



Katja Pilhuj

Women and Geography on the Early Modern English Stage

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Women and Geography on the Early Modern English Stage

Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World

Open Access Book Series of the International Institute of Social History (IISH)

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This series provides a forum for studies that investigate women, gender, and/or sexuality in the late medieval and early modern world. The editors invite proposals for book-length studies of an interdisciplinary nature, including, but not exclusively, from the fields of history, literature, art and architectural history, and visual and material culture. Consideration will be given to both monographs and collections of essays. Chronologically, we welcome studies that look at the period between 1400 and 1700, with a focus on any part of the world, as well as comparative and global works. We invite proposals including, but not limited to, the following broad themes: methodologies, theories and meanings of gender; gender, power and political culture; monarchs, courts and power; constructions of femininity and masculinity; gift-giving, diplomacy and the politics of exchange; gender and the politics of early modern archives; gender and architectural spaces (courts, salons, household); consumption and material culture; objects and gendered power; women's writing; gendered patronage and power; gendered activities, behaviours, rituals and fashions.

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Acknowledgments

Для моєї баба і мого діду і мій Да, які завжди були там

To Ellen, who read it all and translated much

To my cadets and students, who make me laugh

To Marge, who keeps me in the neighborhood, in many ways

To Dr Suzuki and Dr Hammons, who showed me the scholar I wanted to be

To Falstaff and Imogen, those constant companions

To Ma, Ireland is in here, too

To Chris

Introduction

Abstract

The introduction foregrounds the argument that increasingly available geographical products provide early modern English playwrights a new discourse for women characters. This discourse objectified women as passive territory, but writers and characters subvert the typical rhetoric by revealing how women could manipulate the connection between their bodies and land to gain authority and agency. Queen Elizabeth I's geographic rhetoric is examined, specifically how use of geography bolstered her legitimacy and provided an example for early modern dramatists. The ideological evolution of geographical understanding from the medieval to the early modern period is also described, as are relevant theories of gender and identity formation.

Keywords: world-writing, early modern English drama, Queen Elizabeth I, early modern geography, women's identity.

'Liketh, loveth, getteth and useth, Maps, Charts, and Geographical Globes
— John Dee, 1570.¹

At the closing of Parliament on 10 April 1593, Queen Elizabeth spoke to members regarding the threat of a potential Spanish invasion. Despite the unprecedented victory over the Armada just five years before, England and her queen faced the very real possibility of another military attack on the island nation. Defending the justice of England's part in the continuing quarrel with Spain, Elizabeth spoke briefly on the nature of English rule and her role in overseas expansion:

It may be thought simplicity in me that all this time of my reign [I] have not sought to advance my territories and enlarged my dominions, for both

¹ Dee, 'The mathematicall praeface', p. a.iiir.

opportunity hath served me to do it, and my strength was able to have done it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect, but it hath not been fear to obtain or doubt how to keep the things so obtained that hath withholden me from these attempts; only, my mind was never to invade my neighbors, nor to usurp upon any, only contented to reign over my own and to rule as a just prince.²

Although the speech was primarily meant to thank the members of Parliament for providing a subsidy to the queen for defense of the realm, Elizabeth also felt the need to use her rhetorical skills to justify her country's approach to imperial ventures in the face of Spain's vast and ever-expanding colonial empire. Here, she not only defends her foreign policy but, more importantly, she puts forth an image of herself as a just and prudent monarch, despite her 'womanly weakness' and in contrast to the territorially voracious Philip of Spain.

Issues of empire and territory during Elizabeth's reign appear not just in speeches and policy, but also in art and the burgeoning field of geography. *Women and Geography on the Early Modern Stage* takes as its starting point the proliferation of English geographic texts and the popular London theater under the single rule of a queen in order to examine the development of a discourse of early modern geography, genealogy, and gender. These writers and their queen create new, often powerful conceptions of female identity by adapting and reshaping the language and images of this 'new' geography. The speech above provides a historical grounding of the issues Elizabeth contended with during her entire reign: the welfare of her kingdom, its place among other kingdoms and territories, and her own role as anomalous woman ruler. Elizabeth had to negotiate her ruling persona in order to be seen as legitimate and powerful; one of the ways that she and her supporters did so was through the discourse of geography, often employing the visual rhetoric found in map margins and frontispieces to project images of a strong queen and thus a strong England.

