannay, "The 'Ending End' of Lady Mary Wroth's Manuscript of Poems." *Sidney Journal* 31.1 (2013): 1-22.; and Heather Dubrow, "'And Thus Leave Off': Reevaluating Mary Wroth's Folger Manuscript, Va 104." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 22.2 (2003): 273-291.

[47] There are some exceptions, of course. In a romance with over four hundred characters and nearly as many subplots, there are some women who prefer to "change" their lovers (a good example is the aptly-named Lady Fancy in Part Two), as well as men who remain faithful to their beloveds regardless of what comes between them. In general, however, inconstancy seems to be an innate quality of many of Wroth's male characters.

proliferation of "multiple, interlaced narrative strands" that characterize the genre. Travel was also useful for temporarily separating characters, and thus deferring the resolution of storylines. As many critics have noted, the *Urania* takes deferral to the extreme, resulting in a dense and chaotic narrative where knights are constantly leaving their beloveds, families, and countries to complete missions elsewhere. As the knights travel, they are inevitably swept up into other characters' stories, into new relationships (both romantic and friendly), and into new quests, all of which ultimately defer the completion of their original missions and their returns home.

Thus, it is through the encounters that the *Urania*'s male characters have on their travels, and the continuous reprioritization of their missions and loyalties, that they fall into inconstancy. Though the 1621 printed edition and its manuscript continuation, Wroth depicts strained and even failed relationships as the consequence of extended travel abroad. Though Wroth was certainly not the first writer of romance to portray knights being unfaithful while on a quest, her portrayal differs in two significant ways. First, her romance frames inconstancy as the problem not of one or two knights, but of the majority of the male major characters in the story and their inconstancy is not necessarily evidence of poor character. Rather, the *Urania* simply does not trust men to be apart from their beloveds for extended periods of time, portraying them as distractible and easily caught up in the excitement of new adventures.

Second, the *Urania*'s depictions of men's prolonged absences coincide with the historical phenomenon of men spending months and even years away from England for "professional travel," or what conduct manuals called "needful travel." This included traveling for business, to fulfill administrative duties for the English government, for

political missions, or as mariners (especially in the case of the lower classes). Many of the journeys associated with these ventures were designed to last for years: for example, the average embassy appointment was three years. There were also things that could happen at sea that would delay or prevent the return of seafarers, ranging from the mundane to the catastrophic, including poor weather, difficulty landing the ships on rocky coasts, being blown off course by storms, becoming sick or injured, being taken captive or killed by rival traders or pirates, and shipwrecks, to name just a few examples. That is to say nothing of the complications that could arise while the travelers lived abroad, including receiving unexpected demands from local authorities, though this more common in the case of ambassadorial travel, where the traveler had to maintain their favor in the foreign court. As it became more frequent for men to be absent from their homes and families for indefinite periods of time, cultural anxieties about how their absence would affects England's social order intensified.

I argue that the *Urania* exaggerates the trope of the inconstant wandering knight in order to theorize the effects that men's professional travel could have on social bonds, especially romantic and marital bonds, though I also touch on the bonds of loyalty between the nation and its subjects. I begin by discussing how advice literature framed the problem of men's absence. Two distinct approaches emerge: one reassured readers by framing wives as the anchors that would draw traveling men back home after their business abroad was concluded, while the other conveyed anxieties about the ability of both men and women to remain faithful when separated for long periods of time. I use this discussion as context to rethink inconstancy in the *Urania*, which often coincides with young men's travel abroad professionally. As the only plotline to extend through

both parts of the romance, the love story between Pamphilia and Amphilianthus is the centerpiece of my argument, but I also discuss less central romances that take up this theme, particularly the failed romance between Urania and Parselius, and the eventual marriage between Urania and Steriamus, who never strays but whose thoughts wander back to his first love. In the final section, I consider how women's travel serves as a counterpoint to Wroth's depiction of male inconstancy. Even when traveling abroad, the women of the *Urania* become even more constant, suggesting that women do not possess the same restlessness that men do.

In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, several historical developments led to the increased mobility of English men (and some women) abroad, namely the expansion of trading companies' voyages (and therefore workforces), the settlement of colonies in the Atlantic, and the expansion of England's ambassadorial missions (including the establishment of accredited resident embassies in Continental Europe). In the decade prior to the publication of the *Urania*, in fact, England's trading companies were enjoying unprecedented commercial success. The Virginia Company, established in 1606, had shifted its commercial agriculture in the Jamestown colony to tobacco cultivation in 1612, after John Rolfe imported a sweeter strain of the plant from Bermuda. Tobacco thrived in the Virginia soil, and by 1620, the colony had transported over forty thousand pounds of tobacco (Zarzeczny 931). Even so, Bermuda, another recent acquisition for the Virginia, actually outproduced Jamestown in tobacco until the mid-1620s, and while its economy was relatively weak until the Somers Isles Company

assumed control in 1615, it drew colonists to the region in the 1610s due to its abundance of seafood and whales (for ambergris).[48]

The East India Company, established in 1592, had also made significant headway expanding its markets into India and the Malay Archipelago. Following their 1612 victory over the *Conselho da Índia* (a branch of the Portuguese East India Company) off the coast of Surat, which impressed the Mughal emperor, Jahangir, the EIC established its first factory in Surat. James I then sent Sir Thomas Roe on an embassy voyage to secure for England exclusive trading rights with Mughal territories, which were granted in 1615.[49] The EIC had also established a lucrative trading depot in Banten, Java in 1603 and a small trading depot on the island of Cambello in the Molukas in 1615. Between 1603 and 1616, the EIC's financial investment in trade expeditions more than quadrupled, from approximately £60,000 to £272,000, and the number of ships sent per year more than doubled (Mill 15-18).

Meanwhile, the Levant Company had its most prosperous decade since its founding in 1592, as the market for English broadcloth (wool) grew substantially. Between the 1609 and 1619, the export of broadcloth to Ottoman markets increased to nearly eighty percent of total cloth exports (Sharpe 61). The Levant Company also established resident embassies and factories in strategic cities: Constantinople (1582, established prior to the merging of the Turkey Company and the Venice Company into the Levant Company), Smyrna (1611), and Aleppo (1580). Company records show thirty

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[48] For discussions of Bermuda's early economic history, see Steve Mentz, "The Bermuda Assemblage: Toward a Posthuman Globalization." *Postmedieval* 7.4 (2016): 551-564.; and Michal Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783*, 11-23.

[49]

voyages, each carrying between twenty-five and sixty mariners, in 1605, with those numbers steadily increasing to 1620 (Epstein 217-230).

The uptick in English commercial voyages necessitated the expansion of trading companies' seafaring workforces. Historian Christopher Clay has estimate that the number of English men earning their living on the sea increased fourfold between 1580 and 1620 (Clay 146). In addition to the merchants and mariners that led these voyages, most trading companies were engaged in some forms of settlement as well. In the decade prior to 1621, England had seen a growing interest in overseas settlement. After a number of settler colonies in the Atlantic failed prior to 1610, the Virginia Company and its sister company, The Virginia Company of Plymouth, began to gain traction in its settlements in Jamestown, Bermuda, Plymouth, and Newfoundland.[50] The exact number of ships and passengers traveling in this decade is unavailable, largely because a great portion of the Virginia Company's documents were lost or destroyed in the 1620s, but we know from extent records that at least a thousand English settlers had relocated to Jamestown by 1620.[51] As for trading depots in the East Indies, they were not exactly settler colonies, but they did involve the stationing of men abroad for several years at a time.

Elite men also traveled on behalf of the English Crown. Beginning in the 1530s, England established accredited resident embassies in Continental Europe. Ambassadors lived abroad for the term of their appointment, usually a minimum of three years. In

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[50] The failed colonies include Baffin Island (est. 1578, abandoned the same year), the first and second colonies of Roanoke (est. 1585, abandoned within a year; est. 1587, abandoned by 1590), Popham (est. 1607, abandoned by 1609), and Guiana (est. 1609, abandoned the same year).
[51] In the early 1620s, a dispute broke out between the members of the Virginia Company. Eventually, the king's privy council became involved and demanded Company records of the past two decades. Though these records were returned to the Company, there seems to have been a large portion of them that was lost. See Kingsbury, 107-113.

addition to resident embassies, ambassador positions were created to smooth trading relations in Mughal India, Savafid Persia, Russia, and Ottoman Turkey, which meant that ambassadors and any associates that attended them were increasingly absent for several years at a time (Allen 618). Though, as I mention in my introduction, the wives of resident ambassadors increasingly joined them in residence, it was less common for the ambassadors' associates to bring their wives along. In addition to official ambassadors, however, there was a variety of different kinds of professional, including singular missions, that could take men outside the country for long periods of time.[52]

Wroth's father, Robert Sidney, was one such professional traveler. From the time she two years old until she was sixteen, Sidney served as the governor of Vlissingen, a port town in the Netherlands that had been temporarily given to England as the security for a loan that Elizabeth I had provided. In those fourteen years, he "campaigned relentlessly" for leave to return to London but was repeatedly denied until 1603, when James I assumed the throne and granted Sidney's request (Shephard). Sidney was henceforth based in London, but having toured the Continent in his youth, he was a popular choice for James to send on overseas missions, including the accompaniment of James' daughter, Elizabeth, to her new home in Germany after her marriage in 1613. He was therefore absent for most of Wroth's childhood, and for parts of her early

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[52] We could add to this list the growing popularity of educational travel (discussed in Chapter One). Though educational travel differed in some ways from professional travel – the educational traveler paid for his or her own voyage and had more free reign over his activities than the professional traveler – the two often blurred. Educational travel was often undertaken as a means to build one's professional status, thereby gaining favor with the English Crown, and as we saw with the example of Sir Henry Lee in Chapter One, educational travelers were sometimes given missions by the Crown.

adulthood.[53] Wroth's cousin, William Herbert, with whom she had an affair, very nearly undertook professional travel as well. Herbert was heavily financially invested in England's trading companies, and in 1620, he purchased thirty-thousand acres in Virginia and began preparing to send laborers and livestock to what presumably was intended to be a plantation, though this never came to fruition (Lee 228).[54] Though I am not suggesting that Wroth's portrayal of absent men is a mere reflection of her personal heartaches – the political themes that run throughout the *Urania* indicate her keen interest in contemporary political and social debates – it seems likely that the absence of her father and the potential absence of her lover motivated her engagement with cultural discussions of absence.[55]

As it became more common for men of all social classes to spend long periods of time away from their homes and families, advice literature displayed a heightened awareness of how their absence might affect marriages and family structures. Acknowledging the reality that the long absence of married men from home is sometimes necessitated by the "occasion[s] of warfare, service to the commonwealth, church, or necessarie affairs of their own," advice literature conceptualized the distance between husbands and wives in a few ways (Fenner 62). One way was to conceive of husbands and wives as spiritually tied together. In this concept, a traveling man was naturally drawn back to his home and family, "his much desired haven," as Robert Tofte put it in

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[53] Noel J. Kinnamon's introduction to his edited collection of correspondence between Sidney and his wife, Barbara Gamage Sidney, discusses the effects of Robert's absence on the family, though mainly on his wife. See Kinnamon, pp. 1-22.

[54] By 1622, the Council had yet to parcel out the land to Herbert and he appears to have lost interest in the venture. It is unclear whether he regained the money.

[55] For readings of the *Urania* that highlight her participation in contemporary political debates, see Sanchez, 117-144; Zurcher, 19-53; Beilin; Clarke; and Andrea, "Gendered Authorship."

The Toyes of a Traveller. The other, more pessimistic, view of the situation was that excessive travel would gradually erode marital bonds and therefore family structures.

Writings in the former camp affirmed the spiritual unity of married couples. A popular sermon on marriage by Thomas Gataker, published in 1620 as *A Good Wife, God's Gift*, offers several metaphors for conceptualizing this unity. The couple is "two streams that rising from severall heads, fall the one into the other, mingle their waters togither, and are not severed againe till they are swallowed up in the Sea." They are "the stock [tree] and the sience [scion, or branch], the one ingraffed into the other, and so fastned together that they cannot againe be sundred." They are also two halves "glewed" to one another (Gataker 4-5). Though Gataker's metaphors seem to necessitate the physical proximity of husband and wife – and indeed, he insists at one point that cohabitation reflects godliness – he nonetheless is able to transform these metaphors into conceptualizations of spiritual, rather than physical unity. Gataker acknowledges that husbands "may be long absent" for necessary business, but insists that "love as it lincketh in the heart, so it longeth after the bodily presence of them whom the heart is thereby lincked unto" (Gataker 33-34, 38-39). Spiritually unified, the traveling husband will naturally long for his wife at home, drawing him back as soon as his travels are completed.

We see this logic in trading company documents as well. Ann Keeling, the pregnant wife of General William Keeling, petitioned to be brought aboard his voyage to India in 1614. Though the Company magistrates ultimately refused her petition, they briefly considered it on the grounds that it would "be very fittinge in reguard of the quiet of his mynde, and good of his soule, which otherwise could hardlie be settled to live soe

longe form his wife" (quoted in Barbour 28). Suggesting that a man's thoughts naturally turn to his wife, the Company entertained the idea that bringing his wife along might keep him from wanting to return to England before his business was completed. A similar logic guided the decision of the Virginia Company to send ninety "young, handsome, and honestly educated maids" to in 1620. In the decade prior, Jamestown had seen an alarming rate of settler desertion. Though this was likely due to the fact that the poor conditions of life in the early years of the colony drove men to seek absorption into indigenous societies, the writing from the time framed desertion as a matter of laziness, disloyalty, and of lonely men succumbing to the temptation of indigenous women.[56] Thus, the ninety women were intended to "tie and root the planters['] minds to Virginia by the bonds of wives and children" (quoted in Ewen). The Virginia Company's language reflects an understanding that proximity to one's spouse and to family served to anchor men's thoughts and prevent them from wandering.

Perhaps the best example of this logic can be seen in John Donne's well-known poem, *A Valediction Forbidding Mourning*, written to his wife on the eve of a multi-year trip to Europe. In *A Valediction*, the speaker reassures his beloved that while "dull, sublunary love" that is entirely based in physical desire may suffer under separation, their spiritual unity, their "two souls… which are one," can endure the distance that will soon be between them. Cycling through metaphors that represent the "expansion" of their relationship, rather than a "breach," Donne arrives at the metaphor of a drafting compass.

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[56] George Percy's account of Jamestown addresses the "idell" colonists, who would rather die than work, at length (reprinted in Nicholls). See Reverend William Symond's sermon to Virginia planters in 1609 for example of the anxiety that English settlers would marry indigenous women (quoted in Smits 161).

> If they be two, they are two so
> As stiff twin compasses are two;
> Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show
> To move, but doth, if the other do.
>
> And though it in the center sit,
> Yet when the other far doth roam,
> It leans and hearkens after it,
> And grows erect, as that comes home.
>
> Such wilt thou be to me, who must,
> Like th' other foot, obliquely run;
> Thy firmness makes my circle just,
> And makes me end where I begun.

In this erotically charged metaphor, the stationary wife acts as an anchor to which her husband is tethered, like two legs of a drafting compass. Though the husband may roam far from her, the distance that he can travel is circumscribed by his connection to his wife: she "hearkens after him," and he returns.

In pessimistic advice literature, men's absence from the home was seen as detrimental to the foundations of marriage and family, something to be avoided if at all possible. William Whatley's 1617 sermon, *A Bride-bush, Or a Wedding Sermon*, dedicates several pages to enumerating the detrimental effects of separation on married couples. Though Whatley acknowledges that in "the service of the country, and needefull private affaires," men may make a "just departure for (even) a long time," he nonetheless enjoins men to "not seeke occasions of long and needlesse absence… [through] following vaine pleasures and company-keeping abroad," but rather to return home as soon as their business was concluded (Whatley 5). Alexander Niccholes' 1615 conduct manual, *A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving*, warns that many wives will be visited by "lustfull company" when their husbands are absent (Niccholes 3). He also warns that merchants

who “traffique with unknowne Aires, and unknowne friends” ultimately leave their wives at home “to doubtfull ends” (Niccholes 32).

Ann Christensen’s recent study of the representation of absent husbands in English drama highlights a cultural anxiety that wives left for long periods of time would commit adultery. Plays like Thomas Heywood’s *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Heywood and Thomas Kyd’s *A Warning for Faire Women*, Thomas Middleton’s *Women Beware Women*, and Walter Mantfort’s *The Launching of the Mary* all depict women committing suspicious behavior while their husbands are away on business.[57] The trope of the promiscuous wife who, left to her own devices, could not resist the temptation of other men was a misogynist trope, to be sure, but there was likely some accuracy to the fear that women left alone for years would seek out romantic - and for poorer women, financial – partnerships with other men.[58] We also know that, historically, it was not uncommon for traveling men to be unfaithful while abroad. The success of brothels in European port cities alone attests to the sexual habits of mariners.[59] Men who made their living on the sea may even have had wives in different countries, as Laurie Ellinghausen has suggested (Ellinghausen 440). Though infidelities did not necessarily threaten a marriage – Wroth herself had a long extramarital affair – they were perceived to be a potential distraction to travelers.

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[57] See Christensen, *Separation Scenes* and “Guides to Marriage.”
[58] Christensen’s essay, “Guides to Marriage,” explores how the financial needs of unpartnered women, particularly those whose husbands were taken captive or were missing, often forced them to remarry. See pages 274-276.
[59] For discussions of the role of prostitution in mariner cultures in early modern Europe, see Lotte van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam*. Oxford University Press, 2011.; and Duncan Salkeld, *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans: Prostitution, Literature, and Drama, 1500-1650.* Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2012, especially pages 47-68.

Travel advice literature sought to limit distractions for men while abroad by prescribing certain behaviors and routines for the professional traveler to follow while conducting business. In doing so, they betrayed an anxiety about the propensity of travelers to become distracted from both their mission and from returning home. Thomas Palmer's *An Essay of the Means* includes a detailed chart how each kind of traveler (ambassadors, commissioners, messengers, intelligencers, soldiers, "banished persons," gentlemen travelers, merchants, and "machanickes," or manual laborers) should prepare for travel, behave while overseas, and make use of their travel upon return (6-7). Those who traveled to courts either for educational travel or on official business were enjoined "to know well from whom they [were] sent" and to complete their business in an efficient manner.

Robert Dallington's *A Method for Travell* (1605) relates an anecdote about a young man who travels abroad only to forget the beloved he left at home. The young man's romantic inconstancy is an allegory, Dallington explains, for those who change their religious and political fidelity in new environments. Though Dallington explains his story to be an allegory, it nonetheless connects the traveler's distraction from his mission to his distraction from his beloved.

Joseph Hall's influential travel manual, *Quo Vadis,* admonishes those who "travel [out] of curiosity." Those who do, Hall explains, are bound to wander indefinitely, ultimately losing their affective identification with their home country. Hall claims, "he that yields to run after his appetite and his eye, he shall never know where to rest. He may lay down weary but never satisfied" (Hall 22). Though Hall's weary traveler returns home eventually, his mind is perpetually elsewhere: the return home is unfulfilling.

It is this pessimistic view of men's travel that we find in Wroth's writing. The eleventh poem of her sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, imagines such a restless, weary traveler.

> The weary traveller who tired sought
> In places distant far, yet found no end
> Of pain, or labour, nor his state to mend,
> At last with joy is to his home back brought,
>
> Finds not more ease, though he with joy be fraught,
> When past his fear, content like souls ascend,
> Than I, on whom new pleasures do descend,
> Which now as high as first-born bliss is wrought;
>
> He tired with his pains, I, with my mind;
> He all content receives by ease of limbs;
> I, greatest happiness that I do find
> Belief for faith, while hope in pleasure swims;
>
> Truth saith 'twas wrong conceit bred my despite
> Which once acknowledged, brings my heart's delight.

From the first line, we know that the traveler is a younger brother, one who has had to seek his fortunes abroad because his elder brother will inherit his father's estate, and who has returned home because he has recognized the futility of his mission. Thus, the joy that seems to characterize this poem is immediately undercut by the somberness of the situation. To take the speaker at her word, their reunion is an ecstatic occasion, the fulfillment of Robert Tofte's promise that "to the sayler after many bitter stormes and boisterous tempests, the kenning [recognition] of his wished land, and the sight of his much desired haven, is the more delightfull to him (272). However, the ecstasy of the poem is largely one-sided. The speaker experiences "greatest happiness," her "heart's delight," and she "swims in [the] pleasure" of a hopeful future with her returned traveler. Her joy figuratively compensates for the traveler's "unmended state," by reaching heights

of “first-born bliss.” The traveler’s experience of return is a bit more lukewarm: though he finds joy in the reunion, the majority of his feelings are relief, rest, and contentment, a far cry from the speaker’s exuberant experience. We are reminded throughout the poem that the traveler “finds not more ease” with his return, possible referring to his financial state. Though the reunion of traveler and speaker is certainly not antagonistic, it also not a portrait of a fulfilling return to home and family.

The *Urania*’s view of men’s travel is similarly pessimistic. Men in the romance are restless, seeking new adventures even when they have old ones to complete. They are easily distracted, forsaking or even simply forgetting their missions and beloveds. Structurally, the *Urania* exaggerates romance conventions of deferral and to center this problem. Though romance, as Patricia Parker argues, conventionally defers the resolution of its subplots by introducing new ones, Wroth takes this convention to the extreme (Parker 16). The *Urania* is over-populated with stories that go nowhere and plot points that do not add to the plot, what Nandini Das has called “non-events” (Das 169). Seafaring characters intend to land on an island, but are forced to circle the coastline due to rocky outcrops; new characters arrive and exchange stories that don’t ultimately add to the plot or the themes, and these characters never appear again; the character pass a burning ship, but its significance is never realized. While Das reads these non-events as “familiar narrative cogs,” recognizable tropes used by Wroth to display her knowledge of the genre, I argue that those non-events reflect an accurate understanding of what it meant to travel in this period. As I mention at the start of this essay, any number of mundane or catastrophic things could delay a traveler’s return journey, including many of the non-events Wroth describes. The effect of these non-events is that the progress of the

Urania is plagued by a constant sense of hinderance. While non-events like the rocky outcrops or the burning ship do not reflect negatively on traveling men in Wroth's portrayal – rather, they are inevitable possibilities of maritime travel – the tendency for traveling men to slow their journey to converse with new acquaintances is part of their tendency to become distracted.

One of the first romances we see blossom in the *Urania* is between the titular character, Urania, a shepherdess who is discovered to be princess of Naples, and Parselius, prince of Morea. When they meet, Urania has only recently learned that she was adopted as an infant and thus does not know who her parents are. Parselius, on the other hand, is on a mission to find the lost princess of Naples, who he later discovers is Urania, and return her to her kingdom. Their meeting is fairly conventional for the romance genre – having landed on Pantalaria, the island Urania has lived on since infancy, Parselius sees her and is struck by love at first sight – but it is useful to note that his affection is framed as a distraction. Prior to spying her, Parselius gazes out at the sea, contemplating his mission and thinking about Amphilanthus, who is also searching for the lost princess and went another direction. When he sees Urania, all thoughts of his mission disappear for the time being. He is "ravished with the sight of her": the term "ravished" refers to the state being "drawn forcibly into some condition" (Wroth 18; ravish, *V*3). Thus, it is several more pages before he can relate to Urania his mission and the two begin to suspect that she is the princess he is looking for.

The romance that grows between Parselius and Urania is marked by the conventions of courtly love: each imagines themselves a tormented slave to love. Their expressions of love use the language of bonds and bondage. Urania cries out that "*Love*…

a delightful paine, a sought, and cherish'd torment" has made her "a slave" to sorrow and a victim to passion, which rules her. At the same time, Parselius feels love "tyrannizing over him," and he resolves that "whatsoever she was [princess or shepherdess], to make her his Wife… [the] power of love is now become his Bondman, cries out on nothing but *Urania*" (Wroth 22). Though their language of being mutually bound to one another is a conventional feature of courtly romance, the language of bonds becomes central to the failure of their relationship.

