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Cavalier and she-majesty: the cultural politics of gender in Jane Cavendish's poetry

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I anticipate no financial interest or benefit arising from the direct applications of this research.

ABSTRACT

This essay make a case for using women's writing to open up a more inclusive and expansive reimagining of Cavalier literary discourse which makes space both for thinking critically about masculinity and for positioning women as creative subjects, not merely textual objects. Locating Jane Cavendish's verse of the 1640s in its occasional, familial and political contexts, I read it as contributing to a coterie textual practice designed to respond emotionally and politically to the unprecedented experiences of the civil wars. Making a rare contribution to the formation of the masculine figure of the Cavalier from a woman's point of view, Cavendish's poetry also voices a complementary Royalist woman's political poetics of feeling and sociability in both heterosocial and homosocial contexts.

KEYWORDS

Cavalier; femininity; masculinity; gender; poetry.

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Introduction

If Royalist men's verse voices the aesthetic and affective dimensions of political crisis, making the political elaboration of feeling and sociability central to the literary and social figure of the Cavalier, how can that inherently masculine figure be re-imagined from the point of view of women? What possibilities for taking up comparably political and affective subject position were open to women of the Royalist cause, and how could they be articulated in women's verse? Addressing these questions, this essay takes up issues that have been central to the study of Cavalier poetry ever since Earl Miner influentially defined it as a topic for critical study.¹ Framing Cavalier verse as an emotional, embodied, and sociability-oriented account of elite men's cultural practices and literary production during the Civil Wars, Miner demanded that readers bring to it an appreciation of social and aesthetic proprieties grounded in an identification with the values the verse articulates. Only thus, he assumed, would they be able to balance 'the right kind of intimacy with the right kind of distance'.² Such decorous social intimacy assumes a context in which men are the subjects who speak in Cavalier verse, and the addressees and readers too. In Miner's account, the women who figure in this poetry as 'dim shapes' of 'Celas and Corinnas' are objects – variously eroticised and idealised – over against which that masculine speaking position is constructed.³ In this essay, I make a case for the value of using women's writing as a way into a more inclusive and expansive reimagining of Cavalier literary discourse which makes space both for thinking critically about masculinity (as Diane Purkiss invited scholars to do some time ago),⁴ and for positioning women as creative subjects, not merely textual objects. Jane Cavendish's verse, I propose, offers an alternative to the tendency of Cavalier verse to position men as speaking, feeling subjects and women as silent embodied objects. Making a rare contribution to the formation of the masculine figure of the Cavalier from a woman's point of view, it voices a complementary Royalist woman's political poetics of feeling and sociability in both heterosocial and homosocial contexts.

Frequently occasional in nature, speaking to and about a wide range of family members and acquaintances, and including answer poems evidencing participation in practices of literary exchange, Jane Cavendish's verse was composed within a Royalist context of coterie literary production. She joined other amateur elite writers of the 1640s in seeking to develop a textual practice that could respond emotionally and politically to the unprecedented experiences of the civil wars. Largely composed, internal evidence suggests, at an early moment in the conflict (c.1643-1645), Jane's writing survives in two presentation manuscripts prepared by John

Rolleston, her father William Cavendish's secretary: Beinecke Library MS Osborn b.233, and Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetarum 16. They contain some ninety poems, which dedicatory material in the Beinecke volume discloses were written solely by Jane, as well as two dramatic works composed in collaboration by Jane and her younger sister Elizabeth: an untitled pastoral drama (*A Pastorall*), included in both MSS, and a five-act comic drama, *The concealed Fancies*, which appears only in the Oxford MS.⁵ Though her father, to whom MS Osborn b.233 is directed in a dedicatory epistle by Jane, was evidently the single most important influence on her as a writer, the breadth of textual models and continuity of aesthetic and social values in Jane's verse production speaks of her access to his library, familiarity with the work of members of his literary coterie such as Jonson, Suckling and Carew, and ability to turn what she found there to her own uses.⁶ That her work was indeed social in its orientation, and circulated and read by men beyond the immediate family, is evidenced both by the inclusion in the MSS of poems addressed to named individuals and by contemporary comments praising her as a writer.⁷ Much of the verse published in the 1640s that has been read as 'Cavalier' was being composed and circulated from the 1630s on.⁸ Jane's verse can be seen as entering in the mid-1640s into an ongoing Royalist textual conversation which was primarily shaped by men's coterie activity, but to which she as a woman could contribute.⁹ Her engagement with this conversation from a gendered position within a familial context complements and extends McDowell's argument about the formative contribution made to Royalist writing by such coterie activity. Central to this collective cultural practice was the delineation of idealised Royalist subject positions that could be taken up during wartime, such as the figure of the Cavalier. Tracing that figure's presence in Jane's poetry, and contextualising it with reference to the other gendered idealisations and interactions she represents, makes it possible to think about how literature mediates individual and collective affects in wartime, the languages in which those affects are articulated, and the political work they do.

My focus here is primarily on Jane's verse, in which I trace three strategies available to a Royalist woman who sought to articulate a politicized affective subjectivity in writing. One (traced in the first section of this essay) is to invert the gendered positions frequently found in male-authored Cavalier verse by speaking in the poetic persona of a loyal female subject who presents the Cavalier man as the object of her love and admiration. In Section 2, I consider the second strategy Jane uses to create a feminine alternative to the Cavalier literary persona, according symbolic political agency and significance to other women by representing a model of idealised femininity actively engaged with the Royalist cause. The third section shows that ideologically powerful though gender binarism was in Royalist cultural politics, its full

implications were only realised in interactions between men and women, and considers Jane's representations of such encounters. Throughout the volume, her mapping of a variety of social relationships between men and women discloses the importance to Royalist cultural politics of the courtly and familial patriarchal spaces in which such relationships were formed. By reframing the place of the gendered subject-object binary in Royalist poetry of the civil war period, I seek in this essay not only to offer new insights into the literary and affective resources that Royalist women writers – as represented by Jane Cavendish – could deploy, but also to open up the possibility of new understandings of the gendered and sexualised over-determinations of Cavalier literary discourse.