For an initial and striking example of these forces at work: in the corner of a late 1590s map of Cheshire stands the figure of Elizabeth, brandishing a ruler to show the scale of miles (Fig.1). The queen wears vibrant red robes that set her apart from the green and beige background, and the bright yellow ruler extends from below her waist to above her crowned head. While the map figure functions as a rather amusing pun on the female ruler holding a ruler, this marginal drawing also encapsulates connections among women, power, and geography. Elizabeth appears as a powerful

2 *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 329.



Fig. 1: John Speed, Detail, Proof Map of Cheshire, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library (Atlas.2.61.1, p. 16).

arbiter of measurement in her kingdom, confidently brandishing a phallic tool. For John Speed, the creator of this map, the queen to whom he would present some of these maps was a formidable female presence in the world. This Elizabeth is not one of the reclining female nudes often found in the margins of maps. Rather, her fully clothed and crowned body demonstrates an authoritative presence, ready to measure any place or any person. Connections among geography and women have been examined before, but the subject still provides fertile ground for additional research

into geographic discourse and depictions of women. And much of that ground still lies unexplored in terms of individual characters in early modern plays, especially outside of Shakespeare studies. In particular, this book is a sustained look at geographically innovative writers from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, focusing primarily on the works of Christopher Marlowe, Elizabeth Cary, and Thomas Heywood, with a final analysis of the prolific dramatic output of Margaret Cavendish during and after the Interregnum. Moreover, this project looks at these authors in conjunction with a broader range of geographic texts and products: not only maps but atlases, globes, estate plans, chorographies, genealogies, and other cartographic products.³ The symbolic potency of the discourse and images of geography in multiple forms was wielded by these writers to forge powerful identities for women that subverted gendered tropes in ways that prove as striking as the scale-of-miles queen.

The Measuring Ruler: Monarchs and Early Modern Geography

As scholars have noted, Queen Elizabeth considered herself a singular figure of a powerful feminine and queenly ideology that she and the men around her could embrace as a political tool for legitimizing a female power that she – and she alone – could possess. Her own use of geographic discourse and imagery to construct an authoritative ruling persona as a queen regnant provides a useful initial case study, since examining Elizabeth's strategies is important to this study: although the queen regarded herself as a unique case, dramatists of her reign and after, in particular the subjects of this study, were arguably influenced by the queen's use of geography. In other words, these writers witnessed and then appropriated Elizabeth's geographic strategies that allowed her to use geography in a literal sense of 'world-writing'. She and her supporters could create and shape a view of the world where she could rule as a single queen.

3 For my consideration of 'geographic and cartographic products', I draw on the definition offered by Tom Conley: writings are cartographic 'insofar as tensions of space and of figuration inhere in fields of printed discourse'. He views many writers of the period as engaged in what he calls 'verbal navigation', drawing on a 'stock of geometric and cartographic commonplaces' in order to 'contain and appropriate the world they are producing in discourse and space'. Geography encompasses both maps and written text, while cartography consists mainly in the maps or plans themselves. Chorographies, as descriptions of smaller local areas, fall under geography, though they can also include maps. Conley, *The Self-Made Map*, pp. 3 and 5. Also cited in Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory*, p. 13.

The work from which the above Queen Elizabeth scale-of-miles-portrait derives is a proof from John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, which covered each county in England and Wales, with subsequent editions including Scotland, Ireland, and farther locations. By the time Speed finished the first edition of his atlas in 1611, James had succeeded Elizabeth, and the map of Cheshire no longer featured her picture. But the disappearance of a ruler-wielding queen from the margins of this map did not mean Elizabeth vanished entirely; her image, her persona, and her connection to and use of geography appear again in the plays and writings of the following century. Even if only as a shadow or outline, Elizabeth becomes, like the ruler her figure holds, an instrument applied, adjusted, and adapted. My book explores the ways in which mapmakers, consumers, playwrights, and audiences in England could use the tools of geography, or 'world-writing', to reshape the symbolic import of the female body and territory in order to explore new ways of articulating individual women's as well as English identity in a period of rapid expansion in trade, geographic knowledge, and entertainment.