The first sign that Parselius' tendency to be distracted is a problem comes when Parselius, Urania, and some other royals set off for Morea. A tempest shipwrecks them on the island of Cyprus, where the group unwittingly drinks from an enchanted stream. The water causes them to be overwhelmed with passions. While "passions" cause the women to fall even more deeply in love with their beloveds, the men forget about the women entirely. In this comically chaotic scene, the men forget all promises they have made except for their original promises. Thus, Parselius runs to the sea, overwhelmed with the urgency to complete his mission to a King, "*Urania* now not seene or thought on" (40). Though he regains his memory once he is at sea again, he continues on to get help in rescuing Urania and the rest of the women.

Thus, Parselius has already shown a tendency to "forget," when he meets Dalinea, princess of the northern Greek province of Achaia. Entering her castle, Parselius passes a large tapestry depicting the story of Paris and Helen and sees Dalinea seated in resplendent finery. Instantly taken with her, Parselius' infatuation with Dalinea is narrated in the language of broken bonds.

> Uncertaine Tyrant Love, that never brings thy Favourits to the topp of affection, but turnes againe to a new choice; Who would have thought any but *Urania's* beauty, could have invited *Parselius* to love? Or who could have thought, any might have withdrawne it, till this sight? Which so much mov'd as he loves *Urania*, but for being somewhat like to *Dalinea*, but her, for her owne sake. He was not so struck with wonder when he first saw *Urania*, (though with it he lost his liberty) as he was now wounded to death, loosing life if no compassion succeeded; this first sight wonne him, and lost his former Bondage, yet was he freed, but to take a new bond upon him (102-103).

Distracted again, this time by the "wonder" of seeing Dalinea, Parselius instantly falls out of love with Urania and in love with Dalinea. This passage manipulates the language of courtly love to explain its failing: because love is a tyrant who subjects lovers to his will, Parselius' change in affections is not his choice but rather a transference of his bondage from one woman to another. Effectively, this passage frames inconstancy not a moral failing precisely, but rather as an inevitable shift in Parselius' obligations. This scene therefore mirrors the scenario feared by travel manuals: a scenario in which a traveler is distracted from his original mission and his loyalties by self-interest or the demands of a foreign power. The tapestry of Helen and Paris is a fitting emblem of the disastrous effects of prioritizing personal interest over the social good.

Parselius and Urania's love story effectively ends here. He marries Dalinea and forgets about Urania altogether for several months. When he suddenly remembers her and the fact that he is supposed to rescue her from Cyprus, he returns to her to explain his errors, and the two eventually part as friends. After some time, Urania agrees to marry Steriamus, the King of Albania, despite her reservations about the fact that Steriamus was once in love with Pamphilia.

Once married, the couple is blissfully happy and Steriamus is wholly devoted to Urania, for a time. But in Part Two, Steriamus begins to feel an acute sense of

restlessness, a “sorrow to bee soe longe from his friends, although this had binn butt mounths[,] yet were they yeeres to him to bee so longe from his former lyfe of adventures” (146) Steriamus’ longing for adventure leads to leave Urania at home while he joins his friends. Almost instantly, as if that act of physically separating from Urania automatically weakened the bonds of their devotion, his thoughts wander back to Pamphilia.

As he adventures, Steriamus indulges these thoughts, even composing a poem that expresses how the memory of his former love has brought joy to his “weary mind.” These “joys past,” for Steriamus, seem to remind him of more lively days, and it is in the dual gesture of looking to a past love and looking to his “former lyfe of adventures” just a page earlier that we can see the significance of Pamphilia’s memory. She represents for him a past time in his life when he was engaged in the daring adventures of knighthood. Thus, Steriamus represents another fear of Wroth’s: he is the weary traveler of her sonnet sequence, returning home with joy, but not quite satisfied.

In this poem, Steriamus claims to still “rejoice” in Urania, so his unlike Parselius, love for one woman does not replace another. “For though a second love doth mee infolde, non must the former from my soule unfolde” (147). Tucking away his memories of Pamphilia into the recesses of his soul, Steriamus remains physically faithful to Urania and the two are eventually reunited.

Of all the love stories plagued by men’s inconstancy in the *Urania*, the romance between Pamphilia and Amphilanthus is the longest and it contains the most explicit commentary on the relationship of absence or separation to inconstancy. When we first meet Pamphilia, we learn that she is deeply in love with Amphilanthus, though she

suffers silently with that fact, having noticed his affection for another princess, Antisia. Not much later in the narrative, Pamphilia is overjoyed to learn that Amphilanthus now returns her affections. It is unclear what precipitated the change. Amphilanthus himself even wonders aloud to himself how he was so inconstant to Antisia but does not come to any conclusion. From the beginning of the romance, other characters are quick to notice and comment upon Amphilanthus' inconstancy. Over the course of the romance, Amphilanthus falls in love or become involved with five women in total: Antisia, then Pamphilia, then Musalina, then Pamphilia again, then an unnamed queen, then the Princess of Natolia, then finally Pamphilia again, though at this point, both characters are married to other people.

As such, Pamphilia and Amphilanthus can never remain happy for very long. While Part One ends with an emotional reunion, in which they literally run into each other's arms, in Part Two, their happiness is disrupted when Amphilanthus is called to yet another adventure. Pamphilia's saddened response suggests that she knows what will come of this. Soon after he leaves, she dreams that Amphilanthus is "in a strange Country, amongst a strange-fashioned people, honored as he deserved, and served by them in an unusual way. Great triumphs, but he is sad, and leading forthe all in blacke to be married" (*II* 108). Whether this dream is prophetic or simply modeled on his history, it does come to fruition: we find Amphilanthus a hundred pages later dallying with an unnamed evil queen who, out of jealousy toward Pamphilia, brokers a marriage between Amphilanthus and the princess of Natolia. Of course, the dream emphasizes the strangeness of Amphilanthus' surroundings, echoing other scenes in the romance where women hallucinate seeing their beloveds with dark-skinned women. Yet, it is also

important that Amphilanthus, in the dream, is "honored": the dream does not imagine him among enemies, but rather engaging with foreign powers as someone of his station naturally would. And it is precisely that diplomatic (professional) travel that leads him to become distracted from Pamphilia.

At this point, Pamphilia confides her fears to another princess, Veralinda, who names the problem as absence. "Why, did you ever knowe any man, especially any brave man, continue constant to the end?... But itt is this Vilanous absence that marrs all" (*II* 111). Men are naturally inconstant, Veralinda argues, but absence is the catalyst.

Though the *Urania* foregrounds Pamphilia's romantic disappointment, what is at stake in Amphilanthus' inconstancy extends far beyond their personal relationship. On a political level, it is connected to his negligence as a ruler. His tendency to become distracted when abroad prolongs his time away from his empire. In Part Two, his painful recognition that he has once again betrayed Pamphilia causes him to sink into a depression, during which he wanders aimlessly. His advisors have to deploy knights in various directions to find him because the country "is much grieved of his absence" (*II*, 213). Though few in the romance question his leadership – nearly everyone in the *Urania* sings Amphilanthus' praises – we as the reader are likely supposed to.

On a geopolitical level, Amphilanthus' inconstancy undoes a crucial alliance between his empire and Pamphilia's kingdom. When, in Part Two, Pamphilia gives up on their relationship, agreeing to marry the Tartarian King, Rodomandro, she remarks to Amphilanthus' mother, "[Amphilanthus] might have commanded all" (*II* 276). Surely, she refers to her heart here, but the equation of love and rulership reminds us that Amphilanthus' empire likely would have annexed the kingdom of Pamphylia. Situated on

the southern coast of Asia Minor, Pamphylia had been a contested site for Christian and Muslim control for centuries, passing back and forth between Greece, the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuk Turks, and finally the Ottomans, who held the area throughout the seventeenth century. Its proximity to Cyprus, another contested territory, made Pamphylia an important conquest for both Christian and Muslim forces trying to expand: as early as the eighth century, Pamphilia was used as a rallying point for crusaders before invading Cyprus. What Amphilanthus fails to gain, therefore, is not only Pamphylia's hand in marriage, but also rulership of a crucial territory. Instead of strengthening the Holy Roman Empire, Pamphilia (the woman and the territory) ends up allying herself to Tartaria.

The marriage of Pamphilia to a royal foreigner echoes figures like Claribel of *The Tempest*, whose marriage to the king of Tunis is lamented as a loss to Naples, or Portia of *The Merchant of Venice*, whose potential marriage to the Prince of Morocco fails, to the relief of all Venetians involved.[60] Though no less racialized, Rodomandro is explicitly Christian and praised by the Morean court for his incomparable handsomeness and his civility. The mounting threat of a Persian king against Pamphilia and her kingdom adds urgency to her marriage, as the alliance it makes will form the basis of her defense.[61] Pamphilia's court and even her own father approves of the match. Nonetheless, there remains an uneasiness around this exogamous marriage. Rodomandro leaves on an

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[60] See Robinson, Benedict S. "Leaving Claribel." *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007. 57-86. Hall, Kim F. "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Colonization and Miscegenation in" The Merchant of Venice"." *Renaissance Drama* 23 (1992): 87-111.

[61] Pamphilia and the other main characters agree to help the rightful ruler of Persia reclaim her throne from a usurper through military aid. The usurper eventually retaliates directly against Pamphilia, requiring her to mount a defense of her kingdom.

adventure soon after the wedding and we see little more of him for the rest of the romance. At one point, Wroth even seems to indicate that he has died, but he reappears some pages later. Bernadette Andrea reads Rodomandro's liminality within the romance as a reflection of England's ambivalent understanding of the Tartars, who vacillated between others and allies in England's perception of the Ottoman and Persian empires (Andrea 36-40). Anxieties about Rodomandro's race, I would suggest, compound the anxieties caused by the geopolitical consequences of their marriage. While his aid proves crucial to the preservation of Pamphilia's kingdom, it effectively ties the kingdom, already a borderland between Asia and the European Mediterranean, to the East, rather than the West. Thus, the *Urania* uses the threat of exogamy to impress upon the reader the consequences of men's inconstancy.

While men in the *Urania* are easily distracted while traveling abroad, the women of the *Urania* are not. If anything, they are more constant while traveling. A good example of this is Nereana, the Lady of the island of Stalamine. A "most ignorantly proud Lady," Nereana becomes infatuated with Steriamus when he and Amphilanthus sojourn on her island. She demands Steriamus' affections and banishes him when he refuses her, citing his (unrequited) love for Pamphilia and chastising her forwardness. Unable to accept his rejection, Nereana travels to the Morean court, demanding to see both Steriamus and Pamphilia, where the latter sharply criticizes the voyaging woman, both for pursuing a man who does not love her and for undertaking such a journey.

> I heard the fame of you, which came swifter than yourself, though brought by love; and in truth I am sorry, that such a Lady should take so great and painefull a voyage, to so fond an end, being the first that ever I heard of, who took so Knight-like a search in hand, men being us'd to follow scornefull Ladies, but you to wander after a passionate or disdainefull Prince, it is a great pitie for you (163).

Pamphilia's criticism foregrounds the errant circulation of Nereana's reputation. On its own, the "swift" circulation of a woman's fame is nothing remarkable in the *Urania*, a story overpopulated with stories and rumors about both its male and female characters, yet the masculine, or "knight-like" quality of that circulation suggests that Nereana's forwardness pushes gender boundaries. However, the Morean court still acknowledges that Nereana's willingness to undertake a difficult voyage demonstrates her constancy: Pamphilia's father comments, "for your love, it is so rare a think to be found in one of your sex in such constant fury" (163). Surely, this is still an insult. His accusation that her love is furious positions her beyond the bounds of feminine modesty. And there is no doubt that the romance punishes Nereana's boldness: after leaving Morea, she is abducted by a madman, sexually assaulted, and locked away in a tower for most of Part One. This is not to say, therefore, that the romance in any way sympathizes with Nereana, but rather that it nonetheless upholds her constancy even though she travels in the same way that the male characters do.

Women's constancy in travel is again demonstrated when four of the princesses (Pamphilia, Urania, Philistella, and Selarina) take a coastal voyage. A tempest shipwrecks them on an enchanted island, where they are trapped until they beloveds can rescue them. Though they are separated from their beloveds for an extended period of time, the princesses' minds do not wander. Rather, they hallucinate that their paramours are before them, remaining magically fixed in constancy. In the *Urania*, distance and time have little effect on women's fidelity. This reverses the scenario imagined by early modern conduct manuals, which assumed that women left unattended would succumb to

the temptations of other men. Instead, the *Urania* places the blame for the erosion of romantic and marital bonds squarely on men's heads.

Wroth's romance thus offers a robust engagement with a contemporary social debate on the consequences of professional travel. Aligning with the pessimistic views of some early modern travel manuals, Wroth imagines that separation naturally erodes romantic and marital bonds, opening space for distractions to come between the traveler and his beloved. At the same time, Wroth defends her sex against the charge of some of these manuals that women left alone would be unfaithful, instead insisting the inconstancy in travel is particularly male problem.

Chapter 3: Worldly Pleasures: Travel and Luxury in the Writings of Margaret Cavendish

[My] thoughts were like travellers seldom at home, and when they returned [they] brought nothing but vanity and uneasy fashions…

Margaret Cavendish, "Epistle," *The World's Olio*

Luxury objects play a prominent role in Margaret Cavendish's fictional writings about travel, serving as sources of wonder and symbols of power for her journeying protagonists. Most famously, the heroine of *The Blazing World* revels in the native gemstones and opulent building materials available in her new environment and uses the spectacle of her newfound wealth to secure the obedience of her subjects and other nations. Other prominent examples include Miseria, of "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," a young woman shipwrecked on an island abounding with spices and tropical fruits, and Lady Happy, the ill-fated heroine of "The Convent of Pleasure," who spends the early part of the drama outfitting her London estate in foreign textiles, perfumes, and exotic plants before eventually being married off to a foreign prince.

Cavendish's representations of luxury goods in these three works draw on contemporary travel narratives, which offered vivid descriptions of the natural bounty available in other parts of the globe. They also drew upon her personal experiences of the luxury goods sold in English and European marketplaces, as Cavendish spent approximately fourteen years in Europe, nearly half of her adult life.[62] Her preoccupation

[62] In 1644, at the age of twenty-one, Cavendish – then Margaret Lucas – relocated to Paris to serve Queen Henrietta Maria at her court in exile. The following year, she met and married fellow Royalist, William Cavendish, then the Marquis of Newcastle. The couple lived abroad in Paris and Antwerp until the Restoration of the English monarchy in 1660, with the exception of two

with these objects is not surprising--Cavendish was well known in post-Restoration London for her outlandish taste in clothing and her extravagant entrances at social events. Taking up her penchant for luxury goods, early modernists in the past two decades have explored the significance of personal property to the Duchess and her fiction, demonstrating how the possession of fine clothing and jewels, rich home furnishings and textiles, and expensive foods helps to construct and confirm positions of power for her female characters.[63]

What has been under-explored, however, is the fact that many of the luxury objects that appear in Cavendish's fictional writings were highly coveted imports from the Mediterranean, the East Indies, and the New World. Given the global origins of the luxuries that populate Cavendish's writings, I suggest that the power that Cavendish scholars have identified in the possession of luxuries necessarily draws on the value of those objects in a globalized marketplace. Though some items like silk, spices, and citrus were available to medieval England in limited quantities via inland trade with the Mediterranean (where the Silk Road terminated), the expansion of England's maritime trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought about dramatic upswings in the quantity and diversity of foreign luxury goods available in England. Wealthy families,

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years, from 1651 to 1653, when Margaret returned to England to petition Parliament for the return of her husband's confiscated properties.

[63] See Julie Crawford, "Convents and Pleasures: Margaret Cavendish and the Drama of Property," *Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003): 177-223; Laura J. Rosenthal, "Authoress of the Whole World: The Duchess of Newcastle and Imaginary Property," *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, Literary Property*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019; Pamela S. Hammons, "The Gendered Imagination of Property in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Women's Verse," *Clio* 34.4 (2005): 395-417; Misty G. Anderson, "Tactile Places: Materializing Desire in Margaret Cavendish and Jane Barker," *Textual Practice* 13.2 (1999): 329-352; Brandie R. Siegfried, "Dining at the Table of Sense: Shakespeare, Cavendish, and The Convent of Pleasure," *Cavendish and Shakespeare: Interconnections.* Edited by Katherine Romack and James Fitzmaurice. Burlington: Ashgate Ltd., 2006. 63–83.

and particularly those who wished to highlight their diplomatic or commercial relationships with foreign courts, acquired and integrated imports into their fashions and domestic environments as signifiers of their wealth and worldliness. To consider the global origins and value of the goods that Cavendish loved and wrote about is to engage with seventeenth-century debates about the effects of foreign luxuries on England's economy and social fabric.

While the English elite incorporated luxury imports into their everyday lives, English society did not always view luxury imports positively. Multiple recessions between the 1620s and 1660s added to the ongoing crisis of public faith in England's maritime trade. The public frequently blamed the apparent scarcity of silver bullion in England on aristocrats' excessive consumption of foreign luxuries, particularly consumables like food or perfume. Cavendish's writings register the tension between the undeniable desirability and cultural capital of luxury imports and their potentially detrimental effects on England. In the first part of this chapter, I attend to this tension by examining discussions of luxury and commerce in Cavendish's short, philosophical works and her biography. I then turn to the relationship between traveling women and luxury in "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," "The Convent of Pleasure," and *The Blazing World.* What stands out in these three texts is Cavendish's use of the language of economics and commerce in sections devoted to sexual desire, love, and marriage. Considered alongside the representations of luxury goods, the language of exchange transforms her heroines into luxury objects themselves, caught in webs of commodification on the marriage market. At the time that Cavendish was writing, England's economic structure was in the midst of transformation, as early capitalist

structures of labor and exchange began to solidify. Though Cavendish obviously could not have understood what that transformation would mean for the country and the world, her writing evinces a keen sense that the logic of "exchange" was creeping into all aspects of life. As I will demonstrate, these three stories explore the limitations of aristocratic women investing in luxury goods as a means of raising their status.

In poems, orations, and short essays, Cavendish commented on the various forms of travel practiced by the early moderns, from commercial to explorational to educational. In fact, she was the first English woman to write a piece of travel advice, as I will discuss below. Unsurprisingly, her writing frequently mentions international commerce and the foreign luxury trade in England, testifying that Cavendish shared her culture's association between luxury and vanity, at least to some extent. For example, a brief essay in *The World's Olio* (1655) uses the image of a merchant ship coming into port to explain how the populace can become self-important with the vanity of their opinions.

> The Spirit Travells in Ships of Medium, from the Kingdome of the Brain…[which] puts forth from the Optick Port, through the Haven of the round circle in the Ball; and when it is full freighted with Objects, returns and paies knowledge, for Custome, to the Soul, its King, whereby the Kingdome growes rich in Understanding, besides the curiosity of Fancy. But withal it fills the Kingdome full of vain Opinions, which are able to Rebell with the Pride of Self-conceit (*Worlds Olio* 100).

Here Cavendish likens the act of perception to an influx of luxury goods, reiterating classical associations between sight and vanity (Clark 3-7).[64] Though the intent of this passage is to explain the fallibility of perception, the vehicle of the allegory reveals her attitudes toward international commerce. Acknowledging that trade increases the wealth of the kingdom through the administration of tariffs ("customes"), she nonetheless suggests that the objects that circulate kindle vanity, pride, and rebellion. The term "rebellion" is likely a slight at Parliamentarians: the term carried particular force in 1655, just six years after the regicide of Charles I, and it therefore links the sins of vanity and pride with the more condemnable act of treason. The implication of this allegory is that imported luxuries do more than breed excess and extravagance—they seriously threaten England's political order.

In "Oration Concerning the Forain Travels of Young Gentlemen," Cavendish implicitly blames foreign luxuries for the moral corruption of young aristocrats traveling abroad. She contends that while families believe their sons will gain knowledge and cultural capital through their extended visits to European courts, the young men's inexperience and recklessness will inevitably lead them to depravity and extravagance.

> Our Young men in this Age get nothing by their Travels, but Vanity and Vice, which makes them fools… Our Young men in this Age get nothing by their Travels, but Vanity and Vice, which makes them fools… the truth is, they go forth of their Own Country, Civil Men, but return Brute Beasts, as Apes, Goats, and Swine, and some few return Foxes, so that their Travels Metamorphose them

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[64] As Stuart Clark has shown, this association was exacerbated after the Reformation, as Protestantism's repudiation of Catholic idols and reported miracles bred distrust of perception itself. Moralists like Richard Greenham and George Hakewill wrote scathing treatises on "the delusions of sight," claiming that vision was the source of all temptations and sin, from gluttony and lust to idolatry and vanity. For a longer discussion of the association between sight and vanity, including Greenham and Hakewill, see Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture*, 20-30.

> from Men to Beasts… Since our Traveling Gallants bring home only Vanity and Vice, as more Prodigality than Frugality, more Luxury than Temperance, more Diseases than Health, more Extravagancy than Discretion, more Folly than Experience, and more Vice than Vertue, it were better they should stay at home, than Travel as they do, for their Travels are not only Unprofitable to Themselves, and their Country, but Destructive; for their Vices and Vanity, doth not only Corrupt their own Natures and Civil Manners, and waste their Bodies and Estates, but it Corrupts all good Government in the Weal Public (Cavendish, *Orations* 73-74).

Though Cavendish explicitly blames foreign environments and not foreign luxuries for …, she nonetheless implicates luxury goods as a main source of temptation by repeating the terms "vanity" and "vice" (words that connote material extravagance) and by using terms related to excessive spending (prodigality, luxury, extravagancy, and folly). Her evocative claim that the young men's travel – "to see and understand the Fashions, Customs, and Manners of the World" – will transform civil men into brute beasts contains echoes of a work on an extremely popular work about foreign fashions, John Bulwer's *Anthropometomorphosis*" (*Orations* 73).

Undergoing three printings in the 1650s alone, *Anthropometomorphosis* drew on contemporary travel narratives to catalogue the fashions, cosmetic trends, and bodily modifications practiced by cultures around the world. Bulwer viewed these practices as corruptions of the natural beauty of the human form and he argued throughout the work that these "native and national monstrosities" had the effect of literally disfiguring the human body (Bulwer np). As for English fashions, Bulwer included an appendix in the second edition (1653), titled "Exhibiting the Pedigree of the English Gallant," which explored how foreign fashions were disfiguring vain and gullible English men; importantly, he implies that "native" English fashions are neither disfiguring nor monstrous. Cavendish's "Oration" makes similar implications about the effects of foreign

luxury on Englishmen: by likening prodigal male travelers to animals, she suggests that their bodies as well as their mannerisms are transformed. And though Bulwer does not make explicit connections between foreign fashions and animals, he nonetheless sets a precedent for such a comparison by frequently noting the similarities between humans in their modified states and animals---for example, he compares noses that have been purposefully widened to the nostrils of an ape. Thus, Cavendish's claims about Englishmen's transformation abroad invoke contemporary discussions about the impact of foreign fashions. As in *The World's Olio,* she highlights that this impact extends far beyond the individual.