1: Fighting Cavaliers and sweet boys: Royalist masculinities

Jane's father William Cavendish is the addressee or central subject of twenty of the poems in the Oxford MS, almost a quarter of the total: five name him in their titles. Without naming or addressing him directly, several others articulate Jane's emotional response to his absence or his actions. 'Thankes Letter', for instance, expresses her gratitude for a set of gifts he sent her from exile (p. 15). The fan, comb, 'Maskes & Chinclothes' and other accoutrements of feminine grooming signal that even at this time of crisis, it was important to this Cavalier general to provide material encouragement to his oldest daughter to maintain socially acceptable standards of gendered self-presentation, and encode the assumption that she would welcome this. In contrast, 'On the 30th of June to God' imaginatively projects Jane's engagement with her father's wartime commitments onto the battlefield and into the public realm, celebrating his troops' victory at Adwalton Moor (p. 38) in self-consciously political terms.¹⁰ Celebrating William Cavendish as the embodiment of a loyalist masculinity which is complemented by the production of an appropriate femininity, this verse contributes to the production of a positive imagining of the Cavalier early in the war, at a time when the associations that clustered around that term were certainly mixed and often pejorative.

The project of speaking as a woman about and to Royalist men is not, however, conducted exclusively within the father-daughter literary dynamic, significant though it undoubtedly is. Fifteen poems are addressed to other men, including one poem each to her brothers Charles and Henry and brother-in-law John Brackley, while 'Foure Brothers & a Sister such I had' (p. 31) speaks collectively to the siblings who died in infancy. There are also poems to Jane's paternal and maternal grandfathers, uncle Sir Charles Cavendish, and nephew Henry Harpur, as well as to King Charles I and the Prince of Wales. Four poems name male friends

positioned by Jane as textual interlocutors. This is an unusual body of work in which a young woman both uses verse as a medium to foster personal and cultural relationships with men, and contributes to the textual production of a form of idealised Royalist masculinity. The co-existence in these manuscripts of the diverse versions of Royalist masculinity embodied by William Cavendish and other men of Jane's acquaintance constitutes a unique female-authored intervention in the development of a positive self-identification allied to the rubric of the Cavalier.

William Cavendish's association with the image of the Cavalier in the popular historical imagination is vivid and persistent.¹¹ Usages current before the outbreak of the Civil Wars which identified the cavalier as a horseman, a soldier, and a gentleman with a high degree of interest in heteroeroticism (OED 1, 2.a and 2.b) accord well with Cavendish's public persona, as evidenced both in his self-presentation via his cultural activities and textual representations of him.¹² William Cavendish himself registers a complicated relationship to these associations when in *The Country Captaine*, performed at Blackfriars in 1640/1, he has the rather foolish knight Device say that he aspires to 'get the reputation of a fighting Cavalier' in order to 'secure [his] Mistresse', create an impression of robust masculinity, and improve his social standing (p. 50). This satirising of Cavalier pretensions founded in an anxious uncertainty about one's status as an elite man is extended when Captain Sackbury in the same play uses the term to articulate an ironic distaste for 'an over-elaborated Cavalier aesthetic'.¹³ Cavendish stages a version of elite masculinity that might be labelled as Cavalier in order to mark his own distance from it.

Though Jane does not call her father a Cavalier, she does depict him as possessing key qualities associated with the Cavalier both in poems and in the guise of the indiscreetly amorous paternal figure of Lord Calsindow in *The concealed Fancies*. 'The trueth of Pensell' is a poetic commentary on an unidentified portrait of Cavendish which wryly notes that in this image,

A Courtier & a souldier each may see
And soe both love & warre you can true tell

Haveinge on both sides knowne the trade full well (p. 4)

The conceit of writing a poem about a portrait of her father, rather than depicting him directly, interposes a layer of cultural artifice which enables Jane playfully to register the libertine tendencies sometimes associated with the Cavalier without compromising her own reputation as an unmarried daughter. The specular quality that characterises this poem about a picture returns in a more idealising mode in 'A Song' (p. 10), which begins 'Our Eyes are fixed lookeinge on thee' and goes on to articulate the daughter's desolate (but highly political: 'now our Kinge calls you away') yearning for her absent father. And it recurs in more sexualised and worldly form when Jane reverses the more familiar gendered dynamics of looking in Cavalier verse by

positioning Newcastle as the object of women's desiring gaze:

Mayde, wife or widow, w^{ch} beares the graue stile
Newcastle but name him I know then shee'l smyle
From thence you may follow this track in hir face
Soe read by their Eyes, they will runn Cupitts race ('A Songe', p. 13)

In these poems, Jane suggests that Newcastle is equally at home in the heteroerotic milieu of courtship and the homosocial world of war. Her father's first-hand experience of 'both love & warre' enables him to speak authentically of their reality, bringing the visual image of courtier and soldier that spectators 'may see' to subjective life. The juxtaposition of courtier and soldier is conventional, but more often they are depicted as sequential stages of life, the lover's emotional volatility giving way to the soldier's more adult assertion of bellicose masculinity, as in Shakespeare's famous rendition of the male life-course (*As You like It* 2.7). Cavalier verse as it developed over the course of the 1640s would make them concurrent and interconnected, just as Jane does here.

Pre-war associations of the term 'Cavalier' had not been consistently positive or negative, but in the early 1640s it was appropriated 'by opponents of the royalist party to signify the allegedly brash and bellicose tendencies of their enemies'.¹⁴ A 1643 Parliamentary pamphlet accuses William Cavendish of allowing 'his Cavaliers and Papisticall souldiers' to commit 'indignities and insolent outrages' against the ordinary people of Nottinghamshire, complaining bitterly that 'nothing in the world can be more outragions [sic] and fuller of cruelties then the actions of these Papist Cavaliers under the said Earles command'.¹⁵ Alexandra Bennett consequently reads Jane's 'consistent praise of her father' as 'a deliberate countering of Parliamentary portrayals of Newcastle' (ibid.). In seeking to resignify the negative associations of 'Cavalier' in a more positive way in this particular instance, Jane also contributes to the broader effort, ongoing from the mid-1640s, to claim the term for a desirable self-identification with a form of Royalist masculinity associated with activism for the King's cause.¹⁶ Writing at a moment when the term's meanings were fluid and contested, Jane does not use 'Cavalier' as an epithet, although a reference to 'Cavelleriship St George Ginger bread' in a poem in which she playfully identifies herself as 'a compound Christmas dish' ('The discursive Ghost', p. 26) enacts a personal commitment to cultural values and practices that might have been labelled 'Cavalier' in the context of the 1644 Parliamentary ban on celebrating Christmas.