Elizabeth and her supporters were able to use geography to bolster her reigning authority because her reign coincided with increased interest in and availability of geographic texts like atlases, individual maps, chorographies (local geography and history), and other art and texts that incorporated this 'new' geography – even playing cards with maps were available.⁴ Elizabeth, and especially mapmakers and artists supported by her government, employed the visual language of the emerging new world-writing, which ostensibly was meant to reflect increasing (male) political consolidation and colonial conquest, in order to produce spectacles of Elizabeth's (female) authority. One of the better-known examples is the 1578 atlas by Christopher Saxton, the first large-scale survey of England and Wales (Fig. 2). Indeed, the Saxton atlas is the first national atlas produced in Europe.⁵ Issued in its completed form in 1579, the atlas, as John Rennie Short asserts, is not only a 'technical accomplishment' that allowed for a system of warning beacons to be developed. The atlas also served what he calls 'political ends', presenting a unified picture of England instead of one of religious and political conflict.⁶ The importance Elizabeth and her government placed on this message is indicated by the documentation and

4 Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*, pp. 64-65. Playing cards produced in 1590 had one of the 52 counties of England and Wales from Saxton's atlas printed on each of them.

5 Short, *The World Through Maps*, p. 112.

6 Ibid., pp. 112-113.



Fig. 2: Frontispiece, Christopher Saxton, *An Atlas of England and Wales*. London: 1579.
© The Trustees of the British Museum (1934, 0604.1).

some financial support issued to Saxton while he was compiling his atlas. Saxton was appointed to survey England and Wales 'by speciall direccion & commandment from the Queenes Majesty'.⁷ Richard L. Kagan and Benjamin Schmidt point out that the process also saw the government 'giving Saxton official passes, grants of land and offices, and various subsidies', revealing that the Crown cared much for this project.⁸

In the atlas' completed form, Elizabeth appears on the frontispiece in a visual configuration that is reminiscent of those seen in the popular first world atlas of 1570 by Abraham Ortelius (Fig. 8). But instead of Ortelius' reclining allegorical female figures (and those of his many imitators), the queen sits enthroned in that same classical arch space, flanked by figures of geometry and mathematics. Moreover, Elizabeth's coats of arms appear in the margins of many of the map plates within, further emphasizing not only her authority over the land, but also implying that she, like a mapmaker but unlike the passive continental figures of other atlases, has authorial control over representations of England and thus herself. Elizabeth – or at least, the image of her – becomes a kind of geographer, creating an England over which she has creative cartographic and thus political control.

Even among the national atlases that appeared in the next few decades, the Saxton atlas and its prominent feature of the monarch was unique. Just across the Channel, France did have cartographers and travel writers who contributed to the growing body of geographic knowledge, but none produced any work that was so clearly and publicly connected to the monarch as Saxton's atlas. Guillaume Postel published his *des merveilles du monde, et principalement des admirables choses des Indes et du Nouveau Monde* in 1553; the recognition of the importance of his French homeland is only indicated by the meridian in the world map passing through Paris. The *Guide des chemins de France*, written by Charles Estienne and printed the year before Postel's work, featured route descriptions and toponyms with little to no graphic representation. Francois de Belleforest's 1575 *La cosmographie universelle* was a translation of Sebastian Munster's work *Cosmographia* of 1544. And while the cosmographer André Thevet became Catherine de Medici's chaplain and historiographer to her sons, he published his own travelogs and ethnographic descriptions of the new world, which, while they did encourage colonization, were not commissioned by the

7 Quoted in Skelton, *Saxton's Survey of England and Wales*, p. 8.

8 Kagan and Schmidt, 'Maps and the Early Modern State: Official Cartography', p. 668. See also Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*, p. 54 for more evidence of the government's approval and support of Saxton's project.

French monarchs.⁹ In a similar position was the slightly earlier cartographer and writer, Nicolas de Nicolay, who wrote accounts based on his travels to the Middle East. As Elizabeth's nearest contemporary female ruler (albeit a regent) Catherine de Medici provides a contrast to illustrate how much the English queen deployed maps for her political benefit. Catherine did attempt to instigate some geographic endeavors at her court: she displayed 24 large maps, acquired in 1570, in the salon of her Parisian mansion. She also ordered de Nicolay in 1561 to go 'touring and offering a general and detailed description of the kingdoms', but de Nicolay never finished the endeavor.¹⁰ Maps were dedicated to Catherine and her sons, but domestic and familial conflict helped to prevent the Valois from taking advantage of geography to the extent Elizabeth did.