Cavendish's negative views on luxury imports reflect contemporary controversies about the impact of the international luxury trade on English society. After a period of vigorous commercial development in the first decade of James I's reign, the economy entered a sudden recession in 1615. The dramatic decline was caused by a number of factors, only one of which was the rise in demand for luxury imports. England's wool industry was struggling as Spain's merino wool slowly gained prominence in European markets. The collapse of major export hubs in the Low Countries due to the start of the Thirty Years War dramatically decreased the market for England's goods. Additionally, England's intensifying competition with the Dutch East India Company (VOC) had led to several violent skirmishes between the EIC and VOC over control of commercial ports and sea lanes. By the time that Cavendish was writing, the Anglo-Dutch Wars had begun, and England lost ships and mariners to overseas battles. It began to be feared that England was essentially hemorrhaging silver bullion, which gave rise to an anti-luxury sentiment. The consumption of imports was framed in popular texts of the time as

excessive, bordering on madness or stupidity. For example, Ben Jonson's 1631 city comedy, *The Devil is an Ass*, pokes fun at aristocrats' demand for luxury goods by depicting a con-man who masquerades as a worldly Spanish Lady and sells a group of English women the latest foreign cosmetics (several of them made up on the spot), thereby cheating them out of their money (Jonson 4.1).[65]

Early economic writers who were financially invested in England's international trade developed the "balance of trade theory," which proposed that economic prosperity was a simple matter of maximizing the exportation of English goods and minimizing the importation of foreign goods, thereby achieving a "favorable balance" (Mun 24-29). Such writers insisted that trade was crucial to the future of England's economy and that further investment in global commerce was the only way out of the current recession. England simply had to wait out the circulation of its bullion and it would eventually return in surplus.[66] While this theory would undergo several revisions over the next several decades, two major points would remain in the cultural conversation: first, that the excessive importation of luxury goods was economically and socially detrimental to England and second, that despite being risky, international trade was economically necessary. Cavendish seems to have agreed on this second point. Her brief essay, "An

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[65] See the footnotes of the Revels Plays edition of *The Devil is an Ass* for editor Peter Happe's extensive discussion on the historical accuracy of the Spanish Lady's wares.

[66] Mun writes, "For if the rule be true, that when the value of our commodyties exported doth over-balance the worth of all those forraigne wares which are imported and consumed in this kingdome, then the remainder of our stock which is sent forth, must of necessitie returne to us in Treasure. I am confident that upon a diligent and true inquiry it will be found, that the overbalance of all our other Trades together will not amount unto so great a summe of money as the *East-India* Trade alone doth over balance in this kinde" (27). As numerous critics have pointed out, this was an oversimplified idea. Commodities do not have an intrinsic cash value and goods were often sold through several markets at various prices before being purchased by the consumer, so there was no guarantee of eventual profit.

Oration Concerning Shipping," warns that countries who abstain from international trade will make themselves vulnerable to impoverishment, especially once other kingdoms become richer through commerce (Cavendish, *Orations* 14-16). "An Oration Concerning Trade and Shipping" picks up on this point and also acknowledges that "the Kingdome cannot be rich without Foraign trade" (Cavendish, *Orations* 271). A poem, titled "Similizing the Body to Many Countries," published in her first work, *Poems and Fancies* (1653), naturalizes England's participation in global trade. The poem likens the heart and head – the powerhouses of the body according to both Galenic medicine and the Body Politic metaphor – to the East and West Indies, two regions prized for the resources England could purchase and/or extract from them. Britain is the liver, a "noble organ" understood in Galenic medicine to be at the center of blood circulation and digestion (Harvey 55). England's role in this vision of the world is one of process and circulation, and because the head and heart are the Indies, we can surmise that England's processing and circulating functions relate to foreign commodities,

Cavendish also highlights the desirability of luxury imports in her fiction and non-fiction writing. In her autobiography, "A Relation of my Birth and Breeding," she admits that she took great delight in "the variety of fine clothes, and such toys as were to adorn [her] person" (311). Contemporary accounts of the Duchess confirm her penchant for expensive and outlandish clothing. Samuel Pepys made several acerbic comments about the Duchess' sartorial choices in his diary: "… all the town-talk is now-a-days of [Cavendish's] extravagancies, with her velvetcap, her hair about her ears; many black patches, because of pimples about her mouth[,] naked-necked, without any thing about it, and a black just-au-corps" (*Pepys* 27 Aug 1667). Pepys marks the outdatedness of her

style – black patches applied to the face had gone out of fashion in the mid-1640s – but he also marks the extravagance of Cavendish's dress. The just-au-corps, a waist length coat typically worn by men from the late 1660s on, was a recent and expensive fashion piece inspired by Indian sherwanis and typically imported from France, where the style had been made popular by Louis XIV in the previous decade. The velvet she wore was an expensive and usually imported material, and Pepys notes in another entry that her footmen wore velvet coats and caps as well, a sartorial choice usually reserved for the footmen of the King. Baron Charles North comments in his diary that "Duchess Newcastle is all y pageant [*sic*] … Her *intrados* was incognito else a triumphall chariot with 12 horses & another with 8 bulls," emphasizing the spectacle involved in Cavendish's entrances (quoted in Bennet 10). Her visit to the Royal Society in 1667 also caused quite a stir, when she entered wearing a gown with a train "at least eight feet long" and a wide cavalier hat. John Evelyn commented that he would have mistaken her for a cavalier, "but that she had no beard." (quoted in Mendelson 12).

As one of only a few women writers in her day, Cavendish used the possession of luxury goods – especially clothing – to fashion an eccentric public image that symbolized her transgressions into masculine domains, as Mona Narain has noted (Narain 75-76). James Fitzmaurice has argued that Cavendish fashioned herself as an eccentric in her sartorial choices and her dedicatory writing to allow herself the space to address topics typically considered off-limits to women. Despite her misgivings about the impact of foreign luxuries on England's economic and social fabric, that kind of extravagance

communicated a power that was useful to Cavendish as a woman writer.[67] Thus, it is important to note the extent to which luxury goods served as symbols of power and singularity for Cavendish and aristocratic women like her, even as she may have shared in growing concerns over the impact of foreign trade on England's economy and society. Her fictional writings further explore this tension, emphasizing the limitations of women's use of luxury objects as power symbols.

Cavendish published her short romance, "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," in *Nature's Pictures* (1655), a work of her miscellaneous essays, poems, memoir, and fiction. The romance follows the misfortunes of Miseria, a young woman who has been living abroad while her country is embroiled in civil war. Miseria's family sends for her but a storm wrecks her ship on the shores of the Kingdom of Sensuality, where she is taken captive and sold into prostitution. There, she becomes the object of obsession for the kingdom's lustful prince and when he attempts to force himself on her, she procures a pistol from a servant and wounds him. She then dresses as a page boy, renames herself Travellia, and convinces a ship's captain to take her on as a mariner. Another shipwreck brings her to the Kingdom of Phancy, where she narrowly escapes a human sacrifice and uses the technology of the gun to subdue the kingdom's cannibalistic inhabitants. The Prince, now recovered, pursues Travellia, intending to force her into marriage; while

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[67] Additionally, as critics have noted, Cavendish's personal relationship to property likely sparked a compensatory desire for luxury goods. As prominent Royalists, the Lucas family lost their home and many of their moveable goods during Cromwell's leadership. The same had happened to her husband, who lost a significant portion of his English property. An extensive account of these losses is included in Cavendish's biography of her husband. As Julie Crawford has argued, Cavendish's preoccupation with luxury items is, at least partially, a symbolic reclamation of the property taken from her.

escaping from him a second time, she is again taken captive and sold, this time as a slave to the Queen of the Kingdom of Amity. The Queen takes Travellia, who she believes to be a young man, under her wing and asks her to lead the kingdom's army against the lustful King of Amours, whom the Prince now serves. The Kingdom of Amity prevails in battle, but as part of the resolution, the Queen and Travellia agree to marry the King and Prince, respectively.

Though the preamble promises the reader a tale that "shew[s] young Women the danger of Travelling without their Parents, Husbands, or particular Friends, to guard them," the story actually does the opposite, demonstrating the upward social mobility that may be available to traveling women, at least those with a dash of ingenuity (395). As a female traveler constantly defending her chastity, Miseria closely resembles the romantic figure of the "virgin-virago," a term Marion Wynne-Davies' uses for militantly chaste women modeled on the Roman goddess Diana, who was both a virgin and a huntress. Prominent examples of such a figure include Britomart in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queen*, Marina in Shakespeare's *Pericles*, and Bess in Thomas Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*.[68]

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[68] At least two of these heroines were based on real-life models of chastity. Elizabeth I styled herself as a virgin warrior who would defend the realm as she would defend her own body, stating to the troops at Tillbury that "think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm: to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms" (*Tillbury Speech* np). Through the language of invasion and dishonor, Elizabeth's speech compares England to an inviolable female body. An under-explored potential source of inspiration for Miseria, however, was Queen Christina of Sweden, who established her court in exile in Antwerp, where Cavendish and her husband were then living, in 1654. Christina had abdicated her throne to her cousin the same year after she refused to marry, angering the aristocracy, and she nearly bankrupted the Swedish monarchy with her mismanagement of funds. She fled Sweden in the middle of the night on horseback, dressed in men's clothing and going by the name of one of her barons. Though there is no evidence that Cavendish met Christina in person, it is nearly impossible that the Duchess was unaware of the

What distinguishes “Assaulted and Pursued Chastity” from these other romances is that the language of economics is used by characters to describe sexual and romance exchanges. In the Kingdom of Sensuality, Miseria is sold to an experienced Bawd, “who used to traffick to the Land of Youth, for the Riches of Beauty… [and] having commerce with most Nations, could speak many Languages…” (397). It is not surprising that a Bawd’s profession would be described in transactional language. However, this passage is far more explicit in figuring women’s bodies as resources to be extracted and sold than was conventional in early modern romances. As a skilled purveyor who has traveled to the Land of Youth to purchase women and a polyglot, the Bawd is figured as a merchant in an international market.

The Prince, a frequent customer of the Bawd’s, is also described in the language of commerce: a “grand Monopolizer of young virgins” (398). The term “monopolizer” indicates that he hoards a particular resource (marriageable women) from their rightful distribution among the rest of society. While it is quite common today to use the term “monopolize” figuratively (as in, “I’m monopolizing your time”), the term was both relatively new and limited in its applications in the 1650s. The Oxford English Dictionary records its first usage in 1629, only twenty-six years before “Assaulted and Pursued Chastity” was published and with very few exceptions, the term was almost exclusively

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Queen, whose eccentricity incited curiosity and excitement amongst the Antwerp elite. Christina entertained the local aristocracy at her court and, having converted to Catholicism upon her arrival, made courtesy calls to convents and monasteries around the city, including the Carmelite Order of Antwerp where Cavendish had made friends. While Christina was not fleeing a rapacious suitor like Cavendish’s protagonist, it seems likely that the Queen’s dramatic ride into the night in men’s clothing inspired Miseria’s transformation into “Travellia.” Jean Pierre Vander Motten and Katrien Daemen-de Gelder discuss Christina of Sweden in relation to Cavendish, though they suggest that the Queen was inspiration for another Cavendish character.

used in the context of economic activity ("Monopoly," n. 1; "Monopolize," v.1). Thus, the term was far more grounded in its economic implications and connotations that it is today. It had accrued particularly insidious associations in first few years of the Interregnum, as radical separatist groups like the Diggers accused landowners of monopolizing space and resources. John Cowell's 1651 legal publication, *Institutes of the Lawes of England*, describes "monopolizers" as "ingrossers, fore-stallers, and regrators," all terms that referred to the illegal practice of buying up commodities before they went to market to limit supply and increase prices (Cowell 283).[69] Incorporating commercial terminology into representations of desire, Cavendish highlights Miseria's position as a commodity.

The language of commerce enters again as both the Prince and the Bawd attempt to convince Miseria to relent to the former's lust. The Prince sends Miseria "all kindes of rich Persian silks, and tishues, fine linen and laces," essentially offering her the chance to sell herself for her own profit (as well as the Bawd's) (402). Though it was a common trope of early modern romance for a suitor to offer gifts to his beloved, these gifts clearly come with a price. Her reply utilizes the language of exchange, demonstrating her understanding of the economy of sex in which she finds herself: she returns the gifts, responding that "she never did receive a present, but what she was able to return with advantage" (402). Construing the presents as a loan – one she cannot repay with interest – Miseria sidesteps the Prince's implications about selling her body.

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[69] Though Cavendish was a staunch Royalist and would not have shared in the separatists' political views, it is likely that she still recognized the negative associations the term held.

For her part, the Bawd tries to convince Miseria to treat her body as a common resource,"telling her to use her Beauty while she had it, and not to waste her Youth idly, but to make the best profit of both, to purchase Pleasure and Delight [for] Nature hath made" for everything on this earth, she argues, is "for a common Benefit, and general Good; as you see by the Earth, Water, Air, and Fire; Sun, Moon, Starrs, Light, Heat, Cold, and the like. So is Beauty… wherefore, it is a sin against Nature, to be reserved and coy (397). The Bawd's metaphor contradicts itself: in this passage, women's bodies are simultaneously uncommodifiable resources that should be available to the masses, like sunlight or air, and a potential source of profit. Although her appeal to notions of the "common benefit" and the "general good" are undoubtedly self-serving and should be read as strategic rather than sincere, those terms also direct us to contemporary debates about the changing nature of wealth distribution in England. the terms "commonwealth," "common profit," and their many synonyms were a rallying cry for both sides: those who supported a more equal distribution of the nation's wealth (including those who supported the agricultural commons) and those who embraced economic nationalism, the idea that the common good came from maximizing the nation's wealth, even if at the expense of the lower classes (Knights 664). The Bawd's confused image of Miseria's body as both a common resource and a commodity reflects both sides of this debate, but importantly, neither side offers Miseria the opportunity to escape objectification.

Her escape, instead, comes through a combination of violence and dissembling, as she dresses in men's clothing and takes to the sea. Yet, the Kingdom of Sensuality was just the first in a series of encounters with cultures that treat Miseria like something to be sold or consumed. After being shipwrecked in the Kingdom of Phancy, cannibals

imprison Miseria, now Travellia. Though they do not immediately eat her, they nonetheless spend a year keeping her healthy and well fed to prepare her for a ritual sacrifice which includes elements of cannibalism (the narrator informs us that after the sacrifice has been killed, the King eats their heart). Cavendish's representation of the cannibals draws heavily on contemporary descriptions of Africans and indigenous North Americans: the cannibals wear loincloths, carry spears made of whalebone, have hair "like wool," and make human sacrifices to their gods (9).[70] As in contemporary travel narratives, which often presented indigenous peoples as poor managers of the natural resources around them to justify the confiscation of their territories, the cannibals of the Kingdom of Phancy completely misunderstand and misuse the resources they have at their disposal. The land abounds with "great quarries of chrystal," orchards, root-gardens, "fruits as big as ones['] head," and morning dew that dries into flakes "like double refined sugar" (401). Their houses are made of cinnamon, their walls plastered with flakes of mace, their bricks made of nutmeg, their planks made from ginger, and the exteriors are covered with pomegranate, orange, and citron rinds (401). The resources listed above were expensive and highly coveted commodities of the spice and sugar trades. Nutmeg's value had skyrocketed in the seventeenth century as it was marketed as

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[70] The full description reads as follows: "… [Miseria and the Captain] perceived a multitude of people, which when they came to the shore affrighted each other, for those on the land never saw any Bark or the like swim upon the water, for they had that propriety to swim naturally like Fishes; Nor they in the Boat never saw such complection'd men, for they were not black like Negroes, nor tauny, nor olive, nor ash−colour'd, as many are, but of a deep purple, their hair as white as milk, and like wool; their lips thin, their ears long, their noses flat, yet sharp, their teeth and nails as black as jet, and as shining; their stature tall, and their proportion big; their bodies were all naked, onely from their waste down to their twist was there brought through their legs up to the waste again, and tyed with a knot; 'twas a thin kinde of stuff, which was made of the barks of trees, yet looked as fine as silk, and as soft; the men carried long darts in their hands, spear−fashion, so hard and smooth, as it seemed like metal, but made of Whales bones" (400).

a treatment for the plague. Cinnamon and mace were also some of the most expensive spices available in the English marketplace: a 1625 letter from merchant John Newberry expresses delight that the markets in Bagdat sell cloves, mace, cinnamon, and ginger at half price, listing the high cost of each of these spices (Newberry, "Letter").[71] Sugar was also a highly-prized and expensive commodity at this point, though in the years immediately following the romance's publication, the price of sugar would steadily decline due to the expansion of England's Caribbean sugar plantations.[72]

The cannibals mainly use this abundance of rich foods as practical building materials, while they keep a slave class of people as animals to be eaten. The narrator offers a graphic description of the slaves, comparing them to meats that were common in English cuisine and describing their eating and childbearing patterns as if they were farm animals: for example, the narrator notes that the cannibals "kill five males [of the slave class] for one female, for fear of destroying the breed" (402). The frankness of this description, in which human lives are calculated in terms of their value as a consumable resource, is surely meant to shock the reader and it reflects the cannibals' fundamental

[71] Newberry lists the prices in ducats (a Venetian unit of currency) per batman (a Persian unit of measurement that varied by locale). Because of the fluctuation of weight (Newberry records a batman as 7.5 lbs, while Purchas records it as 5.5 lbs) and of money across time, it is difficult to make accurate conversions to illustrate how expensive these spices were, but very approximate conversions based on the U.S. value of gold in 2020 are as follows:
Cloves and mace = 5 ducats per batman = $100 per lb.
Cinnamon = 6 ducats per batman = $120 per lb.
Ginger = 40 medins (an Ottoman unit of measurement approximately equal to 1 ducat) = $20 per lb. ("Medin" n.1, "Batman" n. 1).
The implication of Newberry's letter is that these prices would have been doubled in other markets.

[72] Though the rapid expansion of sugar in Barbados and Jamaica in the 1640s and 1650s led to a gradual decline of sugar prices in England in the latter half of the century, the dramatic drops in prices that made sugar affordable for a larger portion of the population came in 1655, the same year that "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" was published (McCusker 204-205). Thus, sugar would still have been a relatively expensive commodity as she was writing.

misunderstanding of the uncommodifiable value of human life. There is also a gendered aspect here. In the paragraph which describes the slave class, the narrator also notes that women of all classes are held "common to every ones['] use" (402). The cannibals' promiscuity echoes depictions of indigenous peoples in contemporary travel narratives, but beyond that, the proximity of this statement to descriptions of farmed humans indicates that the women are just another resource to be "used."[73] As a whole, this section lacks some of the distinctly economic language used earlier in the romance, but as we can see, that language is replaced by frank discussions of resource management that marks human bodies as objects for consumption.

Travellia narrowly escapes being sacrificed and (literally) consumed, again using gun technology, shooting the high priest right before he can kill her. She then capitalizes on the cannibals' shock at the foreign technology to assert her power over them, convincing them to abandon their cannibalism and embrace a Christianized form of their pagan religion. However, she cannot escape the commercial dynamics for long. Travellia spends the rest of the romance attempting to escape the Prince she wounded, who passionately pursues her and threatens to force her into marriage. She travels from island to island, only escaping this cycle when she is finally valued as a person, rather than as an object.

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[73] Though Cavendish's depictions of a slave class and her critique of the commodification of human beings might be taken as an implicit critique of the transatlantic slave trade, I do not wish to suggest that she is consciously making that argument. In almost all of her works, Cavendish conspicuously avoids talking about the slave trade and/or race. For example, she avoids talking about skin color by making the foreigners in her stories bright colors (like purple or blue) and her description of sugar in this romance removes all traces of slave labor. That avoidance may indicate her discomfort with the subject, perhaps for moral reasons, but I wouldn't say that she is mounting any critique of the contemporary slave trade.

> [Travellia] had not gone very far, but [was] taken by the sympathetical Merchants; who trafficking into the Kingdome of Amity, sold [him] there to other Merchants; where carrying them to the chief City, the Queen of that Country, who was an absolute Princess in the rule and government thereof, seeing Travelia, who was brought to her as a rarity, took such a liking to him, that she received him into her Family, as also to attend near her Person; wherein he behaved himself so well, that he became her Favourite, where the old Man was treated well for his Sons sake (408).

In this passage, Travellia is exchanged from merchant to merchant and finally to her consumer. Rhetorically, a transformation occurs around the word "rarity," which refers simultaneously to a precious commodity or resource and to a woman of singular value: the language of trafficking and selling gives way to the language of family and favorites. The fact that it is a female ruler (of a kingdom named for friendship) who recognizes Travellia's worth as a person and ends the cycle of commodification in which Travellia has been trapped is crucial to the romance's understanding of gender. Only within structures of female friendship is Travellia treated as a person and allowed to flourish. It also allows her to develop her talents: the violence she perpetrates earlier in the romance out of self-defense becomes the military prowess that helps her defend the Kingdom of Amity.

Understandably, critics have often found the romance's ending unsatisfying, as Travellia's willing marriage to the prince who has long pursued and attempted violence towards her is a return to the man that Travellia has been desperately trying to escape. This conclusion, however, is possible only because martial violence has finally undone the dynamics of commodification that have trapped Travellia throughout the romance. As she transitions to a life at court (presumably in the Kingdom of Amity and not the Kingdom of Sensuality), the language of commerce and exchange is replaced by

conventional language of courtship and marriage. Finally, the lengthy blazon that ends the romance highlights Travellia's personal qualities and deep interiority, rather than her physical characteristics.

> And in her eyes, new worlds, you there might see
> Love, flying Cupids there as Angels be;
> …
> Wing'd Mercury upon her Tongue did sit,
> Strewing out Flowers of Rhetorick and of Wit;
> …
> Her charming circling Arms made Mars to cease
> All his fierce Battails, for a Love's soft Peace;
> And on our World's Globe sate triumphing high,
> Heav'd thereby Atlas up unto the Skye
> And sweet−breath'd Zephyrus did blow her Name
> Into the glorious Trumpet of good Fame (411).

The image of multiple worlds contained within Travellia's eyes is likely a reference to two of Cavendish's early poems, "Of Many Worlds in this World" and "The World Within an Ear-ring." Both poems reflect the Duchess' early flirtations with Epicurean atomism, which asserted that the world was composed of microscopic indivisible atoms. Both poems find pleasure in the idea of natural life at a scale that was indetectable to human observation, even with a microscope, and the fundamental unknowability of parts of the natural world. Travellia's eyes, therefore, are invested with a depth of interiority that remains unknowable, even as she ties herself in marriage to another person. The second couplet centers the tongue to praise Travellia for her wit and artful patterns of speech. These were qualities befitting an aristocratic woman, but additionally, the presence of Mercury, the Roman god of travel, financial gain, and commerce, suggests that her skill with rhetoric now allows her to take control of the commercial exchanges she was once subject to, though there is no indication that she intends to become involved

in such exchanges. The final lines, depicting Travellia's circling arms soothing the war god, Mars, recasts the violence she has perpetrated against the Prince (in self-defense) as a "charming" embrace. The shift in meaning here endows Travellia with greater power and autonomy: she is not desperately protecting herself against assault, but artfully soothing masculine violence with the comfort of her arms (and implicitly, the threat of her military arms). The image of her set atop the world reflects the power of this position.

"Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," emphasizes that marriageable women are treated as commodities, and indicates the limits of women using luxury goods to construct and confirm their social power. In this romance, it is only when the cycles of human commodification that govern the settings of the play are broken that Travellia is returned some autonomy and power. Accordingly, Travellia's wedding dress, a simple white garment "which hung loosely about her," represents a disavowal of excess and extravagance and, in avoiding a form-fitting garment, denies others' the opportunity to view her body as a luxury object.

"The Convent of Pleasure" (1668) is about a group of women who cloister themselves away from the rest of society; it has not been counted among Cavendish's writings on travel because it is set entirely in London,. However, not only does the play end with the doleful acknowledgement that its protagonist will migrate abroad with her new husband, but of all of Cavendish's writings, it makes the clearest connection between the luxury trade and an international "marriage market." The play opens with a messenger who announces to a group of London's eligible bachelors that a local

gentleman has died, leaving his only child, Lady Happy, a very wealthy woman. While the gentlemen busy themselves preparing to court her, Lady Happy shocks everyone by announcing that she will not marry but will instead transform her estate into a retreat for noblewomen to escape from the drudgery of marriage and childbearing, a convent dedicated to the pleasures of the world: delicious food, fine attire and furnishings, and ample free time to read, learn, and discourse. Though this utopian space is a success for a time, the convent is ultimately undone when a foreign prince, disguised as a princess, infiltrates and forces Lady Happy into marriage. It is implied that she will ultimately move to his country (which is unspecified) and the convent will be dismantled.