The first of Jane's poems presented in both MSS, 'The Great Example: To my Lord, my ffather, the Marquess of Newcastle', presents William Cavendish as the epitome of the manly martial virtues that would shape the idealising Royalist figuration of the Cavalier. Written after

Newcastle was accorded the title of Marquis in October 1643, and before his defeat at Marston Moor the following summer, this is a confident, forward-looking depiction of the aristocrat as role model. Rhyming ‘true’ and ‘you’ at the beginning of each quatrain, the poem insists on the authenticity of Newcastle’s claim to represent Royalist masculinity. The embedding of these sounds in ‘trueth’ and ‘youth’ in lines 1 and 3 emphasises Jane’s positioning of him as a role model of Royalist excellence to the rising generation. In the line ‘natures perfect frame, tis onely you’ the early modern use of ‘frame’ to designate the human body evokes a sense that Newcastle literally embodies these virtues in his soldier’s physique. As ‘[t]his Carrecter of trueth’, he also embodies a more abstractly emblematic function, epitomising authenticity as an important value. Indeed, concepts of truth – to self, to one’s core values – form an important cluster of ideas in the volume, where the word ‘tru[e]th’ is used sixteen times and ‘true’ a further twenty-five. The notion of the innately authentic quality of Cavendish’s claim to embody ‘courage, witt, and Judgment’, is further underscored by the repetition of the word ‘nature’, which also makes sixteen appearances. Among the poems, it is used in relation to Jane’s brothers Charles and Henry, her sisters Frances and Elizabeth, and Queen Henrietta Maria, as well as William Cavendish, associating it with the people Jane values most highly and praises most insistently.

This shared lexis of approbation – nature, quintessence, truth – positions William Cavendish as a figure who is particularly important for Jane, but closely allied with others who are prominent in her political and emotional landscape. Significant in this context is Jane’s representation of her father as ‘Good natures quinticence’. Used ten times in the volume, and applied to Jane’s dead mother, her sister Elizabeth, and queen Henrietta Maria as well as her brother and father, ‘quinticence’ is a key term in her writing. Margaret Ezell ascribes its prevalence to the interplay of the conventional, generic nature of Jane’s verse with the critical times she was writing in, and the consequently urgent need to represent her subjects and addressees as ‘living patterns of abstract values’ in order to sustain both those threatened, vulnerable values and the social networks that embody them.¹⁷ In doing so these poems, Sarah Ross argues, perform precisely the cultural and emotional work that Miner attributes to Cavalier verse.¹⁸ Ezell’s analysis is an apt description of the effect of Jane’s identification of her father as ‘Good natures quinticence’ (p. 1); her ‘sweet brother Charles’ as ‘the quinticence of modestie’ (p. 2); and her ‘sweet’ sisters Elizabeth and Frances as ‘quinticence of beauty, goodness, truth’ and ‘rare’ (p. 11). At other moments, however, ‘quintessence’ has a more dynamic and relational effect. In ‘On hir sacred Ma:^{tie}’, Henrietta Maria’s incarnation of the ‘quintessence of natures day’ is what allows her to ‘commaund’ her ‘Vassalls’ and elicit their ‘Tributes’ and ‘obedience’ (p. 12). And a poem on the same page entitled ‘The quinticence of Cordiall’ movingly identifies one of

Jane's sisters with this restorative, life-sustaining drink: 'Wer't not for you I knew not how to liue / For what content I haue. you doe mee giue' (p. 12). The desire for a 'Cordiall newes' is mentioned in two poems lamenting William Cavendish's absence, 'Passions delate' (p. 7) and 'The revive' (p. 8): the alchemical rhetoric underlying these tropes suggests that positive transformation as well as static idealisation may be in play in Jane's poetic response to the traumatic wartime situation.¹⁹ The scene in *The concealed Fancies* where young women 'dull'd with grief' because of the miseries of wartime raid their friend's closet in search of 'rare Cordyalls... for restoration of health' (p. 121) corroborates this, suggesting that an absent male could have a revivifying effect via the proxy of his cordials. Through this poetic tactic of repetition with a difference, the notion of the quintessence reveals how much is at stake, emotionally and ideologically, in Jane's idealisation of the men and women in her personal networks as personifications of the masculine and feminine virtues that would energise Royalist textual production over the following decade. Articulating an ethical affirmation undercut by emotional loss and yearning, the notion of the quintessence in Jane's verse becomes the site of a felt lack that is simultaneously ideological and utopian. As an instantiation of the ideal which can be embodied by multiple persons and is thereby repeatedly renewed, the insistent evocation of the quintessence performs the possibility of a restoration of that which has been lost.²⁰

It is notable that King Charles is not named in either of the lists of key people mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, and he is addressed in only one poem, 'On his most sacred Ma:^{tyer}' (p. 12). James Loxley reads a comparable absence from later Cavalier verse as a significant silence registering the king's absence and powerlessness.²¹ When he does appear, however, he is celebrated, identified like Newcastle as a 'greate Example', this time of the ideal monarch. As a 'just president for Kings', he bodies forth both moral virtue ('your lookes teach piety') and political justice ('Your greater actions, knowes noe Tyranny'), and is duly acclaimed by his loyal subjects in the concluding line: 'And this all Tongues may justly speake of thee' (p. 12). Identifying the king as 'sacred', Jane employs a devotional rhetoric which recurs throughout the volume and functions as 'a vital extension of her secular lyrics' political articulation'.²² Near the beginning of the volume, for instance, 'On my Lord, my ffather the Marquess of Newcastle' characterises him as 'our natures Bible, and the Text' (p. 2), in a distinctly Protestant version of the idea of his pedagogic exemplarity, and one which is perhaps symptomatic of the high value placed on texts in the Cavendish family culture. This curious image, at once idealising and dehumanising, is extended from the Bible in a more secular direction when Jane characterises her uncle Charles as a human 'Dicksonary', the embodiment of all the names that could be given to 'wisest learninge' ('On my Noble Uncle Sr Charles Cavendysh Knight', p. 3). At the other end of

the verse section of the MSS, ‘On the 30th of June to God’ (p. 38) is a poem of praise and gratitude for a battlefield victory which leads on to ‘The minds Saluation’ (p. 39) and ‘Hopes preparation’ (pp. 39-41), in which that religious rhetoric is extended to her father, to whom she declares ‘Your comeing is a Sacrament to mee’ (p. 39). The poetic sequence thus closes by depicting William by way of religious tropes which stage patriarchal theory’s conflating of divine, royal, and paternal figures as subjects of authority and objects of love and devotion, giving a rare spiritual inflection to the predominantly secular discourse of the Cavalier. Within the frame of patriarchal theory, ideas of exemplary masculinity and discourses of the family as troping the state merge to present the interests of the Cavendish and royal families under the leadership of William and Charles as emblematic of the good of the nation.