Not until Henri IV, who ruled France from 1589-1610, was there a more direct encouragement of geography by a king, and even then, not until later in Henri's reign. An earlier example, Maurice Bouguereau's *Théâtre François* of 1594 was dedicated to Henri, but not commissioned by him. The atlas was 'conceived to serve the cause of the Protestant Henri IV and his campaign to win France over to his legal right', ultimately intending to show the king 'what he could do with maps' after he presided over a unified France.¹¹ Until that time, Henri was too busy reconciling the divided country to lend official help to any geographer. He would eventually do so by assembling a group of *ingénieurs du roi*, who drew up plans for the revitalization of the country's defenses, but these were for governmental use and not public consumption like the Saxton atlas.¹²

And Bouguereau's atlas differs in other ways from the Saxton. Although its initial visual features echo the template featured in Ortelius and the earlier English atlas, the central space framed by the arches and figures display the title of the atlas itself rather than any person. Henri only appears after the frontispiece (Fig. 3).¹³ Bouguereau seems to be primarily sending a message to the king through a text disseminated to the public, in contrast to the message Elizabeth and her councilors facilitated and sent to her subjects through Saxton. But the atlas is an especially clear example

9 This overview of French cartography is derived from Bouzrara and Conley, 'Cartography and Literature in Early Modern France', pp. 427-437.

10 Pelletier, 'National and Regional Mapping in France to About 1650', p. 1485. The quoted description comes from Catherine herself, in a letter to the Duchess of Ferrara, 14 October 1561.

11 Bouzrara and Conley, 'Cartography and Literature in Early Modern France', p. 433.

12 Ibid., p. 429.

13 Short, *The World Through Maps*, p. 112. See also Fordham, *Studies in Carto-bibliography, British and French*, pp. 128-136.