From the opening lines of the play, the explicit financial language used to discuss the London marriage market directs us to read the play within the context of England's economy. As the eligible bachelors learn of Lady Happy's inheritance, they readily admit the financial motivations behind their romantic interests.

> Gentleman 1: If she be so rich, it will make us all Young Men spend all our Wealth in fine Clothes, Coaches, and Lackies, to set out our Wooing hopes.
> Gentleman 3: If all her Wooers be younger Brothers, as most of us Gallants are, we shall undo our selves upon bare hopes, without Probability (Cavendish, "Convent" 97).

The gentlemen imagine the marriage contract as a kind of financial venture or speculation, a business enterprise in which "there is considerable risk of loss as well as chance of gain" ("venture" n. 1). They acknowledge their status as younger brothers, who will not inherit the bulk of their fathers' estates and thus must secure their own fortunes. By the time Cavendish was writing, the cynical trope of the younger brother trying his luck on the London marriage market was entrenched in the English comedic

tradition: as Robert Hume has noted, the Restoration stage was especially critical of marriages of economic convenience, even as they were deemed necessary for sustaining intergenerational wealth (Hume 90). Beyond this trope, however, the gentlemen's language of risk, encoded in words like "hopes" and "probability," frames Lady Happy as the profit they hope to make from investing their money into the venture of courtship.

Interestingly, Lady Happy's view of marriage is also shaped by her understanding of economics. As her counselor, Madame Mediator, tries to convince her to choose a husband, Lady Happy explains that "riches ought to be bestowed on such as are poor, and want means to maintain themselves; and Youth, on those that are old; Beauty, on those that are ill-favoured; and Virtue, on those that are vicious: So that if I should place my gifts rightly, I must Marry one that's poor, old, ill-favoured, and debauch'd" (98). Here, Lady Happy describes marriage as an economic obligation to the common good. Not only does this version of marriage (which would have her marry an older and morally corrupt man) have dismal consequences for her own happiness, but her sarcastic tone suggests that she understands the discourse of the "common good" to contradict with general advice that she should "marry well." Like the Bawd of "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," Lady Happy alludes to conflicting debates about wealth distribution, and like Miseria, she recognizes that neither side grants her any control of her own fortune. Whether she marries well or marries for charity, her property becomes her husband's immediately after marriage, a fact which is emphasized in the final moments of the play.

Rejecting the two options, Lady Happy designs a third, one where she will retain her wealth for her own pleasure and where she is the consumer of luxury objects, rather than the one who is consumed. Her vision for the convent, which I quote at length below,

includes an array of luxury imports that appeal to the senses and change with every season.

> As in the Spring, our Chambers are hung with Silk-Damask…and a great Looking-Glass in each Chamber, that we may view our selves and take pleasure in our own Beauties, whilst they are fresh and young; also, I have in each Chamber a Cupboard of such plate… also, I have the Floor strew'd with sweet Flowers; In the Summer I have all our Chambers hung with Taffety, and all other things suitable to it, and Cup-board of Purseline, and of Plate, and all the Floore strew'd every day with green Rushes or leaves… To invite repose in the Autumn, all our Chambers are hung with Gilt Leather, or Franchipane… In the Winter our Chambers must be hung with Tapestry, and our Beds of Velvet, lined with Sattin, and all things suitable to it, and all the Floor spread over with Turkie Carpets, and a Cup-board of Gilt Plate, and all the Wood for Firing to be Cypress and Juniper; and all the Lights to be Perfumed Wax; also, the Bedding and Pillows… to be stuft with Feathers in the Spring and Autumn, and with Down in the Winter, but in the Summer to be only Quilts, either of Silk, or fine Hollands, and our Sheets, Pillows, Table-Clothes and Towels, to be of pure fine Holland, and every day clean; also the Rooms we eat in, and the Vessels we feed withal, I have according to each Season; and the Linnen we use to our Meat to pure fine Diaper, and Damask… (105-106).

Misty Anderson has persuasively argued that by centering the female body and its experiences of sensual pleasure, Lady Happy's convent offers possibilities for its occupants' expressions of autonomy. Because the eroticism of touch (where the physical proximity of subject and object impresses on the subject's emotions) troubles the neat separation of subject and object on which Cartesian thought depends, the abundance of objects valued for their softness privileges a worldview that places the body at the center of knowledge. The female characters reclaim the pleasure of their own bodies and Cavendish disavows the detached masculine epistemology that characterized Restoration science (Anderson 334-335).

I would add that part of the pleasure of this passage comes from the worldly status the luxury imports communicate about their owner. Silk, a costly fabric imported from

the Mediterranean and the Far East, feature prominently in Lady Happy's design, making up her sheets, table linens and wall hangings. Damask, a twilled silk material richly figured in the weaving to reflect light in ornate patterns on the surface, was prized for the skill artistry it demanded, which was unavailable in England at the time ("Damask" n.II.3).[74] Originating in Damascus in the Middle Ages, damask in 1660s England mainly came from Italian city-states, where major weaving centers had developed over the course of the sixteenth century. Taffeta was also produced from raw silk and was typically imported either from Persia (the name "taffeta" is a Latinized form of a Persian word, meaning "to shine") or from Italy. The convent's other textiles include "diaper," a woven linen fabric consisting of lines crossing in a diamond shape, typically imported from the Low Countries, and Turkie Carpets, which were originally imported from the Anatolian region of Ottoman Turkey, but were increasingly produced in Italy and France.[75]

Purseline (or porcelain) was imported from China, though by the mid-seventeenth century, English and Dutch artisans had begun producing imitation pieces. In their unprocessed form, gold and silver were mainly sourced from the Americas in this period, but as ornate and costly utensils (or "plate"), the skilled metalworkers of the Netherlands

[74] Until the mechanical Jacquard loom was invented in 1801, mechanizing damask production, production was long and labor-intensive, requiring skilled artisans to hand-weave complex designs such as scrolled patterns, hunting motifs, monograms, and coats of arms.

[75] An analysis of four sixteenth and seventeenth century carpets at Boughton House in Northamptonshire, the home of Ralph Montagu, a patron of many of French Huguenot artisans that settled in and around London in the 1680s, many of whom were weavers and made English domestic production of fabrics like damask and diaper possible, showed them to be European imitations of Turkish carpets. As Ian Bennett and Michael Franses have argued, "the attribution of the majority of 16th and 17th century carpets in the Eastern style, whether embroidered or piled, is problematic," since "carpets in the Anatolian style…were made in several European countries" (212).

typically supplied the English upper classes. Perfumed wax, on the other hand, would have produced in English kitchens, but the ingredients for this and other perfume products were sourced from Asia. Hannah Wooley's cookbook, *A Queen-like Closet*, offers a recipe for perfumed wax, calling for juniper wood, Benjamin, storax, lemons, cloves, musk, civet, gum dragon, and rosewater (Wooley 200). Benjamin (gum benzoin) refers to a resin sourced from the bark of styrax trees, native to Southeast Asia and only viable in tropical zones.[76] Gum dragon, a popular nickname for tragacanth, a resin sourced from tropical trees, was also sourced from South Asia and later West Africa. Civet was a popular luxury perfume ingredient sourced from the gland excretions of civet cats, an animal native to Asia and Africa. Other common ingredients used in perfumed wax included vetiver (a fragrant grass from India), pepper (from Southern India), nutmeg, Balsam of Peru (an aromatic viscous resin derived from the bark of a tree native to South America), rhodium oil (derived from a tree native to the Canary Islands), and cinnamon (from Sri Lanka).

The pleasure of the convent comes partly from having the finest luxuries the larger world has to offer. The items discussed here were popular markers of wealth and status in England precisely because they were imports: they were newly abundant in the markets, they cost more due to shipping, and they often carried an exotic status due to their foreign origins and the intricacy of their craftsmanship. Cavendish, and other women of her station, would have been acutely aware of the value of these luxuries.

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[76] Ralph Fitch's travel log of his commercial voyages to the East between 1583 and 1591 lists Benjamin as one of the coveted commodities to be gained in Pegu, present-day Bago, Myanmar, along with Frankincense (Fitch 324).

As Alexandra Shepard has shown, women played a crucial role in their family finances by managing moveable assets. They purchased, maintained, and kept records of their household goods, which could be used to secure loans and make future investments (Shepard 5, 15). The fact that Lady Happy chooses so many imports for her convent's design suggests that she too is well aware of the cultural capital invested in those imports.

Mirrors are also an important emblem of Lady Happy's relationship to luxury goods. She mandates that every woman should have a great Looking-Glass in each Chamber, that [they] may view [them]selves and take pleasure in [their] own Beauties" (105). While this may seem, at first glance, to be an indication of the women's vanity, drawing on the classical Narcissus myth, it is also a powerful image of women consuming their own beauty while shutting themselves away from the eyes of their male suitors.[77] In this separatist fantasy, the women refuse to subject themselves to the marriage market and instead take the masculine pleasure of admiring feminine beauty for themselves.

The relationship between the women and luxury objects becomes clearer in act four, when the women of convent act out a series of short scenes. Most of the scenes depict the various ills of marriage: husbands who gamble away their wives' property, abuse, the pains of childbirth, etc. The final scene of this act features the foreign Prince

[77] As Rayna Kalas has argued, elaborately framed mirrors that were part of household décor were relatively new to the early modern period. The crystal mirror had supplanted the cloudier steel mirrors of the Middle Ages and ornate frames were added, giving the mirror the sense of being a work of art: "Separated off from the image, the picture frame helps to install a burgeoning notion of artistry, demarcating and distinguishing the newly privileged space of painterly depiction (Kalas 34-35). Given the decadence of the convent, we can safely speculate that Lady Happy's mirrors would have been elaborately framed, and indeed the passage depicts women – or their images in the mirror – as works of art to be admired.

(who has revealed his disguise to the audience), playing the sea god, Neptune, and Lady Happy, playing an unnamed sea goddess. At this point, Lady Happy has formed an affectionate bond with the foreign Prince in disguise, a bond that raises possibilities for desire that is not rooted in heterosexual marriage. This final scene between Neptune and the sea goddess, however, is where that possibility begins to be foreclosed. Both characters deliver speeches that praise the sea and the luxuries it affords them, and Neptune's speech becomes increasingly possessive:

> I am the King of all the Seas, all watery creatures do me please. Obey my power and command, and bring me Presents from the Land; The Waters open their Flood-gates, where ships do pass, sent by the Fates; Which Fates do yearly, as *May*-Dew, Send me a Tribute from *Peru*, from other Nations besides, bought by their Servants, Winds and Tides, Ships fraught and Men to me they bring; My watery kingdom lays them in. Thus[,] from the Earth a tribute I receive, which shews my power thereby. Besides, my Kingdom's richer far then all the Earth and every Star (125).

A masculine, acquisitive violence runs throughout this passage. While Neptune was associated in Roman mythology with violent storms, and therefore his expressions of arbitrary rage have classical precedent, the details of his speech are decidedly early modern. He refers to Peru, invoking Europe's colonization of South America land and the extraction of its resources. His repeated assertions of dominion also evoke the competition between national trading companies to control sea lanes and echo Pompey's assertions of his military might in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, ("The people love me, and the sea is mine") (Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* 2.1). He revels in the deadly shipwrecks he causes, accepting the human lives and precious commodities that are lost as if they were a tribute from those on land.

Meanwhile, Lady Happy ignores his masculine posturing, instead innocently reveling in the natural riches afforded by her watery realm: oyster-shells, pearls, coral, and the beauty of the water (125). Her interaction with her environment is one of cooperation, rather than destruction and force: for example, she describes her oyster-shell cabinets, which she opens using the tide "as keys to locks, which opens wide" (125).

In the rest of the scene, Neptune asserts his claims to sovereignty over the sea and its contents with increasing force, concluding with the declaration, "I am the sole Monarch of the Sea, and all therein belongs to me" (126). This presumably includes the sea goddess. She is one of the watery creatures who serves and pleases him. Yet, Lady Happy seems unable to recognize this.

In the fifth act, Madame Mediator enters the convent to warn the women that a man is among them. She brings with her an ambassador from the Prince's kingdom, who has been looking for the neglectful ruler. The Prince then happily reveals himself and announces his intentions to marry Lady Happy and bring her back to his country, by force if necessary. The acquisitive desire that builds in act four is finally acted upon, and Lady Happy and her convent become the property of the Prince. This is an uneasy, if not tragic, resolution. While Lady Happy has fallen in love with the Princess, the Prince's revelation and the loss of her property returns Lady Happy to the very system of marriage she had been trying to escape. After the Prince reveals himself, Lady Happy is silent for the remainder of the play, save for one line (discussed below). Madame Mediator expresses her uneasiness about the match, openly worrying that all the women will be "taken" by the Prince out of their home country. Her haunting final assessment of the marriage – "The prince and she are agreed to Marry; and the State is so willing, as they account it an

honour, and hope shall reap much advantage by the Match" – suggests that Lady Happy's personal desires are not of consequence here, that the state's "advantage" overrules them. Compared to the play's opening scene, where young, opportunistic men seek their own personal fortunes and a group of women use their buying power to essentially buy their freedom from marriage, Madame Mediator's bitter acknowledgement of the economic nationalism at play here also shows the human cost of this focus on the state's wealth.

In the final scene, set at the couple's wedding, a clown character called Mimick petitions the Prince for his wife's now-abandoned convent. Without consulting Lady Happy about her property, the Prince freely gives the convent away to Mimick so that it may be made a safehouse for young maidens and widows, though Mimick tells the audience that it will be a home for madmen and fools. With this, Lady Happy's relationship to her property is severed, and the luxuries are turned over to a clown. Mimick then openly mocks Lady Happy:

> Mimick: I am a Married Man, and have Married my Ladies Maid *Nan*, and she will keep me at home do what I can; but you've now a *Mimick* of your own, for the *Prince* has imitated a Woman.
> L. Happy: What you Rogue, do you call me a Fool?

Though it is the Prince's disguise and Lady Happy's failure to recognize it that Mimicks pokes fun at, the sharpness of her response registers not only the humiliation she experiences in the circumstances of her marriage, but the failure of her convent and her attempts to abstain from marriage.[78] In the end, not only is Lady Happy unwillingly returned to the "marriage market" but she finds herself contracted to an foreign "buyer."

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[78] The term "folly" had come to signify a class of buildings in the 1650s, grand romantic structures built on aristocrats' estates in medieval styles. Follies were constructed purely

Of course, early modern aristocratic women often traveled when they married, leaving their family homes to join their husbands' households in other regions and even other countries-- Henrietta Maria, whom Cavendish served in Paris, had relocated to England from Paris after marrying Charles I. As Gayle Rubin argued, the exchange of women through marriage has been crucial to maintaining intergenerational wealth and making and maintaining political alliances (Rubin 158, 175-176). Feminist critics have done much to complicate and revise Rubin's original arguments, usefully demonstrating the ways in which some early modern women participated in these exchanges for their own benefit, but it is hard not to see the parallels between Rubin's formulation and Cavendish's. "The Convent of Pleasure" imagines a woman with a keen sense of how she will be objectified on the marriage market, as well as of the futility of trying to escape it.

Cavendish continues her exploration of gender, travel, and luxury in *The Blazing World*, a science-fiction romance published in 1666 about an abducted woman turned explorer. The romance begins when a Lady is abducted from the shores of her kingdom by a rapacious merchant. The gods take pity on her and blow their ship off course, leading the Lady and her captor into the Arctic, where the latter dies of exposure. There,

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for the aesthetic pleasure they brought their owners: in fact, they were often unlivable as they put little work into the insulation and roofing of the buildings. It's a big stretch to connect the characterization of Lady Happy as a "fool" to the specific meaning the follies came to have in the 1650s, but I nonetheless see a striking similarity between her convent, which is partly modeled on older Catholic spaces of female learning that were no longer available in Cavendish's England, which is constructed purely for pleasure, and which ultimately does not last, and the follies that were becoming popular among the English aristocracy at this time.

the ship crosses into a second world, the "Blazing-world," which is connected to our earth at the North Pole and is invisible from Earth due to the brightness of the sun. Rescued by the half-animal/half-human creatures that live there, the Lady travels to the imperial city, where the emperor immediately mistakes her for a goddess, marries her, and grants her absolute rule over the Blazing-world. In the romance's second part, the Lady, now Empress, explores her new environment, conducting scientific experiments and engaging with the various species that live in the world. In the third part, the Empress learns that her home country, ESFI (an acronym for England, Scotland, France, and Ireland) is under attack from commercial rivals. She returns briefly to aid her former King, using the resources and army available to her in the Blazing-world to subdue his enemies and secure his dominion over maritime trading routes.

The Blazing World features the most damning representation of merchants of any of Cavendish's writings. His first encounter with the Lady contains echoes the economic languages used in both "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" and "The Convent of Pleasure": desiring her from afar, he weighs his "birth and wealth" against hers and, finding himself lacking, resolves to "steal" her. While the trope of abduction is common in early modern romance, the calculating language frames the female protagonist once again as an object to either be purchased or stolen.

Claire Jowitt has speculated that the Merchant, whose country of origin is never revealed is modeled on contemporary depictions of Dutch merchants (392-393). As mentioned earlier, Anglo-Dutch hostility over trading routes in the Indian Ocean had escalated in the seventeenth century, particularly after the Amboyna Massacre of 1623 and the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654). The second Anglo-Dutch War had begun the

year prior to *The Blazing World*'s publication. But while Cavendish's Merchant does resemble the greedy and treacherous Dutch traders that populated political pamphlets and popular literature of the period, his lack of a nationality may precisely be the point. Unassociated with a particular point of origin, the Merchant can represent merchants as a class that literally and figuratively crosses national boundaries and that evokes the many negative stories circulating about English and non-English merchants. He can evoke the rapacious and greedy character of fictional Dutch merchants, but also contemporary news reports of Barbary Corsairs, who raided coastal towns in Europe, England and Ireland, capturing women who they sold into marriage or slavery. He can evoke anti-merchant sentiment at home in England, where the economic crises of the seventeenth century had given rise to concerns about the increased power of the merchant class. As Ceri Sullivan has demonstrated, depictions of opportunistic, disloyal, and violent English merchants emerged in the century leading up the Interregnum and drew on Christian prohibitions against usury and greed.[79] Thomas Milles' *The Customer's Replie* (1604), for example, depicts merchants dealing in luxuries as greedy and self-serving, unable to understand their proper role in enriching the country's overall wealth. Because they regularly interacted with foreign traders, many questioned the merchants' loyalties: Ambassador Walter Strickland wrote a scathing letter to Parliament in 1644 claiming that members of the English Merchant Adventurers' guild who were working and living in Amsterdam

[79] Sullivan's survey of depictions of merchants in English literature from 1550 to 1640 shows that merchants had to disaggregate their image from the often-racialized image of usurers. Advice literature written by members of the merchant companies typically contrasted the figure of the usurer with that of the honest and transparent merchant abroad. While this became the dominant image of merchants in late seventeenth-century England, there persisted doubts about the merchants' loyalties.

were supplying arms and knowledge to "those [who were] in Rebellion" against England (quoted in Sullivan 46)

Cavendish herself makes offhand remarks about merchants in her other work. In the persona poem, "A Foreign Traveler's Dying Speech," the speaker praises his fellow travelers for their courage and the absence of "hate, envy, malice, revenge, [and] covetousness" in their motivations. "Unless," she adds, "they be Merchants" (*Orations* 137). In correspondence between Cavendish and an unnamed addressee, she repeatedly compares merchants to reckless gamblers, not only for the financial risk they both assume, but for their "greed" and "covetous humours" (*Sociable Letters* 38-40, 201-202). Her remarks suggest that shared in her culture's distrust of merchants and their motivations, though this likely was exacerbated by personal resentment toward England's merchant class. Wealthy merchants made up the largest group of buyers for property that had been confiscated during the Interregnum (Thirsk 190). While it is not clear whether any of the Cavendish or Lucas properties had been bought by merchants, Cavendish likely shared in some Royalist resentment toward what they saw the perfect example of the self-serving opportunism of the merchant class (Thirsk 191). Taking this into account, it is hard not to see the parallels between the Merchant of *The Blazing World*, who "steals" a woman he cannot match in wealth and status, and the merchant buyers of aristocratic property, which was surely seen by many as a transgression of class boundaries.

Cavendish's ungenerous view of merchants in *The Blazing World* is capped off by the depiction of the Merchant's death. The narration lingers on the gruesome details of their rotting bodies and the Lady has to stay below deck until she is rescued to avoid the

"nauseous smell" of their corpses. While Miseria and Lady Happy are trapped in economies that treat them as objects, the Lady of *The Blazing World* escapes that economy once the Merchant is dead and she is brought to the imperial palace. There, the Emperor mistakes her for a goddess. Though this mistake evokes the self-aggrandizing narratives of New World conquerors, who claimed they were mistaken for gods by the indigenous populations, and undoubtedly draws on insidious fantasies of conquest, it also offers the Lady an elevated level of reverence and respect among the inhabitants, compensating for her treatment at the hands of the Merchant. The fantasy, here, is one being recognized for her personal worth through the "discovery" of a world that recognizes her cultural worth.[80]

Once she is assured of her safety and made Empress of the Blazing world through marriage, she revels in the luxurious resources available in her new environment. The imperial palace is made entirely of gold, while the Emperor's rooms are built of marble and jet and encrusted in diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Her new clothes are likewise covered in gemstones:

> On her head she wore a Cap of Pearl, and a Half-moon of Diamonds just before it; on the top of her Crown came spreading over a broad Carbuncle, cut in the form of the Sun; her Coat was of Pearl, mixt with blew Diamonds, and frindged with red ones; her Buskins and Sandals were of green Diamonds; In her left hand she held a Buckler, to signifie the Defence of her Dominions; which Buckler was made of that sort of Diamond as has several different Colours; and being cut and made in the form of an Arch, shewed like a Rain-bow; In her right hand she

[80] Regarding the imperial aspects of *The Blazing World,* see Jowitt, Claire. "Imperial Dreams? Margaret Cavendish and the Cult of Elizabeth." *Women's Writing* 4.3 (1997): 383-399.; Thell, Anne M. "The Power of Transport, the Transport of Power: Margaret Cavendish's Blazing World." *Women's Studies* 37.5 (2008): 441-463.; and Cottegnies, Line. "Utopia, Millenarianism, and the Baconian Programme of Margaret Cavendish's The Blazing World (1666)." *New World's Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period.* Edited by Chloë Houston. Abington: Routledge, 2016. 71–94.

> carried a Spear made of white Diamond, cut like the tail of a Blazing Star, which signified that she was ready to assault those that proved her Enemies (162).

The rainbow emitted by the Empress' buckler draws on both contemporary and Biblical symbolism to represent an absolute rule that ensures the peace of her realm. In Genesis, the rainbow appears after the great flood as a symbol of God's promise that he will never destroy humanity again, a dual symbol of former destructive power and future mercy. In the *Rainbow Portrait* of Elizabeth I, painted by Marcus Gaerteez the Younger circa 1600, the rainbow is a symbol of Elizabeth's power and benevolence over England: the phrase "*non sine sole iris*" (no rainbow without the sun) appears next to her, referring to Elizabeth as a sun-like ruler who ultimately brings peace to her dominion.

The diamonds featured on the Empress' robes reference the jewel-encrusted clothing worn by English and European queens in portraiture: for example, the *Armada Portrait* of Elizabeth I, in which she wears a pearl and diamond-encrusted dress, or Peter Lely's portrait of Charles II's consort, Catherine of Braganza, who wears a blue silk dress trimmed with pearls on the bodice, diamond fasteners on the sleeves, and what appears to be a spotted pelt. There are striking similarities between this latter portrait and the frontispiece Cavendish commissioned for *The Blazing World,* including the spotted pelt and the shape of the upper dress.