The king is mentioned one more time, in ‘A Songe’, which follows this triptych on the royal family and returns the focus of Jane’s attention to her father:

Our Eyes are fixed lookeinge on thee
 Soe nothinge care wee for to see
 Our senses are turn'd all to feares
 And inward thoughts, Sighes turnes to teares
 But now our Kinge calls you away
 I pray thee come, & make noe stay. (p.10)

Renewing the framing of William Cavendish as the object of the female gaze, Jane here emphasises her own fear and sadness rather than the qualities that make him worthy to be regarded. There is a complicated relationship between the emotional and political immobilisation evoked by the use of ‘fixed’ to convey the intensity of the gaze in the first line, and the verb-dominated lexis of transformation and movement that follows. Combined with the pairing of formal jauntiness and mournful content, this makes for a poem which seeks to generate an ideal male object – be it father or king – to provide reassurance and stability in a time of turmoil. Here and in ‘Passions Letter to my Lord my Father’ (p. 3, where it follows ‘The Great Example’), there is an oscillation between ‘you’ and ‘I’ in a repetitive verbal patterning which complexly expresses Jane’s admiration and yearning for her father:

My Lord, it is your absence, makes each see,
 Your company creates, and makes mee free;
 For without you, I am dull peece of earth,
 And so contynues nothinge, till you make my birth;

The ground of Jane’s sense of self is here located outside of her, in an emotional space which is contingent on her father’s presence or absence. The male soldier’s actions are read in terms of

their significance for the woman left behind: the Cavalier is framed by the woman who masters the distress caused by his absence by writing about him.

As well as emphasising his authentic embodiment of Royalist values through this foregrounding of notions of truth and quintessence, ‘The Great Example: To my Lord, my ffather, the Marquess of Newcastle’, positions William Cavendish as a role model: an example to other men of how Royalist masculinity should be performed. The key role of exemplarity in early modern pedagogy is emphasised in the poem’s reiteration use of the term ‘Academy’, as if in his person Newcastle represents a whole educational institution modelling the proper formation of elite young men. His conscious self-production as exemplary, particularly in relation to his own sons, is evidenced in his decision to keep Henry (a few days past his fourteenth birthday at the time of the battle of Marston Moor) and Charles (aged about 16) with him on the battlefield, refusing to send them to safety on the grounds – articulated in frankly narcissistic terms – that they ‘should show their loyalty and duty to his Majesty in venturing their lives *as well as himself*’.²³ Cavendish’s role in the education at home of his sons as well as his daughters can be seen as preparing his children to play complementary and gender-appropriate roles in the defence of Royalist culture and values. This is both corroborated and nuanced in two poems that Jane addresses to her brothers Charles and Henry on the second page of the Oxford manuscript. In both poems, the idealising lexis overlaps substantially with that used of their father, the words ‘quinticence’, ‘nature’ and true all being used again. Depicted in highly visual terms as the objects of admiring gazes, Newcastle’s sons are the image of their father’s natural excellence. As ‘a patterne for obedience,’ Charles is aligned with him in the possession of exemplarity even if, befitting his subordinate status as a child, it inheres in his easy submission to higher authority. The fact that ‘modestie’ is presented here as the quintessential aspect of Charles’s character combines with the evocation of his ‘[b]ehaviour sweete’ to further emphasise his relatively junior standing in the ranks of Royalist manhood. As the oldest son and heir, however, Charles also manifests an incipiently martial masculinity, in the form of courage which if the demands of male homosocial relationships required it would transform obedience into action: ‘if your friend bid goe / Like lightninge will you charge upon his foe’. Younger brother Henry, in contrast, is associated with a ‘beauty’ and ‘sweetnes’ that make him the androgynous object of both men and women’s desire and admiration: ‘Soe all sex, cannot you, adore too much’. As in ‘On a false reporte of yor Lordships Landinge’ Jane here uses the representation of a close family member to explore and complicate the gendered values of Royalist culture in an exceptionally condensed and over-determined fashion. ‘Sweet’ is an important and frequently used term of approbation for both male and female subjects in Jane’s poetic lexis, favoured in

particular when she addresses her younger relatives (e.g. poems to her sisters Frances and Elizabeth, p. 11). Here and in her poem 'On my sweet Nephew Henry Harpur' (p. 10) it is linked with the capacity of these two young boys to embody the promise of futurity: 'you are the very Springe, / Of spiritt, sweetnes, beauty, goodnesse' ('On my sweet brother Henry', p. 2). Evoking both the season of new beginnings and a source of fresh, life-sustaining water, 'spring' portrays Royalist boyhood as a site of optimism. It contrasts with the wintry language of cold, damp, and deadening sensations employed in many of the poems in which Jane mourns the ongoing separations and losses of wartime. 'Loues Uniuerse' (p. 20) for instance depicts Jane's misery as causing wintry weather, when her 'Mallencholly sighes' give rise to cold winds and 'raine showres', but the poem concludes by shifting away from this uneasy depiction of her own emotional power and asserting that her continuing hope for the restoration of the longed-for male presence is dependent on the cycle of the seasons: 'My summer is of that could bee / Father, Brothers, for to see'. The imagery naturalizes a sense of Jane's reactive emotional dependence on her male relatives' actions and movements, even as by invoking the cyclical nature of seasonality it holds open hope for change.

2: 'And soe as Generall you doe lead the way': Royalist femininities

Around a quarter of Jane's poems in the manuscript volumes are addressed to women, mapping a diverse matrix of social relationships which elaborates and extends her reimagining of Cavalier values from a woman's point of view. Pertinent here is Amanda Herbert's recent invitation to scholars of early modern culture to consider the implications of the fact that elite women in this period 'lived in largely "homosocial" worlds'.²⁴ Jane depicts, and in her literary collaboration with her sister enacts, a commitment to such mutually supportive female affiliation. She addresses her sisters in eleven poems address, of which six name Elizabeth. Less overtly political than Jane's poems to her male relatives, these verses image sisterly relations in a way that contributes to a future-oriented imagining of the ideal royalist familial order: 'As livinge, you new worlds may iustly make / For you the Essence, thus all things create' (On my sweete Sister Brackley, p. 11). In a sequence of twelve poems praising family members and friends, eight are to women, including both her grandmothers and several aunts (pp. 30-35). A further twelve poems are addressed to anonymous women, whose characterisation in the titles as 'an Acquaintance' or 'Noble Lady' frames them in terms of a less intimate set of relations than the familial poems. These nameless women are positioned as abstract representatives of the cultural values shared among participants in the highly specific social interactions associated with the production and circulation of this occasional verse.