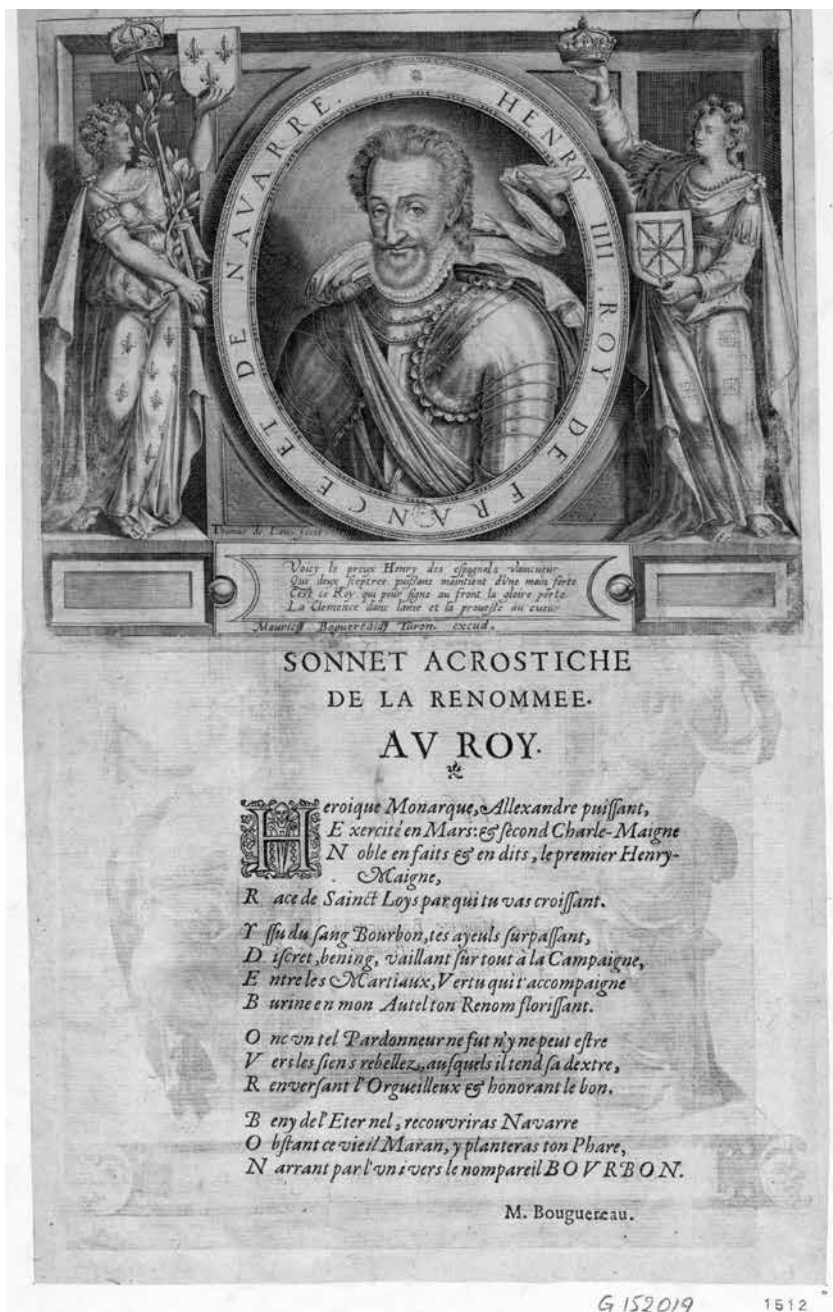


Fig. 3: Portrait of Henri after the titlepage, Maurice Bouguereau, *Le Theatre Francoys* (Tours, 1594). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, RES-L7-2 (gallica.bnf.fr).

of 'world-writing', even more so than Saxton's projection of Elizabeth as unassailable ruler of her kingdom. The French atlas was composed while Henri was still attempting to assert his claim to the French throne from his base in Tours; Bouguereau's maps show Henri a world where he rules over a unified France whose existence was still uncertain.¹⁴

Elizabeth's other fellow ruler, Philip II of Spain, followed Catherine de Medicis' example when it came to affording less attention to public geographic projects. While his government did commission maps, Philip, like his father Charles, used them mainly for bureaucratic as opposed to political purposes.¹⁵ The most overt geographically inflected propaganda of Spain was actually commissioned by Charles V's aunt Mary of Hungary, and consisted of a series of tapestries, one of which featured a map commemorating the king's conquest of Tunis.¹⁶ While Charles himself appears in the tapestries, these artworks would have only been seen by a limited number of people admitted to his palaces. The purpose and dissemination of this geographic work stands again in contrast to the Saxton atlas.

Charles' son Philip does appear in a printed map, but it is one that was not produced for him or at his behest: he appears enthroned on the Atlantic Ocean in a map by Giacomo Gastaldi and others, the *Cosmographia universalis*, produced in Venice around 1561 (Fig. 4). As with the French atlas, and unlike the one designed by Saxton, Philip is not a central feature of the map; rather, his figure is lost amid an overwhelming amount of detail on a large image, functioning merely as a piece of information filed onto a map by the Venetians.¹⁷ With regards to the peninsula, the Italian states at this time featured less and less in the geography market than they had in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as they were embroiled in wars and outstripped in conquest by other nations. Not many Italian rulers, with perhaps the exception of a few examples from the court of Ferrara and the pope, were visually tied to any of the maps or atlases to the extent that Elizabeth was, or even Catherine de Medici or Philip of Spain.¹⁸ Indeed, an Italian translator of Ptolemy's *Geography*, Giralamo Ruscelli in 1561, 'lamented the poor state of Italian mapping, which he attributed to the neglect of cartography by Italian princes who had been distracted from cultivating the discipline by the Italian wars'.¹⁹ This relatively brief review of the geographic