As commodities, diamonds were obvious symbols of wealth, status, and – in the quantities described in the above passage – royalty, though they were also highly mobile objects of trade. Sourced exclusively from India and the Malay Archipelago (specifically, Borneo), diamonds in the early modern period were used by the elite as a secondary form

of currency. In her work on the cultural significance of precious stones in early modern England, Cassandra Auble chronicles exchanges of diamond and diamond-encrusted jewelry within the Tudor and Stuart courts to secure loans, pay debts, and raise funds (Auble 36-62).[81] More than any other jewel or moveable good, diamonds could be exchanged in lieu of cash. This is a critical point, as just beyond this passage, we learn that though the green, blue, and red diamonds are imports from various regions of the Blazing world, they are trafficked without the use of cash: "[the Blazing World] had an infinite quantity both of Gold and precious Stones in that World, for they had larger extents of Gold then our Arabian Sands; their previous stones were Rocks, and their Diamonds of several Colours; they used no Coyn, but all their Traffick was by exchange of several Commodities" (162). The fantasy articulated here is one where diamonds keep the cultural capital they have accrued from being traded internationally, yet they exist outside of the messiness of a mercantilist (or bullionist) economic structure. Luxury, for the Empress, is conveniently divorced from the scenes of exchange that appear in the beginning of the romance and that dominate Cavendish's earlier writings. Unsurprisingly, *The Blazing World* depicts a woman with the most sovereignty and autonomy of any of Cavendish' traveling protagonists.

When, in the third part, the Empress returns to Earth, she is confronted with the reality that nations cannot abstain from international commerce. Upon learning that the King of ESFI is under attack from commercial rivals, the Empress resolves to return to

[81] Charles I, for example, immediately sold forty-one pieces of diamond-encrusted jewelry upon ascending the throne.

her world and offer military aid. She is then able to destroy the attacking nations and make them subject to ESFI, simply by sinking their trading ships:

> [The King of ESFI] sent her word, that although she did partly destroy his Enemies by Sea, yet, they were so powerful, that they did hinder the Trade and Traffick of his Dominions. To which the Empress returned this answer, That she would burn and sink all those Ships that would not pay him Tribute; and forthwith sent to all the Neighbouring Nations, who had any Traffick by Sea, desiring them to pay Tribute to the King and Sovereign of that Nation where she was born… by which the King of the mentioned Nations became absolute Master of the Seas, and consequently of that World; by reason, as I mentioned heretofore, the several Nations of that World could not well live without Traffick and Commerce, by Sea, as well as by Land (201)

Here, Cavendish highlights the importance of trade to European economies in this period, returning to the belief that commerce was necessary to the stability of the commonwealth. The only way she sees to engage with this commerce is through extreme martial violence, bringing the trading companies of the other nations under the control of the King of ESFI before returning to her own world. The *Blazing World*, therefore, acknowledges the violence inherent in commercial exchange but nonetheless retreats to a fantasy about enjoying luxuries without having to support commerce.

Taken together, Cavendish's writings mark out the economic and social ills caused by an overabundance of imported luxuries. It also critiques how the logic of proto-capitalist exchange comes to bear on sexual and romantic economies. While each text works through the issues of the objectification of women differently, none reach a satisfying solution. In "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," the heroine ends up married to her pursuer. In "The Convent of Pleasure," the heroine loses everything when a foreign prince forces her into marriage. Even the Empress of *The Blazing World*, whose position

at the end of the narrative is triumphant, can only achieve this position in a fantastical world

Chapter 4: And He Reacheth Over Land and Sea: The Physical and Spiritual Geographies of Alice Curwen's Quaker Testimonial

In the summer of 1660, having received news that four Quaker missionaries had been executed in Boston, Alice Curwen of Lancashire heard "in the secret of her heart" that she "should *travail in that Nation, and see that Bloody Town of* Boston" (Curwen 2, italics original). The four missionaries Curwen refers were Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra, a group now known as the Boston Martyrs, who were executed under a law that banned Quakers from entering the colony.[82] In the four years since Quakers Mary Fisher and Ann Austin had first set foot in Boston, a series of anti-Quaker legislation had been passed by the Boston General Court, prescribing successively more severe punishments for Quakers who entered the colony, including imprisonment, deportation, public whippings, fines of £100 (for the captains of ships that transported Quakers), ear amputation (men only), tongue branding, and finally, death.

Curwen's phrasing suggests that she understood the gravity of her mission. The term "travail" evokes both movement and labor: her travel to and within the colony, the spiritual labor of proselytizing the predominantly Puritan settlers, and the physical labor of enduring imprisonment and corporal punishment for the sake of her faith. Her insistence on "seeing," on being witness to the "bloody" persecution of Quaker

[82] There is a small discrepancy here. William Leddra, the last of the Boston Martyrs to be executed, was not hung until March of 1661, so by Curwen's timeline, she could not have heard news of all four of the Martyrs. It is likely that in recalling this event nearly twenty years later (at the time of her writing), Curwen lumped his execution in with the others, either unconsciously or as a strategic rewrite of her relationship to this historic event.

missionaries, reflects a steadfast commitment to being physically present in a town where she could be hanged for that presence. The juxtaposition of the "*Nation*" of the American colonies and the *"Town of* Boston," not only serves to rhetorically diminish Boston's power by pointing to it as a tiny part of a larger body, but implicitly gestures toward a much longer journey for Curwen's proselytizing mission.[83] And indeed, a much longer journey was planned. Due to personal and financial circumstances, Curwen's mission would have to wait for fourteen years, but between 1674 and 1677, Curwen and her husband, Thomas, journeyed through New England and the Caribbean, visiting the colonies of Boston, Dover, Rhode Island, Oyster-Bay, Long-Neck, and Barbados.[84] A few months after returning to England in 1677, while reposing in prayer, she "was moved to write of the Dealings of the Lord with [her], and of [her] Travels…" (Curwen 1).

The resulting ten-page narrative was later compiled with memorial testimonies (written by Curwen's family and fellow Quakers), letters (to and from the Curwens), and a brief testimony of persecution written by Thomas Curwen. The volume was published in 1680, a year after Curwen's passing, by a fellow Quaker, Anne Martindell, a close friend of the couple who had been chosen to receive Alice Curwen's deathbed testimony. Like most early Quaker writing, then, *A Relation of the Labour, Travail and Suffering of that Servant of Our Lord, Alice Curwen* is a composite of different authors and genres, though this does not mean that the other writings

[83] From works available through EEBO, it appears as though Boston was rarely referred to as a "town" (more often, as a settlement, colony, city, etc.), except in vitriolic Quaker writings through the 1670s.

[84] Little is known about Curwen's social class, but she almost certainly experienced financial difficulties throughout her life. She was born around 1619 in Baycliff-in-Furness, a rural bayside town Lancashire. Her parentage is unknown. In 1641, she married Thomas Curwen and the deeply religious couple like embraced Quakerism in 1652, when Founder George Fox visited the Lancashire region. Thomas' occupation is unknown, but context from court records and from Curwen's writing suggests that he was a farmer. Thomas was imprisoned several times between 1659 and 1673 for refusing to pay tithes, a common act of Quaker protest against Anglican authorities, which left Curwen to be the sole breadwinner and parent to her young children.

should be taken as merely tangential to Curwen's narrative. Rather, the composite nature of Quaker writings from this period reflects the Quakers' particular concept of spirituality, one that is simultaneously individual and intimately shared. On a spiritual level, the other writings register this shared experience of Curwen's life. On a literary level, these writings provide valuable support for Curwen's depiction of herself as a traveling Quaker.

In a project dedicated to depictions of travel in women's writing, I would be remiss to neglect the writings of itinerant Quaker women. From the movement's founding in the 1640s and 1650s, "convinced" women were encouraged by their religious community to undertake both regional and global travel to "spread God's Truth," and to write down their experiences for the benefit of their fellow and future Quakers.[85] Verbal encouragement was matched with material support, as Quakers developed ad hoc systems of raising funds for less affluent itinerants and arranging same-sex traveling companions for those who traveled alone.[86] Though statistically, the movement's female members still traveled far less than its male members in this century, there were at hundreds if not thousands of women who either visited or relocated to areas outside of England. As mentioned in the introduction, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin had been the first Quakers to visit England's North American colonies, specifically Boston, but they had also been the first to set foot in the Americas, disembarking in Barbados in 1655. Fisher later joined a

[85] "Convinced" was the Quaker term for embracing the religion, similar but not identical to the term "converted." As for the exact date of the founding of Quakerism, George Fox received his first visions in 1647 and began his traveling ministry immediately after, but historians have generally agreed that a substantial religious community did not coalesce until around 1650.
[86] It was not uncommon for Quaker women to leave their husbands and (usually grown) children behind to undertake a mission. Women's husbands did not always feel the same calling to travel, and in mixed marriages, which the movement generally allowed (with some reservations), non-Quaker men would typically remain at home. Whatever the personal dynamics of each couple's physical separation may have been, the community appears to have supported the women in their travels.

group traveling across Europe and when she was separated from the group, she decided to journey alone to Adrianope (present-day Turkey) to demand audience with the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed IV, the first Quaker to do so. Of the "Valient Sixty," the nickname given to the first wave of Quaker itinerants to travel to the Americas in the late 1650s, twelve were women, many becoming prolific writers.[87] Several women who traveled to the Americas, to Ireland, to Continental Europe, and to North Africa between 1650 and 1700 published testimonials of their experiences, including but not limited to Elizabeth Hooton, Margaret Fell Fox, Mary Howgill, Joan Vokins, Katherine Evans, Sarah Chevers, Mary Penington, Barbara Blaugdone, Anne Audland Camm, Elizabeth Fletcher, and Lilias Skene. Others, such as Sarah Gibbons, Dorcus Ebery, Katherine McLoughlin, Elizabeth Harris, and Isabel Fell Yeamans, had detailed accounts of their travel experiences written by fellow Quakers. Many other Quaker women undertook itinerant lifestyles on a smaller scale, traveling within England and Scotland.

Not only did Quaker women travel more than other women, but because they were part of a radical separatist movement that rejected many of the social norms of English society, they moved through the world quite differently. As travelers "for the sake of Truth," Quaker itinerants viewed travel as part of a righteous expansionist project, the gradual yet persistent spread of their faith to the ends of the earth. This is not an exaggeration. Writings from the first period of the movement's history (1647-1692) are rife with images of "God's Empire" sweeping across oceans and enveloping the

[87] The women of the Valient Sixty were Anne Audland Camm, Ann Austin, Dorothy Bensen, Ann Blaykling, Mabel Camm, Margaret Fell Fox, Mary Fisher, Elizabeth Fletcher, Elizabeth Hooten, Mary Howgill, Dorothy Waugh, and Jane Waugh.

globe.[88] While several critics have acknowledged the Quakers' expansionist worldview, the fact that the Quakers were invested in the global dominance of their religion is often overshadowed by the fact that they were pacifists. The Quakers condemned violent and coercive methods of conversion, and, in a sense, conversion itself. Despite the martial connotations of the word "convince" – to vanquish or conquer – their understanding of convincement had little to do with making others see the truth of Quakerism ("convince," *V.* 1). Rather, the Quakers believed that all people had the divine light in their heart, and those who were ready simply needed to hear the words of a fellow Quaker to realize it. Thus, their model of religious expansion was far less violent and focused on domination than that of other English colonists that conquered in the name of Christianity. However, the nature of convincement informed a more insidious Quaker belief in their right to take up physical space, all physical space in fact, because they understood other populations as future Quakers awaiting their arrival.

By insisting on the spiritual equality and universal priesthood of all believers, the movement mobilized all of its members in pursuit of expansion. As agents of God's Empire, Quaker women showed remarkably little concern for the social barriers that women like Cavendish and Cary foregrounded in their writings. For example, their writing almost never mentions the threat of rape or sexual assault, even when they

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[88] These dates mark the first period of the movement's history, what Robynne Rogers Healey has termed the "Expansion Period," both in terms of the movement's membership and its geographical reach. This period was characterized by disruptive public demonstrations, itinerancy, and the proliferation of Quaker literature. Though the English Quakers certainly continued to settle abroad after this period, the Quakers began to retreat from more aggressive expansionist tactics in 1688, when the Acts of Toleration exempted the movement from anti-heresy laws. Fox's death in 1692 ushered in the "Quietist Period" of Quaker history. For a more in-depth account of these periods, see Allen, "Restoration Quakerism" and Healey, "Quietist Quakerism."

traveled without their husbands and lodged with male Quakers abroad. There's little discussion of their reputations as women, beyond some in-fighting between different Meetings, and I have yet to find evidence of anxiety about their own chastity. When traveling with their husbands, brothers, or fathers, the women did not necessarily take a backseat to decisions about travel. More often, the person who was called to travel by God took the lead. They also had little reservation about writing, publishing, and speaking publicly – quite literally shouting in Anglican churches and in town squares – in a period where non-Quaker women still felt the need to justify their speech in their writings.

Alice Curwen was a zealous adherent of the Quakers' expansionist vision, and she was keenly aware of how the spaces around her could be used to further the Quaker cause. Throughout her narrative, she foregrounds the physical difficulties of traveling through the New England wilderness and of experiencing imprisonment and brutal punishments at the hands of New England authorities, framing both as elemental obstacles from which God delivers her. Like most early Quaker writing, Curwen's narrative moves seamlessly between autobiographical fact and prophetic sermon, blurring the line between the physical terrain she moves through and the spiritual terrain she perceives herself to be on. To some extent, religious autobiography always operates simultaneously on the physical and spiritual planes, but as Hilary Hinds has noted, Quaker writing collapses the space between those planes, producing a convergence that she usefully terms the "socio-spiritual topography" of Quaker life writing (Hinds, "Absent Presence" 7). Because Curwen saw the world as God's, and not as the discrete territories of various sovereigns, she believed in her right to occupy all spaces. This plays

a central role, I argue, in one of the principle tensions of her narrative, namely her troubling depictions of enslaved Africans and the indigenous populations of New England.

This chapter considers Curwen's movement through the physical geographies of the New World and the spiritual geography of God's Empire, as those movements are depicted in *A Relation*. Reading her testimonial as a work of spiritual autobiography – that is, not simply as a record of events as they occurred, but as a conscious positioning of the work's subject (Curwen) as a traveler on a spiritual journey – I aim to show how the Quaker expansionist vision that Curwen brings to bear on the world around her serves to negotiate her position within contested territories, specifically the Caribbean Islands and the wilderness of New England. I begin by discussing the status of women within the movement, expanding on my brief summary above to explain how women's education, activism, preaching, writing, and travel were made useful to the movement's expansionist project. What authorized women's expanded mobility, in part, was the idea that when Quakers entered individual communion with God, their soul had no gender. I briefly discuss what the "ungendered soul" meant for Quaker women – and its limits as an emancipatory idea – and how it contributed to a vision of universal equality among believers (present and future) that ultimately papered over existing power structures within Quaker communities. Turning to the issue of expansionism, I discuss how the movement resembled and diverged from their Anglican counterparts in their desire for expansive space. Finally, I consider Curwen's depictions of Barbados and New England, arguing that Quaker universalism again papers over real power differentials between

Quaker itinerants and settlers and the non-European populations on which they enact violence.

The fundamental tenet of Quakerism was (and still is) the “universal priesthood,” the belief that all individuals have a direct connection to God and are equally capable of receiving and interpreting his word. The spiritual equality implied by this tenet afforded Quaker women unprecedented support from their community to seek education, to write and publish, to minister, and to travel abroad, all for the sake of their faith.

England’s first girls’ school was founded by Quakers Mary Stott and Jane Bullock in 1668, in the London suburb of Shacklewell. There, “young lasses & maydens” were instructed in “whatsever things was civil & useful in ye creation” (Fox, *Journal* 119). Though the Shacklewell school was private, donations from wealthier families supplied the fees for less affluent girls. By 1671, seventeenth Quaker schools had been founded in England, with several of them offering co-ed education. The instructors and headmistresses were also often women. Because the 1662 Act of Uniformity had criminalized teaching without an episcopal license, but had only specified male teachers in its language, Quaker schools mainly employed women to circumvent the law (Rose 104-105). Women were also instrumental in non-institutional education, teaching their children and illiterate adult Quakers in their own homes. Literacy was the first priority of a Quaker education, as it enabled believers to read and interpret scripture for themselves, but foreign languages were a close second, as they aided future itinerants in their overseas missions (Campbell Stewart 28).

Though belief in the universal priesthood guaranteed a woman's right to preach, the movement struggled with the question of how to include women in communal worship. In the first few years, women simply did not attend Meetings, though they were free to worship with their families and fellow Friends in informal settings. The first Women's Meetings were founded in London in the 1650s. In addition to worship, they managed charitable works: collecting alms for the poor, visiting Friends in prison, and procuring financial and material support for widows, orphans, and the sick. In addition to charity, the Women's Meetings were tasked with care work. A 1666 epistle by George Fox praised called for the establishment of more Women's Meetings, so that Quaker women might "visit the widows and fatherless to see that all be kept from the spots of the world" (Fox, "An Exhortation").

Scholars have understandably been critical of the Women's Meetings insofar as they reflect a gendered division of community labor among the Quakers that ran counter to their ideals of equality. This is especially evident in the Meetings that took on the role of policing women's behavior, taking on the controversial role of arbitrating marriages, "exhorting the younger [women] in all sobriety [and] modesty in apparel…," and "admonishing such maids and widows as may be in danger either to marry with unbelievers, or to go to a priest to be married" (quoted in Mack 328).[89] This kind of policing behavior led to fighting between Women's Meetings, with some prominent women accusing others of allowing promiscuity to flourish in their communities. At the same time that they reinforced gender stereotypes, Women's Meetings played an

[89] Quakers did not condone arranged marriages because they were understood to conflict with God's intentions for the individual. Nonetheless, some Women's Meetings held such power over their local communities that they required couples to request permission to marry.

important role in community care, and over time they developed sophisticated systems for redistributing wealth from affluent Quakers to imprisoned Friends and itinerant preachers of the lower classes. Many women vehemently defended Women's Meetings, especially as dissenters within the movement called for their discontinuation, claiming that these were crucial spaces of community for the women of the movement to discuss and collectively work toward their own interests. In some places, Meetings remained segregated well into the nineteenth century. However, that segregation seems to have been the practice of Meetings with substantial attendance and considerable influence. Smaller Meetings were not necessarily segregated; it simply varied from place to place. For example, Alice Curwen attended Women's Meetings in England but attended mixed worship in the small Quaker communities of New England. Though the segregation of Meetings effectively cut off many women from the discussions of business that occurred in Men's Meetings, it nonetheless provided them a space for collective action.

Women actively participated in the public demonstrations that characterized the first period of the movement: they preached in the streets, decried the wickedness of politicians in market squares, broke in on Anglican church services to protest clergymen, and performed naked public processions (a form of protest called "going naked as a sign"). In their writing, Quaker women were as outspoken as their male counterparts, openly criticizing the norms of English society, as well as directly addressing political figures, as in the case of Mary Howgill's vitriolic letter to Oliver Cromwell, hand-delivered to the Lord Protector in 1656, and Margaret Fell Fox's pamphlets urging

Parliament to allow the re-entry of Jews to England, published between 1655 and 1657.[90] They were also punished alongside Quaker men for their activism. To suffer humiliation, imprisonment, exile, corporal punishment, or worse was the price that Quakers paid for their faith, and they embraced that suffering as a crucial part of a sacred struggle. As Rosemary Kegl has observed, suffering was a cornerstone of community identity, yoking members together in a shared experience of persecution, and because the Bible was full of stories of believers who suffered for their faith, it provided evidence that they were walking the righteous path (Kegl 63-64). In terms of individuals, Marjon Ames has gone so far as to suggest that the early Quakers courted violence as a way of establishing themselves in the movement and gaining the respect of fellow members (Ames 93).[91]

The spectacle of Quaker suffering also served a vital purpose in the movement's attempts to gain social legitimacy and to grow their membership. By stoically suffering punishment, the Quakers exposed the violence that Anglican authorities were willing to commit to maintain their social power. A collectively authored testimonial from 1655, *The Saints Testimony Finishing Through Suffering*, affirms that the horrors of public floggings and pillories should inspire and instruct non-Quaker readers "how to act" more justly (7). Narratives of public punishment often reference the witnesses, who had attended anticipating a spectacle of a humiliated criminal but instead found themselves sympathizing with the quietly suffering Quakers. A crucial part of suffering, additionally,

[90] For original source and relevant criticism for Howgill, see Howgill, *A Remarkable Letter*; Lobo; Stavreva, pp. 17-20. For original source and relevant criticism for Fell Fox, see Fell Fox, *A Loving Salutation*; "Future Perfect," pp. 116-117; Kunze. Two more works by Fell Fox, *The Call of the Jews* and *The Second Call to the Seed of Israel* are referenced in ,
but are no longer available.
[91] For broader discussions of the importance of "suffering" to Quaker community identity, see Miller; Herbert; Gill, especially pp. 260-268.

was the return: Quakers often returned to the very places that had imprisoned or expelled them, as the Boston Martyrs had done several times before their deaths. In persistently returning to hostile spaces, the Quakers refused to allow their presence to fade from cultural memory. The emphasis on return should remind us of our modern notion of peaceful protest, in terms of its emphasis on the importance of taking up space, and in fact, the language that modern activist communities have found useful for describing demonstrations like sit-ins or marches – "taking up space," "not going anywhere," or Queer Nation's 1992 chant, "we're here, we're queer, get used to it," – quite accurately describes the Quakers' relationship to space.

Though Quaker women were punished as frequently as men, the punishments were not necessarily equal. Quakers of both sexes were imprisoned, exiled, and publicly beaten, but women were often spared the disfiguring punishments prescribed for Quaker men, as in the Boston Colony's sentence of ear amputation. At the same time, women were more often subject to traditionally feminine punishments, such as the scold's bridle.[92] For example, after being arrested in the market square at Carlisle for insulting the city's mayor, Westmoreland Quaker Dorothy Waugh was sentenced to wear the scold's bridle, an iron cage placed around the wearer's head and affixed to her mouth with a 2-inch by 1-inch bridle bit. Designed as a punishment for "common scolds," or lower-class women charged with public quarreling or being a nuisance, the bridle achieved its highly gendered cruelty by restricting the wearer's speech while simultaneously stretching her mouth open wide. Other gendered punishments included

[92] For an excellent discussion of the gendered dynamics of accounts of women's suffering authored by Quakers and by Anglican witnesses, see Hinds, "Sectarian Spaces," pp. 1-11.

those doled out for witchcraft. Quaker women, particularly the older itinerants, were especially vulnerable to charges of witchcraft. In fact, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin had been deported from Boston after being interrogated for witchcraft. and traveling companions Elizabeth Hooton and Joan Broksup were punished for suspected witchcraft by being led on a two-day journey into the New England wilderness and left there (Herbert 86).

The application of gendered punishments to Quaker women brings up an important issue: namely, to what extent can we discuss the radical disruptions that Quaker ideologies caused to gender norms without acknowledging that Quaker women were seen and treated by the rest of society as women first, and Quakers second? Put another way, how do we square Quaker women's vision of themselves and how they moved through the world with their treatment at the hands of Anglican authorities and even the naysayers of their own movement? This question has particular consequences for the status of the women travelers and how they moved through the world. Though Quaker women were generally encouraged by their communities and family members, there were certainly naysayers within the Quaker movement and, of course, many outside of it. The act of travel draws attention to the body, and this was especially true for female itinerants, whose moving bodies were read by onlookers as evidence of the promiscuity and incivility of Quaker communities.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, as the Quakers began to assume positions of power in England and anti-Quaker sentiment began to ease, anxiety percolated about the prominence of radical women in the movement. Quaker writing by

both men and women began to reframe women as the emotional keepers of the movement and minimized their contributions in general. Sarah Crabtree notes that in the eighteenth century, Quaker writings by men retreated slightly from their support for women travelers, finding rhetorical strategies to justify the women's itinerancy that conformed to notions of feminine frailty (Crabtree 82-83). For example, Quaker William Sewel's *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers,* which drew on testimonials written since the movement's founding, affirmed the righteousness of women's itinerancy, yet emphasized the physical fragility and sexual vulnerability in their travel. As Amanda Herbert has argued, Sewel's conservative portrayals of Quaker women travelers purposefully evokes images of martyred (and therefore pitiable) women, thus confirming their authenticity as agents of God, while rendering them nonthreatening to gendered social norms (Herbert 83-87).