It is in the nature of such verse that most of Jane's addressees share her elite status, but unusually she speaks of or to female servants in several poems. If 'The Carecter' (p. 23) speaks about the household servants to their absent master in ways that reproduce mockingly sexist stereotypes ('Now for weomen Lectures I doe them giue / To hold their tongues, or els not here they liue'), the poems Jane addresses individually to Mary and Bess, chambermaids in the service of the Newcastle household, are kinder and more respectful in tone. Lamenting Mary's absence and praising her 'modesty' and 'gentle Innocence', 'On a Chamber-mayde' (p. 28) pays an unusually emotionally serious attention to women of lower status that is also evident in the sisters' *Pastorall*.²⁵ In another poem of the same title (p. 17), the opening address to 'Thou louely Bess, that art soe plumpe & young' appears to conform to the practice in Cavalier verse of depicting female servants as embodied objects (and, in the hands of male writers, eroticized ones) critiqued by Elizabeth Scott-Baumann.²⁶ However, the poem's concluding promise that the author will 'to you our seuerall Poems send / And if soe lik'd, wee thinke them then well pen'd' positions Bess as a judicious member of the community of readers Jane writes for, whose critical response to the verse is desired and respected.

At the other end of the social scale of Jane's imagined Royalist literary-political community, two poems are addressed to Henrietta Maria: 'On hir most sacred Ma:^{tie}' (p. 9) and 'On hir sacred Ma:^{tie}' (p. 12). Tracing the continuing importance to both male and female Royalist writers throughout the Civil War of the 'idealized notions of the feminine' promoted by Henrietta Maria and her circle, Hero Chalmers has argued that 'fantasies of enhanced female agency' were not merely pertinent to the self-understanding of elite women, but capable of catalysing wider political engagements.²⁷ Jane takes this up in poems which idealize Henrietta Maria as a model of female heroism imaged in terms which are military as much as political, and which also draw on the devotional tropes employed to valorize William Cavendish. In the first of these poems, that crucial word 'quintessence' is used twice, on both occasions in its more dynamic, interactive sense, to modify Henrietta Maria's physical beauty and heavenly grace and present the queen as exemplary in a Royal femininity that is endowed with divine associations. Her 'quinticence of beauty' makes her followers want to gaze on her persistently ('each one swears, they cannot looke too much') while her 'heavens quinticence' elicits Jane's loyalty as a longing for intimate presence leading to political/military commitment: 'when I'm with you I'm loath to goe' (p. 9). Henrietta Maria is not only the object of the gaze in this poem, but the subject of an 'Eye' which, 'if looke', has the power to 'raise and reward an army, to which Jane would be a willing recruit. Representing the queen as possessed of a quasi-divine capacity to inspire and revivify her followers by virtue of being named Mary, Jane does not shy away from

acknowledging either the potentially controversial Catholic resonances of the name, or the French origin which endows the queen with autonomous military and political authority: 'Mary of Henry fourth of ffraunce then name / Great conquests gette; Armyes of Rebels tame' (p. 9). The poem constructs Henrietta Maria as not merely a figure of feminine beauty but political agent, energising her followers and leading a military campaign: 'Your Eye if looke, it doth an Army pay / And soe as Generall you doe lead the way'. Counterbalancing the tendency of much male-authored Cavalier poetry to position women as the objects of the eroticising male gaze,²⁸ the queen is imagined as the agent of a female gaze powerful enough to enable her to both fund and lead an army.

Just as imagery of the divine connects Jane's representation of her father and of the king, so the religious aspects of her portrayal of Henrietta Maria resonate suggestively with the single poem in which she refers to her mother. It is remarkable that Elizabeth Cavendish is so little mentioned in the volume, especially in the light of her death in the spring of 1643. The contrast between the volubility of the Cavendish sisters' MS writings on familial relationships in general and their profound silence about their mother is hard to interpret, but it is tempting to speculate that the idealisation of Henrietta Maria as a powerful feminine figure is in part a textual fantasy of compensation for that maternal loss. 'On my deare mother the Countess of Newcastle' conforms to the familial discourse Jane employs to represent her brothers and father, praising Elizabeth as the abstracted and idealized embodiment of the good mother, 'the quinticence of best' (p. 31). It also identifies her as 'a sweet saint', echoing the Marian cast of Jane's poems to Henrietta Maria. This term has resonance for the men of the family too: if her uncle Charles, like his brother William, represents masculine exemplary virtue, it is manifest not in military terms but in religious ones: 'Your Life's the true Example of a Saint / For none can come your actions for to taynt' (On my Noble Uncle Sr Charles Cavendysh Knight', p. 3). These uses of the word 'saint' are not tethered to any doctrinal specificity. Rather, they function – like Jane's other favoured terms of praise for family members – to epitomise the shared virtues of her class.

The lexis of Jane's two poems to the queen overlaps strikingly with that of the two poems to her brothers discussed earlier: courage, sweetness, 'quinticence', nature, obedience, the idea of looking and being looked at, all feature in both poems. In Jane's writing, then, the starkly binary construction of gender in Cavalier poetry is complicated and nuanced, with both men and women being able to take on attributes conventionally associated with the other gender. The gender-crossing imagery Jane uses to construct a subject position for the empowered Royalist woman in these poems also corresponds closely to Henrietta Maria's own self-presentation at this moment early in the war when the queen was fashioning a public persona that appropriated

qualities culturally coded masculine in order to model a mobile, active politically engaged femininity. Seeking to embody ‘the ideal of the *femme forte*,’ Henrietta Maria referred to herself as ‘she-majesty, generalissima’ in a letter written to the king at the time of her return from a fund-raising Continental visit in the spring of 1643 (Tomlinson, p. 159). Landing at Bridlington in Yorkshire, the queen was escorted on a significant portion of her journey south to join the exiled court at Oxford by William Cavendish. No letters between Newcastle and his daughters survive from this period, but Jane may well have been able to glean insights into the Queen’s self-presentation at this time via communication with her father. Whatever its sources or influences, the evocation of an assertive – even militarised – Royalist femininity in these poems is certainly congruent with the Queen’s politico-cultural project at this early point in the war.