14 Bouzrara and Conley, 'Cartography and Literature in Early Modern France', p. 433.

15 David Buisseret, 'Spanish Peninsular Cartography', pp. 1069-1094.

16 Kagan and Schmidt, 'Maps and the Early Modern State', p. 671.

17 See also Milanese, 'Guesses About the Furthest Frontiers', pp. 108-111.

18 Cachey, Jr. 'Maps and Literature in Renaissance Italy', pp. 450-460.

19 Ibid., p. 451.

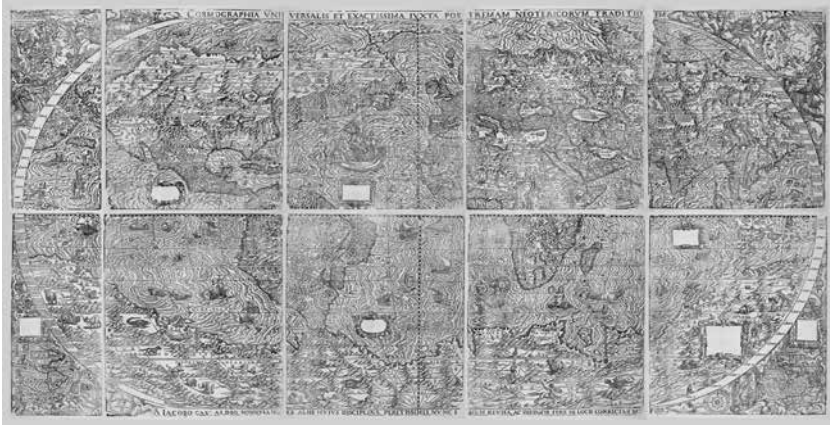


Fig. 4: Giacomo Gastaldi, *Cosmographia Universalis* c. 1561© The British Library Board (Cartographic Items Maps C.18.n.1.)

endeavors of Elizabeth's contemporaries in rule demonstrates just how differently she approached and deployed mapmaking. In the atlases and maps of the latter half of the sixteenth century, Elizabeth stood alone, literally and figuratively, in her reign and in her country's geographical products. And it would not be until the later seventeenth century that geography would be deployed with a specific and wide-reaching propaganda purpose in the form of the Dutch cartography trade, discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Theaters for the World: Elizabeth's Dramatic Impact

And while an examination of Elizabeth's geographical usage is compelling by itself, this book is primarily interested in the impact her strategies had on the output of dramatic writers. One of the earliest examples of how playwrights could incorporate a version of Elizabeth's strategies of identity construction through geographical discourse comes from Christopher Marlowe's play *The Tragedie of Dido, Queene of Carthage* (c. 1586), a play examined at more length in Chapter One. While the character of Dido is often read as an obstacle to Aeneas' destiny (and, indeed, that is how he ultimately views her), the drama also reveals Dido as a dynamic character in her own right, one who, albeit temporarily, appropriates the Trojan prince as both lover and political asset. Throughout much of the play, she employs language that marks Aeneas as both symbolic spouse and territory that she controls. For example, in answer to his injunction that he must fulfill his destiny, she states,

Stout love in mine arms make thy Italy,
 Whose Crown and kingdom rests at thy command:
 Sichaeus, not Aeneas be thou called:
 The King of Carthage, not Anchises son:
 Hold, take these Jewels at thy Lovers hand,
 These golden bracelets, and this wedding ring,
 Wherewith my husband woo'd me yet a maid,
 And be thou king of Libya, by my gift. (3.4.56-63)

In her speech, she declares the space he inhabits within her embrace to be his fated Italy. She further insists that he change his name to that of her first husband as she bestows upon him her marital jewelry and sovereignty. Most significantly, she participates in the mapping of space and of Aeneas' body as she renames both and asserts her ability to do so ('by my gift'). Dido's authority is partially drawn from co-opting Aeneas' familial and Trojan legacy, while her renaming of space derives authority from the subject position of geographer. She shares Queen Elizabeth's strategy of writing or speaking a world that benefits her rule and subjectivity. And although she is a tragic figure, even at the moment of her death, Dido is still seen using geographic language that forecasts continued threats to Rome's imperial hegemony. In her transient success and eventual death, Dido is simultaneously a representation of powerful female authority and a response to that same power's threatening implications for traditional male authority.