From the 1670s on, women travelers were required to get permission from committees in the local monthly Meeting, their regional Quarterly Meeting, and the London Yearly Meeting before they could set out. They were questioned on their mission, their clarity of purpose, their physical health, and their familial obligations (Bacon 33-34). Given the women-written testimonials that we have from the 1670s – 1690s, it seems clear that neither motherhood, age, nor disability were strictly hinderances to women gaining permission, but there is also a lack of records on those who applied and were denied.

While it is important to be conscious of the limits of Quaker women's newfound liberties and to therefore avoid uncritically heralding the Quakers as proto-feminists, I think it equally important to acknowledge that whatever gendered criticism the women

may have suffered for their travel abroad, their writing does not necessarily reflect that they cared. Rather, the writings of many Quaker women travelers erase conventional markers of gender altogether, which positions them as Quakers first and women second.

Quaker women took advantage of a belief held by part of the movement that when individuals were in communion with God, their soul had no gender, a belief that Denise Riley has usefully termed the "ungendered soul" (Riley 42). The ungendered soul was not unique to Quaker doctrine – rather, some Puritan sects and Anabaptists had versions of the same idea – and Hilary Hinds has speculated that the notion of a genderless soul was increasingly popular post-Civil War, as ideals of invididuality came to dominate the political and religious landscape. Not all Quakers subscribed to this belief, and importantly, it did not assert that men and women were ungendered outside of their spiritual communion. Women were by most considered equal in their souls, though unequal in their bodies. In most Quaker families, women were still expected to adhere to their traditional roles as wives, yet the notion of the ungendered soul did authorize women to prioritize their spiritual wellbeing over their obedience to their husbands. Then again, as Hinds has pointed out, there was something at once subversive and conservative about the idea of the ungendered soul: it asserted the spiritual equality of women to men, but through a rhetoric of subservience to a higher masculine authority, namely God (Hinds, *God's Englishwomen* 49).

Hinds also notes that any attempt to understand the power that Quaker women took from this individualistic concept of gender becomes fraught when we consider that the Quakers understood their individuality quite differently: "Conventional ascriptions of gender are further complicated by the uncoupling of agency and autonomy and its

reidentification as a position premised on a heteronomous relation of dependence on the divine" (*God's Englishwomen* 81). Simultaneously individuals and indistinct parts of a spiritual collective, the early Quakers held a notion of the "self" that blurred the boundaries between individual spirits (Mack 135). A Quaker metaphor that usefully illustrates these unclear boundaries is "the Body." In early Quaker memorial writing, the common phrase, "those who remain in the Body," refers to Quakers who are still living. This contains within it an ambiguity, as it refers both to the individuals remaining in their mortal bodies (in contrast to the spirit that has passed on) and to the collective of Quakers who remain in the body of the faithful. It is therefore tricky to speak of the power that this concept gave to women, as doing so relies on a notion of individuality that was quite fluid in this period.

Nonetheless, the notion of an ungendered soul opened a space for women to exploit if they so chose, and taking on leadership positions in their religious communities allowed them greater influence and power in their families and other parts of society.[93] Because the spiritual and the temporal realms were co-existent in Quaker writing, their spiritual equality could be made to extend to other aspects of their lives. This is quite apparent in some Quaker writing. For example, Thomas Curwen referred to his wife almost exclusively as his "Friend," leveling the relationship of heterosexual marriage to the relationship with a fellow believer. This was also the case for women like Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers. Both were married women who left their families behind to

[93] As early as the mid-eighteenth century, the concept of the ungendered soul was used to explain non-binary gender expressions as well. Most prominently, a Rhode Island preacher who named themselves The Public Universal Friend used the concept to explain their identity as neither man nor woman, asking others to refrain from using gendered pronouns when referring to them.

travel toward the English Tangiers colony and were imprisoned for a period of four years from 1658 and 1662, under the Malta Inquisition, and their prison journals show little concern about their gender, or the traditional structures of men-women relationships.

Both Thomas and Alice Curwen wrote about their children as if they were future Friends. Curwen's testimonial also contains few references to parenting, and the references she does make do not portray her as the primary caregiver, but rather a member of a community that was collectively raising their young members to be Quakers. Her husband's memorial testimony recalls that "her Children and many more were Convinced by her Wise Walking before them, in the Wisdom of God; for she had a great Care of her Off-spring, to bring them up in the Fear of the Lord" (Curwen 8). By conflating her children, whom she educated as a parent, and the "many more" Friends, whom she educated through her proselytizing, this passage collapses motherhood into her Quaker ministry. A few lines down from this passage, Thomas Curwen recalls that his wife urged Friends "where-ever she came" to *"have a Care of their Children, & to bring them up in the Fear of the Lord, so that from one Generation to another the Lord's Truth may spread, and cover the Earth as the Waters cover the Sea*" (Curwen 9). Not only is the priority of this passage the expansion of the Quaker religion, but by framing Alice Curwen's advice as one fit for Friends, and not specifically women Friends, Thomas Curwen implies that "care of their children" is the duty of both parents. By omitting conventional indicators of gender in her testimonial, Curwen avoids any questions about her fitness to travel as a woman or to minister as a woman.

While the idea of the ungendered soul offered positive opportunities for women to portray themselves as a agents of God first, and women second, this idea had the less

salutary effect of asserting universalisms where there were in fact stark inequalities in power. This is especially clear in Quaker writings about non-Europeans. The idea of the ungendered soul derives from Paul's letter to the Galatians, in which he claims "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). The logic of the ungendered soul, therefore, was also logic that erased differences in ethnicity, nation, and freedom status. While this idea eventually led the Quaker to take a strong stance against intolerance of any kind, in the early years of the movement, this idea was more often used to insist on members' fundamental equality, without addressing inequalities in the secular world. This is apparent in the early Quaker writings about slavery, in which they often refused to call enslaved Africans "slaves," instead referring to them as "servants." While this was meant to protest the legitimacy of the institution of slavery, it had the effect of erasing in Quaker literature the real effects of bondage on the enslaved, in effect ignoring the stunning brutality of treating Africans as commodities to be bought, sold, and disposed of as their white enslavers saw fit by recasting the enslaved as servants.

In this next section, I consider how contestations over space in the New World aligned with and departed from the colonial frameworks put in place by their Anglican counterparts, in an effort to understand how the Quaker expansionist vision led them to take up space in particular ways, as a way of approaching the problem of race in Curwen's testimonial.

The Quaker movement emerged and developed during a period of rapid colonial expansion for England. The Quakers' presence in the Atlantic colonies after 1656 is well-established, but until fairly recently, scholars have tended to consider the early Quakers separately from the Anglican settlers that inaugurated England's long and violent history of colonization, acknowledging that they were connected and concurrent, but fundamentally distinct from one another. This likely stems from the Quakers' enduring legacy of having progressive politics. From the movement's beginnings, Quakers consciously disassociated themselves from the brutal activities of their Anglican counterparts, calling for religious tolerance in England and the American colonies (even as they anticipated that Quakerism would eventually spread throughout the world). Their travel narratives emphasize their peaceful movement through the New World and, in the case of William Penn and others, their peaceful interactions with indigenous populations. Due to their heavy involvement in abolitionist movements in the eighteenth century, the Quakers have generally been remembered as abolitionists, though few wrote unequivocal censures of slavery in the seventeenth century. Thus, while no one would argue that the Quakers were not complicit in England's expansion, settling in and around established colonies in New England, the Chesapeake, and the Caribbean, their active participation in that expansion has been somewhat obscured.

Over the past decade, critics have worked to trouble any neat separation between the Quakers in the New World and English colonists, though this work has so far focused primarily on issues of slavery. In particular, Moira Ferguson, Larry Gragg, Robynne Rogers Healey, Hilary Hinds, and others have explored the movement's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade: while most decried the well-known cruelty of slaveowners,

they nonetheless accepted slavery as a means to economic growth in the colonies. Some owned slaves themselves or otherwise benefitted financially from the trade: in the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and the Caribbean, slave labor in the seventeenth century built the material foundations for wealthy Quaker communities in the eighteenth century (Gragg 36). The impact of this scholarship cannot be overstated, as it has effectively challenged long-held assumption about the movement's history of abolitionism. Yet slavery is only one aspect of England's colonial expansion, one which depended on the acquisition of territory, the development of settlements and agricultural communities, and the expansion of England's sovereignty. At first glance, the early Quakers seem to have little to do with this: until William Penn was granted the charter for Pennsylvania in the 1680s, the Quakers seemed relatively uninterested in establishing or ruling their own colonies (separate from Anglican settlements). At the same time, Quaker writing from the period is filled with images of expansion: of God's Truth spreading over the earth, of Quaker itinerants moving across the nations and seas, of their communities spreading their "roots" outwards.

By the time that Curwen set sail for New England in 1674, England's commercial and colonial expansion into the Western Hemisphere had been underway for nearly a century. After a number of failed attempts to establish settlements (Roanoke, Baffin Island, and Popham, Maine) in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the English managed to establish a majority presence on the North American East Coast, including New England, large parts of New York, the Carolinas, and the Chesapeake Bay region. They also, by the 1670s, had established sovereignty over several Caribbean islands, including St. Kitts, Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Anguilla, and Tortola.

Colonial strategies in the Atlantic shifted considerably between the 1570s, when Martin Frobisher made the first exploratory voyages into the Northeast passage, and the 1670s. Early expansion into the Atlantic, as Alison Games has argued, was marked by assimilationist strategies of establishing England's presence in the New World. Explorers and commercial adventurers developed (and sometimes coerced) trade with local populations, from whom they also learned strategies of adapting to their unfamiliar surroundings and climates, and they experimented with different methods of "claiming" and occupying foreign space (Games 120-129). England pursued this expansion largely by incentivizing private commercial ventures and the establishment of long-term English settlements, like those established in Ireland, was at first a costly and inefficient avenue to turning a profit. According to Games' historical overview, the strategies of English early expansionism were largely about achieving England's presence through frequent travel through these spaces and establishing relationships with locals.

This began to shift in the 1620s when England established many of its Caribbean and Carolina colonies, where they found profit through sugar and tobacco plantations, respectively. Increasingly, colonists relied on planting: both the literal planting of profitable crops and the figurative planting of the "seeds of Christianity" among the indigenous inhabitants.[94] The language of "planting" and "rooting" became an important linguistic tool for colonists to frame their colonial mission. This had been the case in Ireland for well over a century, where they incentivized English and Scottish planters to

[94] There were practical reasons for relying on an ideology of "spreading" in the plantation colonies as well. In the Virginia colonies, planters soon learned that the tobacco plant depleted the soil of nutrients within a few seasons, and so they sought to acquire as much acreage as possible to enable crop rotation (Russo and Russo 6).

establish plantations on confiscated Irish land. The importance of “planting Ireland” was rooted partly in disrupting and replacing Irish commercial networks with English agrarian commerce, but also in establishing a powerful English presence in Ireland. A 1682 treatise by Richard Lawrence even refers to the establishment of plantations as “plant[ing] Ireland with English [*sic*],” as if in the act of farming, Englishness and English sovereignty could take root in the soil alongside the crops (Lawrence 97).

The early Quakers borrowed both of these rhetorical strategies. In the New World, the Quakers were eager to proselytize Anglican settlers and indigenous inhabitants and when Quakers were expelled from the colonies, not only would they return, but often more would take their place. This commitment to returning to spaces that exiled them was in service of the Quaker mission of “spreading” God’s Truth over the globe. Fox’s *Journal* repeatedly returns to the image of the “spreading”: as he proselytized a region of England, the Truth would spread, as he met with communities in the Caribbean, the Truth would spread, and as he circulated Quaker writings, the Truth would spread.

The Quakers, too, were invested in the ideology of planting. A persistent metaphor that runs throughout Quaker writing is that of the “rooting” (various trees are named) and “spreading abroad.” Prevalent too is the language of “dwelling.” [1] Indeed, an emphasis on presence runs throughout early Quaker writing and is encapsulated in an influential quote from Fox, in which he urged his followers to “dwell”: “In the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord[,] God of life, and heaven, and earth, *dwell*, that in the wisdom of God over all ye may be preserved…spreading the Truth abroad, awakening the witness…Let all nations hear the word by sound or writing. Spare no place, spare not tongue nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God and go through the work

and be valiant for the Truth upon earth…Keep in the Wisdom of God that spreads over all the earth" (*Journal* 263, italics mine). Here, Fox urges his followers to use the presence of their bodies and voices to help expand God's Truth across the earth.

My point here is that while the Quakers were uninterested in territorial sovereignty per say, the early Quaker worldview was nonetheless fundamentally expansionist, and they viewed the larger world much like their non-Quaker counterpart: that is, with a drive to expand power or influence over spaces considered to be "open." The Quakers saw the New World as attractive terrain on which to establish a social order based on their own beliefs and they pursued an expansionist program that led them to occupy foreign space.[95]

Here, of course, Fox is privy to actual divine sight, rather than its man-made approximate. And while that is no small distinction, the effects are nonetheless quite similar. The vision of the world that atlases offered were intended to inspire support for commercial and colonial ventures, if not to inspire their readers to become travelers themselves. Similarly, Fox would travel extensively over the next forty years to fulfill his Pendle Hill vision, expanding the Society's presence in Europe, North Africa, and the Americas, and encouraging his followers to do the same. This is the urge toward mobility that permeates the writing of the early Quakers, including Curwen's.

The importance of returning to, or "dwelling in," unwelcoming spaces runs throughout Curwen's narrative. On several occasions she and her husband were violently

[95] Additionally, in traveling through and relocating to the New World, the Quakers increased the English population in the colonies and even extended them: because communities like Boston and Dover expelled Quakers from their settlements, the itinerant Quakers often moved to the outskirts, expanding the English presence beyond established towns.

arrested, imprisoned, publicly flogged, and driven out of settlements. On each of these occasions, they returned, often to the scene of their arrest. Thomas Curwen recounts a vivid example of this in an unaddressed letter, printed in *A Relation*. He recalls that he and his wife were attending worship in the Flushen colony, when a constable "broke in on the Meeting" with a warrant to arrest any Quakers who worshipped there. After giving the constable a curt reply, Thomas claims that Alice Curwen "turned away from the constable, kneeling to pray" (Curwen 50). The constable violently dragged her down the stairs and across town to prison, all of which she bore with calm resignation (along with the public flogging that followed). After her release, the Curwens made a point to return to that same Meetinghouse to resume worship, quietly but publicly flouting the law.

Unsurprisingly, Curwen's letters share in Fox's language of "dwelling." In a letter to Quakers in Bermuda, Curwen writes, "So *dear Friends*, to whom the salutation of our Unfeigned Love reacheth, dwell at Home, keep in your Tents; *for they that dwell at Home, they divide the Spoil, their Enemies shall become subject unto them*" (Curwen 7, italics original).[96] Though at first glance, Curwen's advice seems to emphasize stasis – *dwelling* or *keeping* at *home* – her Biblical allusion concerns the expansion of a religious group's territorial sovereignty. In Isaiah 54, God urges the people of Israel to "enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be

[96] The Curwens intended to visit Bermuda before continuing on to Barbados but were unable to find a ship to carry them.

inhabited" (Geneva Bible, Isaiah 54:2-3).[97] Though this wording differs slightly from Curwen's letter – "enlarge the place of thy tent" rather than "keep in your tents" – both refer to taking up physical space and both have remarkably similar results: the chosen ones are rewarded with sovereignty over their enemies. Thus, Curwen's emphasis on stasis actually recalls a Biblical moment of expansion.

Further on in this letter, Curwen again urges her addressees to "dwell Low, that you may spread at the Root as *Lebanon*, and bring forth Fruit upward, to the Praise and Glory of God" (Curwen 8). In the Psalms and in Ezekial, the Lebanon Cedar tree symbolizes the relationship between believers and the land they inhabit.[98] The roots of the cedar spread diagonally and horizontally, making them visible above ground, and it was said that their roots spread as far as the tree was tall. Metaphorically, the strength of God's support roots the believers' hold over their land and allows them to spread as a nation. Curwen's exhortation to her fellow Quakers to "dwell," therefore, participates in a fantasy of gaining sovereignty via the persistent and divinely sanctioned occupation of space.

In a brief memorial testimony printed in *A Relation*, Thomas Curwen recalls that his wife "had great Exercise with the Priests of this Nation, and other Nations and Islands beyond the Seas… and the Lord was with her, and gave her Dominion" (Curwen 7).

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[97] While this "enlargement" is related to bearing children in the lines that follow, the passage opens with a prophecy that barren women will bring forth spiritual children (a relation of affiliation rather than filiation that closely resembles the Quaker model of f/Friendship) suggesting that enlargement also stems from the conversion of others.

[98] "The righteous shall flourish like a palm tree, He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (KJV, Psalms 92:12). "Behold, the Assyrian [king] was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature…under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches: for his root was by great waters (KJV, Ezekiel 31:3-7).

The language of “dominion” and the vivid image of Curwen as an agent of God’s word sweeping across the seas offers a more aggressive image of Curwen’s proselytizing and approximate the discourses of religious expansionism that served to justify colonialism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like these discourses, Curwen’s language of religious dominion posits her as an agent of God’s Empire. And like these discourses, her language of dominion accompanies a real physical presence in the New World and had material effects on the spaces she occupied.

The Curwens arrived in Barbados in May of 1676, remaining on the island for seven months. The Caribbean Islands had become a common stopover for Quaker itinerants for a few reasons. The three major leaders of the faith, George Fox, Margaret Fell Fox, and William Edmundson, had all traveled to the Caribbean in between 1672 and 1674, assisting in the development of small Quaker communities in Jamaica, Nevis, Antigua, Bermuda, and Barbados. Additionally, the Caribbean was becoming known for its economic opportunity. The island of Barbados was particularly important in this regard, as it produced the majority of the world’s sugar until the eighteenth century, when production expanded on larger islands such as Saint-Domingue and Jamaica. The influx of wealthy English planters to the island in the 1650s soon made it the wealthiest in the Caribbean. English settlers were drawn to profits, both from the booming commercial activity and from owning plantations, and Larry Gragg has suggested that Quakers found the island attractive for the same reason (Gragg 32). As early as 1656, itinerant Quakers recorded “feeling moved” to go to Barbados and the other Caribbean islands, just four

years after the "Charter of Barbados," strengthening England's power over the island, was signed (Gragg 41). A Quaker planting class began to coalesce on the islands in the 1660s, and steadily grew over the next three decades.

Another reason that the Islands may have appealed to the early Quaker is that, with a few exceptions, Quaker traveled aboard commercial vessels and so were bound to shipping routes. English shipping vessels regularly sailed to New England by way of the Caribbean, and vice-versa, tracing a circuit that reflected a triangulated sub-economy based in the circulation of sugar cane, tobacco, and slaves. This is worth pausing on. Quaker writing of this period habitually neglects to mention what type of vessel the itinerant sailed on, and they rarely reference the circuit of trade the ships were engaged in. Instead, their writing gives the distinct impression that the itinerants moved by the guidance of God, that as a network of believers connected through their shared relationships to God, they were gradually and peacefully expanding their influence over the earth. Yet, in reality, they moved in an established and much more violent circuit between England, colonial New England, and the sugar plantations of the Caribbean.

It was Thomas Curwen's idea to travel to the Caribbean. Alice was, in fact, quite fearful of the journey: "A great Fear fell upon me, considering my own Weakness, and the Highness of *all sorts of people* there, and fearing lest they should even trample upon my little Testimony, and lest I should suffer Loss" (Curwen 6, italics mine). Her fear of anti-Quaker hostility is striking. At other points in her journey, she had embraced the persecution against her as proof of her willingness to suffer for the sake of Truth. Yet, the Islands were a far more diverse place than the colonies of New England, as Curwen's phrase, "all sorts of people," highlights. The twenty-five islands in this region were under

the sovereignty of several competing European nations, including the French, Dutch, and Spanish. The population of Barbados, in particular, was made up of a wealthy Anglican planter class, English laborers from the lower classes, Catholic indentured servants from Ireland, Sephardic Jews working in the slave and sugar trades for the Dutch West India Company, enslaved Amerindians and Africans, and itinerants and settlers from separatist movements, such as the Quakers, Ranters, and Seekers. The religious diversity of the region led to an uneasy tolerance for the Quakers' religious beliefs on the island, but that tolerance remained tenuous.

In the 1670s, Quaker settlers began encouraging enslaved Africans to attend Quaker Meetings. This frightened and outraged Anglican planters on the island, who believed that exposing the Africans to the Quakers' progressive social views would lead them to "rise and cut their [masters'] throats (Edmundson 66). Anxiety about uprisings had already been percolating on the island, where enslaved Africans were steadily outnumbering both the English planter class and "white" indentured servants (five-to-one by 1700) (Hinds 12). Recurring natural disasters in the 1660s and 1670s led to diminished crop yields and put a strain on the island's food supply. As the island's slave codes (established in 1661) mandated that slaveowners provide "sufficient food and drink," but did not define what constituted sufficiency, the threat of starvation caused unrest among the island's enslaved inhabitants.

As a result, the island's government became increasingly hostile to missionaries of all religions. As Larry Gragg has noted, the prospect of converting slaves to Christianity raised theological issues about the status of "Christian slaves" and whether

plantation owners would be compelled to eventually free them (Gragg 26).[99] Missionaries threatened the economic structure that had made Barbados so wealthy, but also the precarious power structure that kept the white minority in control of the colony. Already a persecuted minority, the Quakers increasingly became the scapegoat for any unrest of threat of rebellion among the African slaves. In 1675, their fears were realized when an uprising plot three years in the making was discovered. The English military pre-emptively squashed the rebellion, brutally torturing and executing seventeen slaves. At least one hundred more were punished by plantation owners (Hinds 12). A year later, the "Quaker Negro Act" was passed, prohibiting Quaker from attending Meetings with their or others' slaves. Therefore, Curwen's fears that her "little testimony" might be trampled in Barbados is well-founded, but of course, the consequences for the Quakers' defiance of this law were visited upon the African slaves, rather than on the Quakers.[100]

In fact, the Quakers faced little physical persecution (imprisonment, whippings, etc.) in Barbados, especially in comparison to what they experienced in New England. However, the social world of Barbados likely had an unnerving sense of unknowability that added to Curwen's sense of trepidation. The highly structured Puritan societies of New England, though hostile the Curwens, were in some senses predictable: if found within the colony, the constables would arrest the Quakers, imprison them, publicly beat or whip them, and then exile them. The hostility was violent, but it was also systematic

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[99] Richard Ligon's 1657 text, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, contains an anecdote about a curious slave (unnamed) who allegedly asked Ligon to teach him about Christ. Ligon approached the slave's owner and pleaded his case but was told that it was unlawful to make a Christian a slave (Ligon 325).

[100] As Hinds notes, Curwen fails to mention the 1675 rebellion (12). To bring up the rebellion and its awful public displays of punishment, I would suggest, would be to decenter the Quakers in a narrative intended to highlight Quaker suffering.

and predictable. Even the Boston Martyrs, who in Curwen's view paid the ultimate price for their faith, were warned several times that the penalty for returning to Boston would be execution. In contrast, Barbados was a newer colony undergoing rapid political and demographic change, and the two spaces – though both hostile to Quakers – could not have felt the same to Curwen. Her fear may even have stemmed from the omnipresence of black populations on the island. While Curwen makes a point in her narrative to acknowledge the Africans' potential for salvation, this would not necessarily preclude her fear of a population characterized as beastly and violent in English discourse.