While the poems on Henrietta Maria are outward-looking and politically engaged, critical discussions of Jane’s wartime experiences and writing have also rightly emphasised the domestic confinement she experienced, and the introverted and self-negating tone of the emotional responses to it articulated in her verse. Such discussions sometimes seem to imply that such responses were inevitable, given her age, status and gender.²⁹ Certainly on the evidence of Jane’s writing, responses involving confinement and grief seem to have been over-determined, although it is important to counter-balance the emphasis on them in her work with an awareness that she played an active role in defending the family’s property and that the dramatic works to which she contributed stage a more varied set of responses to the experience of siege.³⁰ But other cultural and political strategies were in fact open to young women seeking to enact a politically engaged Royalist femininity during the war decades. This can be brought into focus by comparing the different courses of action taken in the early 1640s by Jane and her near-contemporary Margaret Lucas, the woman who would eventually become her stepmother, a prolific writer seeking print publication rather than MS circulation, and biographer of that archetypal Cavalier William Cavendish. Just at the moment when Jane was committing herself to managing and defending the Cavendish estates, while using several genres to reflect on the repercussions of the war for her family and contribute to the formation of a Royalist literary response, Margaret Lucas was becoming Henrietta Maria’s maid of honour in Oxford. From there, she would travel with her mistress into the Continental exile where she would meet and marry William Cavendish. Margaret’s writing career was merely incipient at this time: in her autobiography she presents herself as introverted, self-absorbed, and immersed in the reading that would form part of her preparation to write (‘A True Relation’, pp. 46-7). Evidently she lacked Jane’s drive to fashion a textual space shared with family and friends in which to communicate her thoughts and feelings about the experience of war. However she resembles Jane, who speaks to her father in a

dedicatory verse as 'your Daughter in your Pen' (p. 84), in attributing her eventual emergence as a writer to the tutelage of William Cavendish: 'A Poet I am neither borne, nor bred / But to a witty Poet married' (*Poems and Fancies*, p. 1). The different life-courses and literary careers of Jane Cavendish and Margaret Lucas in the 1640s illustrate that there were diverse options for the production and representation of Royalist femininity, and that it could issue in a variety of cultural and political strategies.

Jane and Margaret were not writing at the same time, and despite their shared connection to William Cavendish, no evidence of direct social or textual interaction between them survives. It is however possible that Jane may have had some literary influence over her father, and perhaps even through him over her stepmother. For instance, it was only after the composition of his daughters' MS volumes that William Cavendish turned to writing in the pastoral mode they favoured. His 'Songes for a Pastorall', 'A Prologe thatt shoulde haue been spoken before an Intended Pastorall att Antwerpe', and 'Parte off a Pastorall', constitute evidence that like his daughters, he saw pastoral as furnishing a source of compensatory fantasy to be enjoyed even while 'on uss, are the times, moste fatall Curses'.³¹ Recognising that literary influence within the Cavendish family's culture of textual production could flow in multiple directions, I want to suggest that Jane's depiction of Cavalier masculinity in an extensive body of MS writing dedicated to her father and produced by his scribe might have helped to inflect his own self-fashioning, in the texts he would continue to write in a prolific amateur literary career and perhaps in his social self-presentation too. And this in turn might be reflected in Margaret Cavendish's *The life of the thrice noble, high and puissant prince William Cavendishe* (1667), reprinted several times in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century with titles which, by identifying him as the archetypal Cavalier, played a significant role in fashioning the cultural after-image of that figure.³²

3. 'Now who will me Company keepe?': Textual interactions between men and women

The textual strategies I have been tracing in this essay were formed through processes of literary exchange which were not gender-segregated, and the vision of Royalist culture which emerges from those texts is one in which, although strongly marked ideologies of gender shape the presentation of men and women, interaction between them is also important. In this final section I explore that the negotiations of love, authority and agency between men and women depicted in Jane's writing play a crucial role in her contribution to a Royalist cultural politics that was always profoundly gendered.

Beginning ‘A Songe’ (p. 13) with the couplet ‘Mayde, wife or widow, w^{ch} beares the graue stile / Newcastle but name him I know then shee’l smyle’, Jane idealises her father as a perfect male object capable of bringing pleasure to any woman. At the time of writing, Jane herself was a ‘mayde’, early modern England’s preferred term for a young woman whose marriageability was contingent on her virginity.³³ Given the death of her mother and absence of her father, which put her in the unusual position of heading a household without the cover of a husband’s authority, the question of Jane’s possible marriage may have been put under suspension in the 1640s. She did not in fact marry until she was in her mid-thirties, well past the typical age for a woman of her rank and much later than her sister Elizabeth, wed in a dynastic union in 1641, aged fifteen. In his funeral sermon Adam Littleton claimed that her delayed marriage came about because, at a time when war had seriously reduced the number of eligible men, ‘She resolved to match with no Family, which had ill-treated her King and Father, how advantageous soever’.³⁴ This second-hand source from 1669 post-dates the time at which Jane might have been expected to be seeking a husband by quarter of a century, but the poetry produced during that phase of her life is significantly reticent about her own emotional or social investments in romance and courtship. In answer poems which stage heteroerotic interactions in entirely conventional terms, such as ‘An answeare to the verses Mr Carey made to the La: Carlile’ (p. 14) and ‘An answeare to my Lady Alice Egertons Songe of I prethy send mee back my Hart’ (p. 16), Jane uses this dialogic poetic mode for the purpose of insisting on her own unavailability for courtship or marriage. This is imaged as a ‘self-contained fortitude’³⁵ through tropes of conflict which, although long-established in courtship poetry, take on new significance in the context of wartime writing.

The Concealed Fancies extends these interests by dramatizing how, in the absence of parents, the paired heroines Luceny and Tattiney – avatars of Jane and Elizabeth – orchestrate their relationship with their suitors, Courtley and Presumption, at the same time as reflecting critically on marriage and ultimately re-envisioning it as an institution which need not exact female subordination.³⁶ The play’s critical examination of heterosexual courtship is also remarkably – and drolly – interested in the interplay of gender, life-stage and status as factors shaping women’s lives, particularly in its commentary on the putative desirability of Lady Tranquility and her maid-servant Toy, the women courted by Lord Calsindow, a dramatic counterpart for William Cavendish. Rather than expressing uncomplicated filial idealization, then, Jane’s representations of her father across the range of texts to which she contributed present a complex picture in which potentially contradictory elements may be juxtaposed without being reconciled. If in poems like ‘The trueth of Pensell’ and ‘A Songe’ she reveals an

awareness that Cavalier identity is crucially shaped in the homosocial spaces of battlefield, men's friendship groups, and the sexual pursuit of women, she also brings that identity into more domestic and familial spaces. The poem 'A recruited joy upon a Letter from your Lordship' (p. 29) celebrates William Cavendish as an exemplary husband, father, master of servants, military general, and friend to other men, epitomizing the ideal of elite masculinity through all his intimate and public relationships with others (Hughes and Sanders, p. 59). Some of these relationships could involve women while others could only be with me; but with the possible exception of 'friend', all of them are asymmetrical relationships in which William Cavendish occupies the position of mastery. One of the distinctive contributions of his daughter's verse to the elaboration of the figure of the Cavalier is precisely that in such depictions of her father, she endows it with patriarchal authority. In contrast, verse in the canon of male-authored Cavalier poetry tends – as argued, for instance, by the field-defining work of Earl Miner with which I began – either to occupy social spaces removed from the reach of patriarchal authority, such as the hearth with friends, the mistress's bed, or to present a wounded masculinity seeking to compensate for experiences of loss, defeat, exile or enforced retreat.³⁷ Jane's version thus makes it possible to see how gendered power comes into play in the formation of Cavalier cultural identity even where it is not matter of male-female asymmetries.

Given that gender relations were critically in play in the upheavals of the 1640s, it is not surprising if, as Jerome de Groot argues, a conservative sexual politics that was both rooted in patriarchalism and celebrated the conjugal couple was crucial to Royalist efforts to 'perpetuate a certain paradigm of social stability' in this moment of disorder and upheaval.³⁸ Jane and Elizabeth's writings perform a complex engagement with these ideologies, in which the celebration of Royalist patriarchalism through the textual idealisation of their own father is juxtaposed with attempts to renegotiate the terms on which women accept their social location in such crucial patriarchal institutions as marriage and the household. Indeed, their exploration of the complex relations between ideologies of patriarchy, domesticity, femininity, and national politics seems in part to have been energized by the exposure of their father's authority as vulnerable and contestable as a result of his defeat at Marston Moor and subsequent exile. Across the varied poetic and dramatic genres used in the two manuscripts, Jane and Elizabeth explore the interactions of love and authority, subordination and contestation, within a family where the pressures of civil war mean that the menfolk are absent pursuing military campaigns or in exile, while the daughters of the house sustain its domestic economy under siege. These dynamics frequently find expression through metaphors of damaged domesticity. Worrying about the dangers of the crossing her father and brothers undertook to the continent after their

defeat at Marston Moor, for instance, Jane employs culinary tropes to articulate her emotions in a profoundly gendered interweaving of embodied emotion and household labour:

My meate Ile tell you if you would it heare

’Tis seuerall Hashes made upp in a feare

Instead of Beare now tell you what I drinke

Sighes still’d till mallencholly make mee winke (‘On a false reporte of your Lordship’s Landinge’, p. 8)

The relation between the psychic and the political is here figured through tropes of culinary transformation, ingestion and expulsion that enact a disruption of the proper relation between emotional interiority and the materiality of domestic life. Depicting her distress as traversing the borders of her body and complicating the relationships between inside and outside, Jane gives it material form as food and drink which is neither nutritious nor palatable.

This short poem is, exceptionally in Royalist verse, the site of a juxtaposition of both male and female experiences of the impact of civil conflict. This is embedded in its form, which stages the first ten lines as an exasperated dialogue between Jane and an anonymous male scout who has brought the false report:

Fye false Scout doe you growe madd

To tell a Lye onely to make mee gladd

Or was’t your cunninge for to gett reward

But now your knowne you’l haue noe more regard (p. 8)

The difference of status as much as gender is significant here, enabling Jane assertively to accuse her subordinate of emotional and financial manipulation and threaten his reputation. The poem is interestingly reflexive, here: canvassing the possible material, social and emotional dynamics that may have motivated the scout to try and affect the speaker’s emotions, it does not merely offer us an access to the interiority of the Royalist woman that is typically absent from Cavalier verse, but stages the process by which emotional meaning is made out of social interaction.

At its mid-point, ‘On a false reporte of your Lordship’s Landinge’ decisively turns inward, away from this concrete social drama, becoming more meditative and reflective. It depicts a solitary performance of misery imaged in terms which are both domestic and material, giving a sensuous heft to emotional experience:

And now my Hermetts weeds I will put on

And bid my sweete Companyon Joy bee gone (p. 8)

Jane asserts agency in her distress by giving the verbal instruction that ensures joy’s absence, and claims religious authorisation for this by identifying with the purposeful solitude of the hermit.

This gesture also invokes the transformative power of clothing to mark her mournful retreat, echoing Luceny and Tattiney's adoption of nuns' habits to stage their similar retreat in *The Concealed Fancies* (p. 120). The poem ends with a reflexive question, 'Now who will mee Company keepe? I knowe / Those that knowe not, whether els to goe'. Turning her attention away from absent men and back to the other people present with her in the household (sisters, servants), Jane figures constraint and uncertainty as an opportunity for domestic refuge and female mutual aid. Doing so does not free her from the distress articulated earlier in the poem, but does frame a social and affective context in which to live through it. In the context of the volume's poetic architecture, this textual gesture of retreat is balanced with attention to the broader political context that gave rise to Jane's misery. 'On a false reporte of yo^r Lo:^{ps} Landinge' is followed by the triptych of poems addressed in turn to the king, queen, and prince of Wales on which I have already commented. This transition within the volume typifies its sustained poetic exploration of how national politics shape Jane's domestic, personal and emotional experience, while maintaining the integration of attention to both men and women as subjects of wartime experience and objects of poetic address.

Conclusion

For the members of the Cavendish family who were the principal subjects and addressees of Jane's writing, as for many of the other families that gave rise to Cavalier cultural production, family was not merely a matter of intimate relationships with close living kin, but had a dynastic, historical, and political significance. Mapping the affective dynamics of Jane's relationships with the subjects and addressees of the verses included in the Beinecke and Bodleian volumes corroborates Hughes and Sanders's claim that 'Jane's own poems are suffused with a commitment to her "great family", to ancestry, household and place' (p. 49). This commitment needs to be located on a map of cultural and affective politics which has at its heart the royal family, understood as a model for other Royalist families. Laura Lunger Knoppers has compellingly analysed the 'crucial intersection of high politics and the domestic' in the cultural production of the period from the 1630s to 1660s, arguing that visual and textual figurations of Charles and Henrietta Maria as a prototypical royal family helped to 'forg[e] new affective bonds between monarch and subject' (pp. 5, 6).³⁹ Jane's poetry played a part in this attempt to intervene in the politics of feeling by carrying forward the cultural project associated with Henrietta Maria, as manifested for example by her patronage of and participation in the Caroline court masques. Thematically and as courtly events these masque performances functioned, Sophie Tomlinson argues, to 'project [the royal] marriage as an image of the polis, highlighting the importance of

love to good government'.⁴⁰ Along with the domestic entertainments often offered to the King and Queen at aristocratic households, including the Cavendish family's Bolsover seat, they formed acts of cultural production in which both men and women participated, testifying to the capacity of such heterosocial creative encounters to energise political culture. Probably influenced by their exposure in early childhood to the courtly entertainments their father hosted in the 1630s,⁴¹ the plays which Jane and her sister Elizabeth co-wrote while besieged in the Cavendish household at Welbeck in the early 1640s - *A Pastorall* and *The Concealed Fancies* - carry forward this theatrical work on a more modestly domestic scale. Jane's poetry of that decade also testifies to the distinctive responsibility women may bear for activating the affective dimension of political life. Read in terms of a political history of the emotions, her body of writing across several genres can be seen as engaged with the larger process of politicisation of literary production summed up in Ann Baynes Coiro's assertion that 'during the war and Commonwealth, poetry moved out of the circuit of the court and engaged directly in a wider struggle for cultural power'.⁴² Jane's poetry contributes to this struggle by clarifying what is at stake for women who position themselves as the speaking creative subjects of Royalist cultural work and represent men as its objects, in the process articulating the political affects associated with the Royalist experience in wartime.