While in Barbados, Curwen wrote to one Martha Tavernor, a Quaker widow and plantation owner who had forbid the enslaved on her plantation to attend Quaker Meetings. When she went to the plantation to speak to Tavernor directly, Curwen was refused entry, a slight that likely contributed to Curwen's indignant tone and her insistence on the universality of the Quaker community.

> I Cannot pass by, but in Love write to thee, for in Love we came to visit thee, and to invite thee and thy Family to the Meeting; but thou for thy part art like him that was invited to work in the Vineyard, and went not: And as for thy Servants, whom thou callst thy *Slaves,* I tell thee plainly, thou hast no right to reign over their Conscience in Matters of Worship of the Living God; for thou thy self confessedst, that *they had Souls to save as well as we:* Therefore, for time to come let them have Liberty, lest thou be called to give an Account to God for them, as well as for thy self: So in thy old Age chuse rather, as a good Man did, that both thou and thy whole Family may serve the Lord; for I am perswaded, that if they whom thou call'st thy Slaves, be Upright-hearted to God, the Lord God Almighty will set them Free in a way that thou knowest not; for there is none set Free but in Christ Jesus, for all other Freedom will prove but a Bondage (Curwen 18, italics original).

This letter is deceptively complex. Her biting tone, frequent references to liberty and freedom, and forthright statement about the Africans' potential for salvation seem to

indicate a straightforward abolitionist sentiment. Moira Ferguson has argued as much, reading Curwen's rejection of the word "slave" in favor of "servant" as a symbolic denial of the legitimacy of slavery as an institution (Ferguson 60). Brycchan Carey also reads Curwen's letter as a call for emancipation, arguing that she evokes Quaker notions of "family," which included servants, to force Ferguson to see her "slaves" as people, and not commodities (Carey 67-68). Additionally, both Ferguson and Carey argue that Curwen's italicized statement, "*they had Souls to save as well as we,*" insists on the essential humanity of the enslaved.

Though these arguments are well taken, I suggest that Curwen's letter is less forthright than it initially seems. As Hinds has noted, the terms "freedom" and "liberty" in the context of a letter about slavery evoke the possibility of abolition, yet from the beginning of the letter, Curwen makes it clear that her priority is the spiritual freedom of the enslaved, rather than their freedom from bondage (Hinds 13). In fact, Curwen never suggests that Tavernor lacks the right to force her "servants" to labor, only that she has no right to reign over their conscience, that is, their religion. Thus, when she urges Tavernor to "let them have liberty," that liberty is so narrowly defined that it cannot be a call for emancipation. Real freedom, as Curwen says in the final lines of the letter, is only achieved through belief in Christ, while those who do not subscribe to the Quaker faith are subjected to a "form of [spiritual] bondage" outside the fold of the Quaker community. Rerouting the language of freedom and bondage into Quaker ideas of salvation, Curwen sidesteps the problem of slavery: that the enslaved "have souls to save as well as we," yet are still subjected to inhumane treatment at the hands of English

planters and Curwen's fellow Quakers. The letter therefore obscures the material violence suffered by the enslaved in the temporal world by reframing the issue as a spiritual one.

The equivocations Curwen uses are not unique to Quaker writing from this period. The Quakers were among the first detractors of slavery, but in the early years, overt arguments for emancipation were few and far between. More often, the call for the "freedom" of the enslaved was informed and/or qualified by the desire to incorporate the African population into the Quakers' numbers, betraying the movement's investment in growing its membership. George Fox's 1657 epistle, "To Friends Beyond the Sea, that Have Blacks and Indian Slaves," urged white Quakers to see to it that "the gospel is preached to every creature under heaven, which is the power that giveth liberty and freedom" (Fox, "To Friends Beyond the Sea"). By redefining "liberty" and "freedom" for the enslaved as that which comes with salvation, Fox both sidesteps the question of freedom from actual bondage and implicitly promises a kind of freedom if the enslaved submit to a Quaker education. His 1679 epistle, "To Friends in America, Concerning their Negroes and Indians," exhorts white Quakers to "preach the gospel to [slaves], and other servants, if you be true Christians… Christ commands it to his disciples, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'" The enslaved here are redefined as both a kind of servant and as the members of a foreign "nation," a redefinition that papers over structures of violence that not only forced enslaved Africans into labor, but subjected them to the Quaker religion. By referring to them as a nation, they erase the fact that Africans came from diverse nations, which were often erased through the violence of slavery. By defining them as servants, they also

erase the structures that force them into that service. He goes on in this epistle to frame the education of the enslaved as an "open[ing] of the promise of God to the ignorant," implicitly redeeming slavery as the vehicle for salvation for those who would otherwise remain unsaved. While the inclusion of the enslaved in Quaker Meetings, and therefore the willingness to see them as Friends, would form the foundation of later abolitionist movements, it also predicated Quaker critiques of slavery and its practices on a presumption that the enslaved would join their numbers.

Hinds usefully addresses this drive to educate and incorporate the enslaved into Meetings within a Marxist framework. Noting that by saving the souls of the enslaved, it produces a spiritual "surplus" value for the enslavers, that is, that they have successfully brought those in their care to God, she argues that "it is possible to discern a kind of Quaker spiritual capitalism running alongside, and dependent upon, the slave economy of Barbados, comprising both the accumulation of souls and the acquisition of spiritual 'surplus value' for the Quaker slave-owners, and intersecting in the significance of 'saving' in both the spiritual and economic senses" (14). What Hinds identifies as the "accumulation" of spiritual value might also be considered as a "thickening" of the Quakers' presence in the Caribbean, contributing to the expansion of the movement's influence. While the enslaved were presumably not expected to become itinerant preachers themselves, their convincement contributed to the Quakers' numbers and influence in the Caribbean. This investment in the spatial expansion of the Quakers in the Caribbean therefore butts up against the egalitarian impetus of the Quaker worldview, leading Curwen to sidestep questions of the Africans' freedom in order to maintain her

already precarious position of power. Put another way, Curwen had a vision of a thriving Quaker community on the island. Granting the enslaved their freedom – and therefore power over themselves – threatened that vision.

While Curwen's comments on slavery demonstrate her ambivalence about granting the African slaves their freedom, the sharp tone of her letter to Tavernor stands in stark contrast to her encounters with the indigenous. The indigenous populations of New England occupy a remarkably small portion of Curwen's narrative. She mentions them only twice, in fact, and in both cases the people themselves are conspicuously absent. Instead, Curwen reads landscapes they have allegedly destroyed as evidence of their violence. As the Curwens made their way from the Rhode Island port to Boston, they encountered "the Woods and Places where the devouring *Indians* had made great Desolation in many places" (Curwen 6). "Desolation" characterizes the indigenous in two conflicting ways. The term simultaneously refers to the devastation of a landscape - "laying waste to a land, destroying its crops and buildings" – and to the depopulation of an area, as it was derived from the French *desolé*, "to be left alone" (desolation, adj. 1).[3] Thus, the term conjures the land's violent and wasteful inhabitants, while simultaneously emphasizing a lack of inhabitants. This echoes a familiar script of early colonialism, one that framed the American landscape as "open," available for settlement by the English.

With the term "devour," Curwen rhetorically divests the indigenous of their humanity. The term imposes animalistic qualities on the people: literally meaning "to swallow up," the term connotes the indiscriminate consumption of an animal predator and echoes popular representations of American Indians as animalistic and cannibalistic.

By reducing them to the status of animal, she marks them as beyond the pale of her community, beyond the pale of possibility of community. Unlike her disparaging portrayals of New England Anglicans, whom she also considers violent but whom she maintains are capable of being saved, the indigenous here have no human presence, no apparent soul, and therefore, no potential for salvation.

Curwen mentions the indigenous populations once more. Curwen recalls that as they traveled to Dover, "We came to a Friend's house beyond the River, where there were about two hundred people, some Friends, some others, who were come thither for Safety, and had fortified the House very strongly for fear of these Bloody *Indians*, which had killed two of our Friends within three miles of that place" (8). It is difficult to know precisely what Curwen means by "fortification." The term can simply mean "to strengthen," and may refer to the settlement steeling themselves against expected attacks. The term also refers to bearing arms. In a related sense, fortification was an architectural term in colonial New England, referring to a style of house designed after English forts of the period. The "Fortified House" was built of thick, rough-cut timber, and featured "embrasures," small, angled holes from which to shoot firearms. Fortified Houses were becoming the preferred architectural style in Dover, New Hampshire around the time of King Philip's War (1675-1678), as raids by the Abenaki and Narragansett tribes on the colonial settlement increased dramatically in response to English aggression. Therefore, it is not much of a stretch to assume that the settlers' fortification of the house involved preparing the structure for battle. Curwen's antipathy toward the Indians comes into sharper focus here: in this case, the Indian attacks have led the Quakers to consider

defending themselves, potentially with violence. Despite enduring anti-Quaker hostility in the colonies, this is the first instance where Curwen witnesses Quakers returning the hostility. This sits at odds with the willingness to embrace suffering as martyrs. As I discussed above, the calm submission to violence perpetrated against them, including execution in some cases, was a hallmark of early Quaker life. To bear arms, even in self-defense, would sit uncomfortably with a devout Quaker. And while Curwen herself is not necessarily participating in the fortification, her silence makes her complicit.

Additionally, we can read the act of building structures as a kind of violence, one committed by building houses meant to exclude the land's original inhabitants. Because the Quakers were often banished from English settlements, their own building took place on the outskirts. This heightened their precarity – unable to rely on the defenses of Anglican settlers, the Quakers had to decide whether or not to defend themselves – but it also expanded the English presence in the New World, by colonizing wilderness they considered to be open.

As in Barbados, Curwen shared in a Quaker vision for the space of the New England wilderness, a vision that was admittedly peaceful. But what this vision fails to account for is the fact that taking up space can be an indirectly violent act. At best, the Quakers were encroaching on the living space of the indigenous populations abroad, and at worst, they were participating in the violently expansionist program of the budding English Empire. While one might argue that Curwen simply does not recognize her occupation of space as a violence, the rhetorical strategies that she uses to disavow their humanity suggests otherwise. Curwen quietly sides with England's colonial project by

reversing the directionality of the violence – in her narrative, it is the Indians who encroach on Christian territories – and by rhetorically divesting them of humanity and the potential for salvation. Turning away from the universalist vision of a world united by Friendship, Curwen implicitly insists on the innate difference of the indigenous people.

What makes Curwen's testimonial such a rich site of exploration for gender and travel is that it is complex in its negotiations of different forms and sites of power. Throughout her testimonial, we see her claim the space of the globe as a Quaker and we see her use the spectacle of her punishment to win sympathy from non-Quakers. Finally, we see her carefully constructed worldview come into crisis when her universalist vision of the Quaker movement butts up against the violence she witnesses against non-Europeans. Her recourse to race allows her to circumvent this uncomfortable contradiction, and to maintain her position at the center of an expansionist narrative.

Afterword: Attending to Poor and Middle-Class Women: Their Travel and their Traces in the Archive

Throughout this dissertation, I have noted moments where a woman's rank and wealth shaped both her views on travel and her experiences in foreign countries. To conclude my study, I want to discuss the matter of class more directly. As I briefly mentioned in my introduction, our archive of woman-authored materials from this period is small. Though feminist recovery work that began in early modern studies in the 1980s and 1990s has brought – and continues to bring – new works to light, there are simply not that many extant literary and autobiographical texts written by women at our disposal. Moreover, the writings we do have were written mainly by aristocratic women, with some notable exceptions, as they were more likely to be literate and to have access to publication than women of the lower classes.

Virginia Woolf's well-known essay, "A Room of One's Own," considers the patriarchal structures that historically limited the ability of women to write and publish, at least to publish literary works. Though Woolf's essay is somewhat outdated, especially in its claim that "no woman could have written poetry" in the "dark, cramped rooms" of Elizabethan England, her main claim – that for a woman to write and publish substantial works of literature, she required a level of education sufficient to read and understand literature, a private space in which to think and write, and enough money to sustain her while she worked – holds true.[101] Barred from schoolhouses, a woman's level of literacy

[101] Woolf's essay obscures the extent to which did write in this period. Though some early writers, like Isabella Whitney, were not known to the scholarly community in 1929, when Woolf published her essay, Woolf also discounts some early examples, such as Margaret Cavendish, considering them not serious enough to count as a true writer (49). For critiques of Woolf

in the seventeenth century depended on several factors, including her family's views on educating women, her ability to hire a private tutor, her mother's level of education, and her access to reading and writing materials. Most middle-class women and noblewomen learned reading, writing, and needlework, as well as practical skills for managing a household, such as bookkeeping and asset management. Many elite women received elements of a humanist education – rhetoric, logic, mathematics, astronomy, or Latin – though this varied from case to case.[102] Women courtiers required an additional set of skills for entertaining visiting dignitaries, and so often were educated in poetry, history, grammar, French, Latin, dancing, music, and etiquette (Michalove 58). Thus, elite women were more often brought up with the knowledge of literary forms and with greater access to literature in English and other languages and were therefore in a position to compose works themselves. Women of the middle classes, though educated to a point, were typically not educated to the level that young men of their station were, and in most cases, poor women's literacy was basic at best.[103]

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specifically pertaining to early modern women writers, see Smith, 1-12; Wynne-Davies; Rackin 45-47.

[102] The subject of women's education was heavily debated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Juan Luis Vives prescribed a curriculum for Mary Tudor steeped in moral and theological literature. Vives warned against the dangers of letting young women become swept away by more sensational literary forms, such as romances. On the other side of the debate, humanist scholars suggested that learning brought virtuous women closer in their relationship to God. See Michalove, Sharon D. "Equal in Opportunity? The Education of Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550." *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History*: 1500-1800. Routledge, 2012, 48-81.

[103] For discussions of literacy among England's poor and middle classes, see Eleanor Hubbard, "Reader, Writing, and Initialing: Female Literacy in Early Modern London," *Journal of British Studies* 54.3 (2015): 553-577.; David Cressy, "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730," *Literacy and Social Development in the West: A Reader*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, 105-124.; Robert Allen Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education*, 1500-1800. Longman Publishing, 1988.; and Robert C. Allen, "Progress and Poverty in Early Modern Europe," *The Economic History Review* 56.3 (2003), especially pages 414-416.

Women who did write literary works, such as sonnet sequences, plays, or works of prose fiction, required a certain level of financial support that was not available to many women who had to work for a living. To then publish a work was another matter. Those with money or influence were published more easily, as they could front some or all of the printing costs themselves or could use their family's influence to gain the printer's support. This was simply not available to many women.

Thus, of the four writers I discuss in this dissertation, three were wealthy and were either born to or married into families with considerable social and political influence. In foregrounding their written works, I have tried to make space for women's voices on a subject that has traditionally been heard through the voices of men, but while the women I have discussed present a diverse set of viewpoints on travel, their wealth and influence inevitably shaped their relationship to the space of the larger world.

The play that begins this dissertation provides a useful example of how rank and wealth shaped women's views on and experiences of travel. *The Tragedy of Mariam* counterposes Mariam's stillness and Salome's desire to flee Judea as reflections of the women's virtuousness, but the play also makes it clear that choosing between staying and going is the prerogative of elite women. When Salome makes the decision to break the Judaic code and pursue of a divorce, she haughtily remarks, "I'll show my sex the way to freedom's door: the law was made for none but who are poor" (1.4.311-312). Acknowledging but simultaneously shrugging off the additional restrictions poor women experience on their autonomy, Salome's initial gesture of solidarity with the rest of her sex is subsequently limited to women of means and status. Though this might be interpreted as part of her generally malicious characterization, Salome's classism is not

unique to *Mariam*. In fact, Mariam also invokes her class status in relation to other women in particularly vicious terms. For example, when Mariam insults Salome's "base birth" and agrees with Alexandra that Salome is "the foot" of the court, she reminds Salome of her inferior rank in the Judean court (1.3.223-234; 1.3.259-260). Both women, therefore, invoke their rank and wealth to legitimate their presence in courtly space and, in the case of Salome, her right to seek a divorce and emigrate abroad. Therefore, issues of women's mobility that I suggest are at the heart of Cary's play, cannot even be imagined for women of lower rank and wealth.

Cary's own experiences of travel were shaped by her wealth and status. As I briefly discuss in Chapter One, her desire to partake in the educational travel that her uncle, Henry Lee, had enjoyed in his youth was curtailed not only by her gender, but by her family's particular financial situation: she was expected to enter a financially advantageous match at a young age to raise her family's profile, and so educational travel was out of the question. When she did finally travel to Ireland in 1622, her travels were shaped by her conflicting interests and loyalties, many of which stemmed from her class position. As a secret Catholic, she was sympathetic to the predominantly Catholic Irish population, yet she was acutely aware of her role as a Protestant colonial administrator, and so was careful not to appear too sympathetic. In 1624, she founded a small apprenticeship program for poor Irish girls, where they learned needlework and produced pieces to be sold in London, the proceeds of which went to the girls' families. Though this program was certainly motivated, in part, by her sympathy for the Irish, it also served as a gendered version of her husbands' work in Ireland: a kind and motherly sort of

colonial administration, but colonial administration nonetheless.[104] Additionally, Cary's choice to return to England in 1625 without Henry Cary – effectively putting space between herself and her controlling husband – was only available to her because she had the wealth to arrange a solo return.

The other consequence of centering elite women is that it privileges the perspective of a group that traveled far less than women of other classes. As I discussed in my introduction, poor and middle-class women, particularly those who were driven to relocate by financial necessity, traveled far more than their wealthy counterparts.[105] In addition to the women I've discussed earlier in this dissertation, Patricia Fumerton's work on the rise of vagrancy in the first half of the seventeenth century shows that an astonishing number of men, women, and children lived unsettled lives of itinerancy within England. Labeled criminal vagrants, the mobile poor renamed themselves with aliases frequently, held a variety of jobs, and acclimated themselves to new places on a regular basis.

It would be another dissertation to do justice to all of these women, and my conclusion only aims to highlight some of the ways that unmoneyed perspectives shaped individual women's thinking about travel and the larger world. To highlight these women

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[104] See Montaño, John Patrick. *The roots of English colonialism in Ireland*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. 146-148.

[105] I acknowledge that I am lumping together several socioeconomic groups (poor women and middling women, who were not a cohesive class at this point) who would not have understood themselves as part of the same class. My aim in bringing their stories together is not to claim that there was one condition among them, but rather to point to the ways that anxieties about class and money inflected their experiences of and writings about travel, commerce, and colonialism. Though middling women were in far better positions than poorer women, they were not necessarily secure in their wealth and their perceived precarity, I suggest, shaped how they understood their position within the wider world.

requires a flexible set of criteria for recovery. Most of the individual women I name or discuss below leave little more than traces in the record, often appearing only as their relationship to a man (such as, "the maid of Mr. Roberts") or just mentioned as women among a predominantly male group. Bringing them together with shorter works written by women, I suggest ways in which class shaped their experiences of travel. I highlight fragments of women's writing, writings that quote or describe women who traveled, and finally, in lieu of much more information, some of the names that appear – women who have made their mark on the historical record. In doing so, I acknowledge the wealth of scholarship performed on these women and their stories, even as their primary focus may not be on the woman in question's travel.

I stress that elite women wrote the majority of fiction in the period because, of course, the long-form published fiction that Woolf refers to (and that makes up our canon) constitutes only a small portion of writing that took place in this period. Literacy was a spectrum, and those who could write produced a variety of published and unpublished works, including recipes, letters, diaries, petitions, essays, broadsides, and advice literature for other women. We have to imagine, given the inherent ephemerality of these kinds of writing, that there was a much larger body of work than now exists, but of what still remains, these are small but important relics of the thoughts, musings, and knowledges that passed from and through women. There too, we can find glimpses of a growing global consciousness, an interest in (and sometimes fear of) the world beyond England's shores, and desire for both the economic and social mobility that geographical movement could offer. Additionally, we find traces of historical traveling women in male-authored records that give us clues as to women's experiences.

As I briefly discussed in my introduction and first chapter, over eighteen hundred English Catholic women relocated to Continental Europe to become nuns in the seventeenth century. Convents offered a tradition of fostering cloistered women's learning and writing, and convents produced an impressive amount of writing in manuscript. A great deal of this work consisted of translations and original theological writing, but nuns also took on the task of writing their convents' histories and memorializing themselves and their sisters, writing spiritual biographies and autobiographies that provide descriptions of the women's journeys to the Continent. Though a good deal of scholarship has attended to the perspective of religious exile in the life writing of English nuns, less attention has been paid to how these writings imagine the women's mobility.

For example, Mary Browne (religious name Bonaventure) was the Irish-born daughter of an English merchant family who entered the Poor Clare convent in Lough Ree, Ireland in 1631. She remained there for twenty years, until Cromwell's forces advanced on the Irish midlands and the Poor Clares were forced to retreat to Galway. They relocated again in that same year, when convents were disbanded under Cromwell's order for all nuns, "of whatsoever condition, to marry or quit the kingdom," this time retreating to Catholic Spain (quoted in Holloway and Wray 1388).[106] In Spain,

[106] Most who were able chose to leave Ireland for Continental Europe. As Anne Holloway and Ramona Wray have observed, Spain was a common choice for nuns in exile (Holloway and Wray 1389).

Bonaventure composed an extensive chronicle, *The History of the Irish Poor Clares*.[107] In it, Bonaventure recalls the Poor Clares' retreat from Ireland.

> The poor nuns seeing themselves wandering abroad deprived of ye earthly paradise of their Religion and retirement (wherein they lived with incredible joy and contentment), were mightily greeved and afflicted… [But] they considered how dangerous it was for them to live out of cloister among seculars, in a country whose hereticks had all Magestracy and Government, which for religious persons and especially Nuns, is as for fish to be out of ye water. Wherefore as many as could get meanes for it, left their parents, friends, and native soyle, and undertook toyle and peril of travil by sea and land, to shun the aforesaid, and with many other spiritual inconveniencyes, and to seeke a shelter in strange Countryes, wherein they might enjoy ye sweet embracements of their celestial spouse after which they were languishing (quoted in O'Brien 27).

Bonaventure's explanation of the Poor Clares' decision to leave Ireland carefully repositions them as "already wandering," spiritually and physically unmoored by Cromwell's order to disband religious houses. Thus, their decision to leave "parents, friends, and native soyle" for a "strange countrye" is reframed as one of homecoming, rather than wandering. It may seem odd that the exiled nuns would feel the need to justify their exodus by reformulating their relationship to space, as nuns did not face the same potential suspicions of promiscuity as secular women would. Yet, the nuns' identities were constructed around the cloistering of the female body – away from men and away from society – an identity that Cromwell's order forced them to undo. Thus, with their social world undone, Bonaventure describes the women as returning to their rightful husband, rather than wandering in search of a home. Though the Poor Clares were so called because they all took vows of abject poverty, Bonaventure's history also points to the socioeconomic disparities between the nuns, as only those "who could get meanes for

[107] A modern edition of the seventeenth-century English translation, edited by Celsus O'Brien, is available.

it," likely meaning those who had wealthy family members they could call upon, had the option of relocating to Spain. The others, it would seem, were forced to enter marriage, though how or whether this was enforced is unclear.[108]

Other examples include the stories included in *Short Colections of the Beginings of Our English Monastery of Teresians in Antwerp with Some Few Perticulars of our Dear Deceased Religious,* a chronicle compiled in the Carmelite Convent of Antwerp. The chronicle was commissioned by the prioress in 1730, but most of its sections were written in the century prior, and it first recounts the foundation of the convent in 1619 by Lady Mary Lovell and Anne Worsley, the latter of which was spurred to a religious life by her lack of financial resources ("my parents could not maintain me as I desired; and… wee were in a strange country & had no friends nor kindred") (quoted in Hallett 44). The chronicle then catalogues the autobiographical accounts of ninety-five English nuns and lay sisters who relocated to Antwerp, either with their families or on their own. One example of the latter is Mary Cotton, who moved to Antwerp circa 1655, during which time she was entertained by the Cavendishes and their social circle. Cotton's social status through her mother's side made her the kind of "persons of quality" that Cavendish noted were arriving in greater numbers in Antwerp, though her immediate family was of the lower landed gentry and her pastimes with the extravagant Cavendish seemed to her a

[108] The *History* goes on to describe the religious sites the nuns who were able to travel visited, and also includes a comprehensive list of the nuns who died in exile and where they were buried. The accuracy of this information appears to have been extremely important to Bonaventure. She writes, "Before I undertook to write what this book contains about the deceased Irish nuns, I wrote the convents in which they died and to other trustworthy people, requesting authentic letters about them. I still have these letters in my custody" (15). This suggests that the dispersal of the nuns abroad – and the fact that their final resting place was outside of their native country, was an unsettling fact for her.

“special fortune” (509).[109] Cotton eventually turned away from the “worldly allurements” and “contentments which were to be found in worldly friendships” to take her vows at the end of her novitiate (a year later), but she appears to have experienced a great conflict between the religious and secular worlds following her time with the Cavendishes. Jean Pierre Vander-Motten and Katrien Daemen-de Gelder’s discussion of Cotton and Cavendish’s apparent interactions makes a compelling case for how European luxuries and pastimes likely made up the “worldly allurements” that Cotton experienced, meaning that the “worldly” referred not just to the secular, but to the larger world (136-138).

Catherine Burton (religious name Xaveria) was another English Catholic to join the Antwerp Carmelite convent, though her three-hundred-page autobiography is not included in the *Short Colections*. Burton was born to “virtuous and pious” parents of the landed gentry, but with a large family, they struggled financially to support all of their children (Burton 22). In her adolescence, she suffered chronic illness, and when she miraculously recovered at the age of nineteen, she felt compelled toward a religious profession to express her “gratitude” to God. Though her Catholic parents supported her decision, she faced significant opposition to her intentions to immediately “pass the seas and become religious.” By her account,“many virtuous men” tried to dissuade her father from letting her go, citing her previously poor health and the hardships of traveling in winter, and so her journey was delayed again and again (Burton 51). As I have discussed in previous chapters, the presence of opposition or naysayers was a conventional part of spiritual autobiographies, serving as obstacles that the pious subject must overcome

[109] In *The Sociable Letters* (1664), Cavendish recalls that few English people lived in Antwerp in the early years that she lived there, but that increasingly English “persons of quality” called the Dutch city their home.

through faith and persistence. And while no one opposed her intentions to become a nun, just her haste in doing so, the structure that this account takes nonetheless frames the social resistance to her travel as something to be overcome. But while maritime travel functions symbolically within for Xaveria's story of spiritual overcoming, her account also provides insight into concerns for less wealthy, less protected traveling women. These included the cost of securing passage (which her father struggled to obtain when his tenants were reportedly late on the rent), the requirement of a legal passport, signed by the Secretary of State, the physical hardships that Xaveria faced due to her illness and without servants to attend her, and finally, the fears around her traveling alone. Though her younger sister intended to travel with her, she became ill suddenly and had to delay her journey, and Xaveria finally convinced her father to let her travel alone. Xaveria compensates for the fact that she is alone by reporting that she saw St. Xavier, her namesake and patron saint of navigators and missionaries, standing beside her on the ship (97).

These writings are not exceptional, but rather exemplify a tradition of English Catholic women (of various classes) who wrote accounts of their spiritual and literal journeys. Because the convent writing tradition was primarily a tradition of manuscript, this work is often difficult to access and rare in the sense of its availability. Nonetheless, it forms another archive of work on the subject of travel with exciting opportunities for future research.

Histories of England's trading companies have tended to foreground the men who served as merchants, mariners, and commercial ambassadors aboard their voyages. Yet, the activities of trading companies, both at home and abroad, involved and implicated English women from every level of society. Pamela Sharpe's work on women and long-distance international trade demonstrates that working-class women provided crucial support labor for the East India Company, manufacturing spikes, ropes, glass, and ironwork for the ships and shipyards, as well as provisions for the journey. Widows of EIC operatives were often given priority for these contracts as a means of supporting them financially. The EIC also directly employed women as clothworkers for processing their primary export, wool, and for preparing imported cloth for sale (61). In a less official capacity, women acted as dealers of imported goods. As part of their compensation, mariners were allotted a small amount of cargo space to transport goods for their personal profit, an allotment referred to as "the privilege." Upon their return, their wives often took responsibility for selling the goods, either in market stalls or through private deals.

Sharpe does not develop this point further, but it is worth sitting with. It is not surprising that women acted as goods dealers, given that wives traditionally managed the household's assets and that these deals likely contributed substantially to their household income: wives of mariners were given only one-sixth of their husbands' wages while they were gone, so their household income typically came in windfalls when their husbands returned, often after a period of three to five years. As dealers, women needed to know the market value of the goods they proffered. They likely learned and developed strategies for effectively marketing the goods, including emphasizing the exoticness of

aesthetic items and referring to the items' rareness or popularity in England, strategies that required up-to-date knowledge of the current market for imports. Their customers likely ranged in wealth and status depending on the value of the goods their husbands had procured, but it seems likely that by selling these goods in local markets and to their neighbors, the wives of mariners contributed to many foreign commodities, particularly those that Anne McCants has deemed "colonial groceries" (sugar, coffee, tea, and spice), slowly becoming ubiquitous among all classes over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[110] What Sharpe's study points to, though she does not make this argument explicitly, is that lower-class women were the conduit through which an entire portion of the circulation of global commodities made their way through England, particularly through the lower classes.

Although little writing survives from or about the women who worked for the East India Company, Sharpe does identify a handful of individual petitions against the Company, mainly from widows seeking the goods their husbands had stored onboard before their death at sea (see pp. 61-62). What this indicates, however, is how the activities of trading companies abroad impacted and shaped the lives of women remaining in England, and in fact, Sharpe's study addresses the legal power women gained in the prolonged absences of their husbands. Nabil Matar's study of English writing about the North African Barbary States also takes up how legal power had to be redistributed when more and more men took to seafaring, sometimes never returning. It was not uncommon for Barbary pirates to intercept and capture English merchant ships

[110] For an elaboration of the ubiquity of colonial groceries in English households of all classes, see McCants, especially pp. 443-453.

for their cargo: mariners who were left alive were typically enslaved and/or ransomed back to their families. As this problem grew, the wives of captured mariners sought aid from the Crown and Parliament, either to provide funds for ransom or to grant the women the legal right to seek donations on their husbands' behalf. In 1623 and 1624, the "wives, kindred, and friends" of captives petitioned King James' privy council to allow the deputy governor of the Levant Company to pay their husbands' ransoms, with the understanding that he would be reimbursed after their return. In 1626, a petition presented to Charles I and to Parliament, asked for the legal right to collect donations, emphasizing the torments that the enslaved Christian men were suffering as they waited for rescue. A 1635 petition written by Clara Bowyer, Margarett Hall, Elizabeth Ensam, and Elizabeth Newland, along with "a thousand poore women," made a similar plea, this time reminding the Crown that their husbands had been taken away from their "lawful calling": this strategically framed the capture of English mariners as an interruption to both the country's commerce and the livelihoods of English families. Further petitions in 1638, 1642, 1643, 1648, and 1652 asked both the Crown and Parliament to establish funds for captives' ransoms, arguing that it was the government's responsibility to redeem the English mariners (Matar 80-90).

As Matar argues, these were the earliest collective petitioning actions by English women, but a number of women-led petitions concerned with England's trading companies emerged in the 1640s. For example, a 1642 petition by "many distressed women, trades-mens wives, and widows" asked the Crown to more aggressively protect England's trading interests. Bemoaning the "decay" of trade due to "the want of due execution of Justice upon incendiaries and delinquents upon this state," the women

demand the swift prosecution of such “evill doers” (*To the Right Honourable* np). Though their language is somewhat vague, and the petition may, at first, appear to refer to domestic trade, the writers encode references throughout to the threat of foreign agents that have been interfering their English trade, particularly the threat of rival trading companies from Catholic countries. As a result, the petitioners demanded that any Catholics who held government office should be “extinguished,” that the government should commit to making England a Protestant nation, and they should make a “present posture of Warre” (*To the Right Honourable* np). Given heightened Anglo-Spanish and Anglo-Dutch antagonism in the 1640s, it seems likely that the wives’ references to “incendiaries and delinquents” were meant to evoke the threat of England’s trading rivals.

As the Civil War raged through England in 1643, women again took legal action to protest the interruption of trade it caused. *The Humble Petition of Many Thousands of Wives and Matrons of the City of London* demanded that both sides end the war, citing that because of the mass conscription of men to battles in other parts of the country, commerce could not function and women could not earn their livelihoods.

> We the Wives of all sorts, ages and conditions, from the Merchants Wife of fifteen in silke Mochado, to the Apple-wife of fourscore [years] in Canvas; as Ale wives, Oyster-wives, Fish-wives, Tripe-wives, in all humility shewing the greatness of our dolors and sufferings, occasioned by the lamentable and lasting continuance of these intestine civill wars, where there hath been more proper men slain… than would have done a hundred of us good turns, and such turns as would have served out needs indeed… , we walk desolate like Widdowes, with our bellies as flat as Flounders, and empty as crackt-nuts that have lost their kernels… (4-5).

The petition’s writers claim an unprecedented solidarity between women of the middle and lower classes, from merchants’ wives, who in this period often rivaled the lower

aristocracy in wealth, to the working women who populated daily markets, like fishwives, who were often the butt of sexual jokes in popular literature and ballads.[111] The writers base their solidarity, then, on two shared burdens: that of reproducing society through childbearing (halted by the absence of the women's husbands), and that of maintaining local economies by contributing to commerce (halted by the absence of male customers). The phrase "[men] that would have done a hundred of us good turns," evokes both of these burdens through the sexual connotations of the phrase "good turn:" in their subjunctive vision of a world without the Civil War, the men would have supplied the women with both profit and pregnancies ("turn" *N.* 23).

The sexual jokes and general forthrightness of this petition are striking, especially given the fact that a women's petition made just two years earlier dedicated an entire section to justifying their decision to speak out publicly, and the tone may be due, in part, to the incorporation of working-class women. Though lower-class women were not exempt from the social pressures of chastity and virtue placed on other members of their sex, their value to Parliament did not primarily stem from their adherence to ideals of femininity, but rather from their roles in local English economies and, by extension, their capacity to financially support themselves and relieve pressure from state-sponsored poor management. Thus, the writers use bald and ribald language to remind the government of their contributions to the economy, evidencing a strategic exploitation of their social and economic position within England.

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[111] For an overview of the sexual associations with fishwives, see Buis, et al. Importantly, the women's solidarity does not extend to all women. The petition makes a slight toward sex workers further on.

What also should be noted from this petition is how the Civil War's impact on international trade had a ripple effect on these women's businesses. They write, "the want of trading lamentably afflicts us Oyster-wives, Apple-wives, Tripe-wives, nay, the very ale-wives, that had wont so commonly, and to every Chapman and Passenger to sell of their ware, having now no vent for their commodities" (7). "Chapmen" was a term that variously referred to traveling salesmen and merchants, while "passengers" likely references the general flow of people that traveled by ship in and out of London. International trade was not completely halted during the Civil War, but it was stunted as men were diverted away from their usual commercial activities. Thus, the war stunted the flow of people who would typically patronize these women's businesses. Though the writers of this petition were not travelers themselves, their personal and financial futures were bound up in England's commercial ventures.[112]

Few women traveled aboard East India Company voyages, particularly in the first half of the century, though the realities of being a mariner's wife led many couples to try. In 1614, three mariners requested that they be allowed to bring their wives on their next voyage to India, a request that was swiftly denied by the company's London magistrates,

[112] Other petitions that implicate trade (domestic and international) include *To the Right Honourable the House of Peers… The Humble Petition of Many Thousands of Courtiers, Citizens, Gentlemen, and Trades-mens Wives* (1643), which asked that every effort be made to persuade Queen Henrietta Maria from returning to France. The petition claimed that as thousands of local tradesmen and merchants made the bulk of their yearly profits from the activities surrounding the Queen's visits, her exile would mean "an utter cessation and decay" of their trades and their eventual financial ruin. They demanded (unsuccessfully) that anti-monarchical members of Parliament be forced to stop their criticism of the monarchy. In 1667, a group of "sea-men's wives, and widows" petitioned Parliament for back payments, allegedly due for services rendered to the king in 1658, the delay of which had put many of the petitioners' families into poverty and ruined their credit with tradesmen that supplied their daily wants. Though given the context of the Interregnum, the "sea-men" were presumably acting in a naval, rather than commercial capacity, the fact was that commercial mariners often took on the mantle of soldier in times of need.

who argued that the presence of women among so many sailors might lead to disorder (presumably to the possibility of rape) (discussed in Barbour 24). Later that same year, Ann Broomfield Keeling, the pregnant wife of a ship's captain, petitioned the EIC to join her husband on his five-year assignment in India. The petitions argued that Mrs. Keeling's presence on board would allow him to keep his mind on his business, rather than being drawn back to England, framing her as the anchor to which her roaming husband was tethered. As the Keelings were of a higher rank, their case was given more consideration, but the Company was even more uneasy with a higher-ranking woman undertaking a voyage. Their petition, and two more after it, were denied: the company directors found Mrs. Keeling unfit for the kind of "travail" her husband was undertaking.[113] Nonetheless, William Keeling continued to petition the Company to have his wife sent to him during his five-year term. These petitions were never granted, but she was found stowed away on a ship bound for India in 1615, after which she was removed and sent home.

Despite the Company's prohibitions against women traveling, a major exception occurred the following year. The multi-year ambassadorial voyage of Sir Thomas Roe to Agra in 1615 enlisted the help of Mariam Khan, then the Armenian-Mughal wife of an EIC operative, Gabriel Towerson. Khan, whose marriage to Towerson had solemnized a trade agreement between the Company and the Mughal Emperor, had lived in London for just under a year when she was asked to return with her husband to India to lend her knowledge Mughal customs and her contacts within the Mughal harem to smoothen

[113] As Richmond Barbour notes, there is a play on words here, as the pregnant Mrs. Keeling was framed for obstetric, rather than maritime, travail. For a more thorough discussion of the rhetoric of the Keelings' petitions, see Barbour, 26-36.

trading negotiations.[114] She brought with her two English companions, Frances Webb, a maid, and a Mrs. Hudson. As Amrita Sen's research into these two middle-class women has shown, both engaged in activities similar to those of the mariners aboard the voyage: they built personally advantageous relationships with powerful people at the Mughal court, and they engaged in the private collection of luxury commodities, even successfully arguing with Company officials for the same "privilege" that the mariners were allotted. While in India, Webb married an EIC operative, Richard Steele. Through her friendship with women in the Mughal harem, she was able to secure him a small allowance from the emperor (Sen 200-204).

Though Khan's usefulness to Roe's mission obviously motivated the EIC to make an exception to their general rule against women traveling, both Sen and Karen Robertson suggest that Roe's apparent annoyance with the women (an annoyance that had both misogynist and racist undertones) likely impacted the Company's continued policy against allowing women aboard. Roe strongly disapproved of the "liberties" taken by Towerson and Steele in bringing women aboard and of the women's private trading.[115]

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[114] Khan's full biography is not pertinent to my discussion, but as she is another traveling woman who went to and from England, it is worth briefly sketching here. Mariam Khan was born in the Mughal harem, the daughter of the Armenian ambassador to the Mughal court, Mubarak Khan. In 1610, Emperor Akbar's son, Jahangir, arranged a marriage between Khan and EIC operative William Hawkins after Hawkins became afraid of Portuguese-Mughal conspiracies against him, presumably reasoning that having a wife who was a Mughal subject would protect him from such plots (or would sufficiently distract him to quiet his constant complaints) (Purchas 211). The couple traveled to England in 1613, but Hawkins died of illness on the voyage. Once on London, Khan sued the EIC for wages owed to Hawkins and was granted a small payment of £250. She married Gabriel Towerson in 1614. After traveling to Agra with Roe, they remained at the Mughal court for three years, after which Towerson abandoned Khan in 1618. Little is known about Khan's life after this point, but it seems likely that she was reabsorbed into the Mughal harem.

[115] It is not clear that Steele actually did bring a woman aboard, as Webb was, by Roe's own description, Mariam Khan's maid, and the couple married on the voyage. However, Roe

A few times, he contrived to send the women back to England, but seems to have been dissuaded by the couples' considerable influence on the mission: Steele spoke Persian and acted as an interpreter, and was therefore crucial to parts of Roe's work, and while Roe insisted in one report to the EIC's London magistrates that the Towersons were not accepted amongst the Mughal Court ("her friends are poore and meane and weary of them"), the fact was that Khan was a crucial link to the Mughal harem for the Company (Roe 477).

Roe mentions the three women several times, but they take up a relatively tiny portion of his journal, company reports, and letters, all of which were edited into a seven-hundred-page volume in the late-nineteenth century as *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619,* but which earlier existed as separate documents. Furthermore, Roe's discussion of the women tends to center their husbands' decisions, actions, and presence, even as he complains about the women's behavior in particular, and Mariam Khan is referred to only by her husband's last name. Herein lies the difficulty of tracking the experiences of historical traveling women: often barely referenced and buried in the stories of the men they traveled with, they appear only as traces in the archive. A similar case can be seen in the stories of Teresa Sampsonia Sherley, the Circassian-Persian wife of ambassador Robert Sherley. Between 1608 and 1613, the Sherleys traveled throughout Europe on behalf of the Safavid emperor, Shah Abbas, in attempts to convince James I and other European princes to unite against the growing threat of the Ottoman Empire (which was also a threat to its eastern neighbor,

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insinuates that Webb was already pregnant with Steele's child when she boarded and blames him for bringing her (500).

Persia). Merchant Nicholas Withington wrote in a letter to the Company that a “Banian” (Albanian) from Tutta (a city in present-day Pakistan) reported seeing the Sherleys with “three or four English women, with seven or eight English men” (Sen 204). Who these English men and women were is unknown, as is their ranks or class status: they might have been aristocratic friends or the Sherley’s servants.

Both Khan and Sampsonia Sherley, though born outside of England and subjects of non-European courts, lived portions of their lives in England, adopted aspects of English customs and dress (provisionally – both women returned to their native countries), developed social networks with the English aristocracy and acted on behalf of England’s interests by providing ambassadorial support for their husbands. They were not English, but for a time they meshed their interests with England’s, and so it is worth noting them among these English women travelers, also as models for the English women’s understanding of what it might mean to travel as a woman. This was likely more the case for Lady Sherley, who spent far more time in England than Khan and seems to have been accepted more widely into English society.[116]

It was not until mid-century that the East India Company relaxed their restrictions on women’s travel. In 1650, Captain Blackman and mariner Aaron Baker petitioned the directors to be allowed to bring their wives, “with their woman attendants” on a voyage to Surat, a request that after lengthy debate was granted. The practice remained infrequent but became more socially acceptable, especially after the settlement of

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[116] Both Khan and Sherley have been the subject of extensive criticism. In addition to Sen’s and Robertson’s respective essays, see Malieckal; Fisher, especially 22-29; Andrea, “English Women’s Writing,” 290-292, “Lady Sherley,” and “The Global Travels”; Nocentelli; Eskandari-Qajar; and Jonathan Burton.

Bombay in 1661, when the Company began to encourage marriageable women to relocate to Bombay to help grow the colony.[117]

While the East India Company, whose primary objective was profits, showed great hesitation around the idea of allowing women aboard company voyages, the Virginia Company, whose objectives included settlement and cultivation, had to grapple with this issue much earlier. Though it might seem from the lengthy debates that occurred around the sending of ninety women to the Jamestown Colony in 1620 that women were absent from the Americas prior to that year, English women had been in the region at least three decades prior. Of the one-hundred and fifteen settlers of the ill-fated colony of Roanoke, seventeen were reportedly women and some of the nine children were surely girls. It seems likely that many of the first women to travel aboard company voyages were never officially recorded in the Company's log books; they remain to us now only as traces.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the presence of former vagrants, criminals, and prostitutes in the American colonies grew large. By the 1660s, they numbered in the thousands in the Chesapeake alone (Horn 64). In 1656, the Council of State made an official decree that "lewd and dangerous persons, rogues, vagrants, and other idle persons, who have no way of livelihood, and refuse to work" should be shipped to plantations in America as labor. Peter Wilson Coldham has identified over six-thousand English women sentenced to transportation by the English courts in the century following James' decree, though most named women appear after 1660. As payment for

[117] For an overview of the statutes governing women's relocation to Bombay put into place, see Sharpe, 64-65.

their indentured service, the transported were to be granted fifty acres of land on their twenty-first birthday, earlier for women if they married young, but the land allotted was far from the settlement and would essentially isolate them. This may have been a move on the Virginia Company's part that intended to dissuade former indentured servants from claiming their land.

Thanks to Nabil Matar's work, we know that English women traveling to the colonies as labor were also taken captive by Barbary pirates in this period and additionally, Barbary ships carried out raid on coastal towns in Wales, Ireland, and Cornwall, where they captured women and sold them into slavery and forced marriage on the North African coast. In later decades, women were removed from ships bound for the Continent and the American colonies, and from the English colony at Tangiers (Matar 92-110).[118] Catherine M. Styer's work on English captives in Barbary has more recently shown that earlier studies by Matar, Kenneth Andrews and David Dellison Hebb, have underestimated the scope of this phenomenon. Because a good portion of the women taken captive were of marginalized status within English society (the mobile poor, indentured laborers, prostitutes in seaside towns, and servants), the public outcry previous scholars have recognized as evidence only represents a small portion of the phenomenon. In reality, Styer demonstrates, women were taken captive at a much higher rate than can

[118] There are few written records by these women, but their names appear in letters, petitions, and financial records. They include Anne Fosset, Judith Johnson, Elizabeth Rose, Margaret Hoskins, Mary Ruseell, Anne Bedford, Joan Gillions, Jane Dawe, Rebecca Man, Grace Greenfield, Grace Marten, Margaret Bowles, Katharine Richards, Mary Batten, Elizabeth Renordan, Mary Wemouth, Bridget Randall, Elizabeth Crisp, "Alexander Pumery's wife," "John Rider's wife," Mrs. Robert Hunt, "Abraham Roberts' wife," the "wife, mother, and maid of John Harris," the maid of Dermot Meregey, the wife of Richard Meade, the wife and sister of Richard Kerpe, the daughter of Mr. John Carew, and Ann Parsons.

be measured and these kidnappings continued well into the eighteenth century (Styer 5-7).

Little is known about the individual women after being taken captive, but Matar does reconstruct the exceptional case of one woman, who was nicknamed Balqees, the Arabic version of "Sheba," by her captors. Balqees was one of four women whose ship was intercepted en route to Barbados in 1685, most likely a poor woman, as she and the other women traveled with no entourage or protection. Most likely, she was a poor woman traveling to the West Indies as labor, indentured or otherwise. Once captured, Balqees was brought into the harem of the Moroccan Sultan, Moulay Ismail, where she quickly became a favorite of his. Suddenly wielding exceptional power, Balqees indulged in extravagant English clothing brought to Morocco by trade and took on ambassadorial role with English merchants (Matar 99-103).

These few examples do not just point us to sites of future research on early modern women's travel. They also offer insight into the ways that class, rank, and wealth shaped the ways that women traveled. Less wealthy women often lacked the physical protections afforded by elite women travelers, sometimes to disastrous ends. Their financial interest in trading companies was also different: while wealthy women like Mary Sidney invested their own money or were indirectly invested through a male relative, lower class women were conscripted into manual labor or opted to take their chances in the colonies with the promise of future livelihoods. These sources therefore

show how dependent ideologies of gender and mobility were on aspects like wealth, class, rank, and religious profession.

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