The Cavalier moral and social values of friendship, hospitality, loyalty, erotic love, and the retired life take on a particular inflection in Royalist culture during the war years, but they are profoundly congruent with the broader set of Renaissance aristocratic values that shaped the representation and self-imagining of both men and women of the elite.⁴³ To depict the Cavalier and his female counterparts in terms of such values, as Jane Cavendish does in her poetry, is not simply to describe a given object, but to contribute to a cultural programme which seeks to re-affirm and re-produce that object as worthwhile and desirable precisely at the moment of its loss. Jane's verse enacts the shared commitment to friendship, social cohesion, and the maintenance of affective ties between subjects and monarch that are central to the verse composed by men with which the label 'Cavalier' has been associated since Earl Miner mapped this terrain.⁴⁴ The difference is that she centres the performance of this cultural work within the context of the aristocratic family rather than in the homosocial spaces of the military, men's friendship, and heterosexual pursuit more often associated with it. She herself is thereby enabled to eschew the conventional woman's role as accessory to the performance of Cavalier masculinity, and instead to participate actively in the fashioning of complex discourses of Royalist masculinity *and* femininity out of the mixed and ambivalent cultural materials available to her in the early 1640s. In a critical context where much essential discussion of Royalist women's writing has focused on

work produced from 1649 onwards,⁴⁵ the fact that Jane was contributing to the emergence of these discourses right at the beginning of the war emerges into newly visible significance.

This re-imagining of Cavalier literary culture that this essay asks for does not entail merely shifting the focus of discussion of that discourse from men's to women's writing, but also requires that we attend to the complex interactions between men and women, the reciprocally inflected constructions of masculinity and femininity, that were in play in Royalist cultural production. It reveals that to reimagine the Cavalier as a crucial vehicle for the interaction of the aesthetic, affective and political in Civil War culture is a task that might best be achieved not so much by focusing on analysing that figure itself, as by reconsidering the questions we ask about it, and the ways in which we frame, interrogate and re-present it in our critical practice.

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NOTES

¹ Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*, p. 1.

² Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*, p. 4.

³ Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*, p. 1.

⁴ Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*; see especially Chapter 1 and the Conclusion.

⁵ I quote from the Oxford MS, preferred because it offers a more expansive collection of Jane's writing, including 8 poems not in Osborn b.233. For fuller descriptions of the two MSS and an account of the relations between Jane's individual composition and her collaborative writing with her sister Elizabeth, see Bennett, *Collected Works of Jane Cavendish*, pp. 21-2, 34-6. Quotations from the MS in this essay may be cross-referred to this edition, which uses the Oxford MS as its copy text for similar reasons to mine. See also the Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts:

<http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/yale-osborn-collection-b-200.html> and

http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/bodleian-rawlinson-1.html#bodleian-rawlinson-1_id513250.

⁶ Bennett, *Collected Works*, pp. 26-7; Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, p. 145

⁷ Bennett, *Collected Works*, p. 29.

⁸ Dzelzainis, 'Literature, war, and politics', p. 5.

⁹ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*.

¹⁰ Chedgzoy, *Women's Writing*, pp. 139-40

¹¹ Chalmers, '“But not laughing”', pp. xx-yy

¹² Graham, '“An After-Game of Reputation”', pp. 87-95

¹³ Chalmers '“But not laughing”', p. x

¹⁴ Chalmers '“But not laughing”', p. x

¹⁵ Quoted in Bennett, *Collected Works*, p. 25

¹⁶ Corns, 'Poetry of the Caroline Court', pp. 51-2

¹⁷ Ezell, '“To Be Your Daughter”', p. 286

¹⁸ Ross, *Women, Poetry and Politics*, p. 112

¹⁹ On the political uses of alchemy for Royalist women's writing, see Archer, 'A “Perfect Circle”?'.

²⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 23.

²¹ Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, p. 180.

²² Ross, *Women, Poetry and Politics*, p. 120.

²³ Seddon, ODNB.

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- ²⁴ Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p. 1.
- ²⁵ Chedgzoy, *Women's Writing*, pp. 140-3.
- ²⁶ Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement*, pp. 53-8.
- ²⁷ Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers*, p.12.
- ²⁸ Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement*, pp. 53-8.
- ²⁹ See for instance Wynne-Davies "My Fine Delitive Tomb", pp. 111-2.
- ³⁰ Bennett, *Collected Works*, pp. 14-16, 23; Chedgzoy, *Women's Writing*, pp. 136-8
- ³¹ Portland MS PwV 24, ff. 11r-12r, 15v, 16r-18r.
- ³² See for instance Edward Jenkins, ed., *The Cavalier and His Lady*, London: 1872, and G. Newnes, ed., *The Cavalier in Exile*, London: 1903.
- ³³ Higginbotham, *Girlhood*, pp. 25-30.
- ³⁴ Quoted in Bennett 2018, p. 17.
- ³⁵ Ross, *Women, Poetry and Politics*, p. 108.
- ³⁶ Williams, *Shakespeare and the Performance of Girlhood*, pp. 196-201
- ³⁷ Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*.
- ³⁸ De Groot, *Royalist Identities*, p. xv.
- ³⁹ Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity*, pp. 5, 6.
- ⁴⁰ Tomlinson, *Women on Stage*, p. 350.
- ⁴¹ Findlay, *Playing Spaces*, pp. 44-5.
- ⁴² Coiro, 'Personal Rule of Poets', p. 206.
- ⁴³ Loxley, 'Cavalier Poetry', p. 401.
- ⁴⁴ Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*.
- ⁴⁵ See for instance Barash, *English Women's Poetry, 1649-1714*, and Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers 1650-1689*.

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