That Queen Elizabeth and her rhetorical strategies for legitimating her rule had a wide cultural impact is not new territory. Katherine Eggert writes of Elizabeth as 'not only a model of improvisational skill but also as a galvanizing force for a pervasive Elizabethan anxiety about female power'.²⁰ Similarly, Mihoko Suzuki has examined how the idea of Elizabeth carried over into the following reigns: she and her speeches were often used to 'glorify her as an icon against Stuart absolutism' as well as a 'legitimizing example for women who were beginning to imagine themselves as political subjects'.²¹ Eggert expands on the idea of Elizabeth as catalyst for a variety of Elizabethans: 'jurists, composers, mapmakers, and alchemists were just as likely as poets and dramatists to depend either directly or indirectly on the queen's approval or patronage for their livelihoods; and one does not need to go far to demonstrate that their work similarly was concerned with

²⁰ Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen*, p. 4.

²¹ Suzuki, *Subordinate Subjects*, p. 8.

crown policies'.²² As noted above, Elizabeth was closely associated with the new geography and its accompanying texts, more so than any other contemporary monarch. She was also unique in her status as a queen regnant. The ideas and the anxieties that necessarily swirled around Elizabeth as a woman in power combined with the new and increasingly available visuals of territory, but writers also manipulated a third discourse: ideas about a woman's place in family and society. This fertile intersection of ideas helped to create dramatic characters who shaped and were shaped by geography into compelling articulations of how an individual could be marked feminine or masculine, English or foreign, authoritative or passive, and these markers often appear within the same play and even the same person.

Christopher Marlowe, as a student at Cambridge in the 1580s, would have been well placed to experience the latest studies in the new geography. Chapter One considers how, in *Dido* and his two *Tamburlaine* plays, Marlowe uses imagery associated with the highly symbolic, often female figures that grace the fronts of atlases and the margins of maps, most notably those found on Abraham Ortelius' 1570 atlas, the first of its kind, in order to then create his Dido in the mold of Elizabeth: a queen who parlays a geographically constructed personal image and her marriageability into an initially successful ruling persona. Her close rhetorical association with her kingdom of Carthage, along with her potential alliance with the Trojan Aeneas, makes her initially an overpowering presence that threatens to disrupt the Roman Empire's destiny. Marlowe, moreover, draws from the atlas' use of history as well as geography to create an authoritative text: Dido appropriates the power and prestige of Troy for her own kingdom, drawing close connections between the two territories. While Dido and Carthage, like Troy, ultimately fall, Marlowe nevertheless provides an authoritative and more threatening version of the Carthaginian queen; the reason why, perhaps, there is no known public performance of the play after it was written in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign.

Less menacing in queenly presence is the character of Zenocrate in Marlowe's later *Tamburlaine* plays. Seemingly a pawn, albeit an important one, in Tamburlaine's rise to power, the Damascene princess in actuality is able to exploit her symbolic and actual position in Tamburlaine's dynastic and territorial ambitions in order to more subtly establish herself as a disruptive feminine power. But first, Marlowe's Scythian general reveals the importance placed on royal and aristocratic women in political pursuits brokered through marriage. As representative of families and especially territories, women like Zenocrate

22 Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen*, p. 4.

were important links between factions and kingdoms. Tamburlaine, as a lowly shepherd with no royal background, at first exploits the unwilling Zenocrate as the legitimating piece of his military conquest. However, over the course of two plays, his eventual queen in turn exploits that same position and its symbolic import to destabilize Tamburlaine's conventionally masculine and martial power through the use of her connection to territory and to family lineage.

While Marlowe worked as a playwright drawing from his knowledge of geography during his time at Cambridge, Elizabeth Cary, writing in the 1590s to 1620s, offers in Chapter Two an example of how a woman writer could use a background in geography and history in combination with the examples of Queen Elizabeth's subject formation in order to also create powerful royal women in her dramas. Mariam in *The Tragedy of Mariam, Faire Queene of Jewry*, is a queen whose identity and latent power stems not only from Cary's engagement with geography texts but her direct experience of England's overseas territorial ambitions. As the wife of Viscount Falkland, she followed her husband to Ireland when he was appointed its Lord Deputy, ultimately staying in Dublin for three years. There, Cary saw the attempted realization of King James' imperial ambitions as derived from the ancient Roman example. Her texts include compelling reworkings of the justifications used for the Irish plantations and new world colonies. In *The Tragedy of Mariam*, the eponymous queen becomes equated with the land and its resources; specifically, the play examines both Mariam's husband King Herod's and imperial Rome's ability (or lack thereof) to control a wife and the territories she represents. Those inabilities, and Mariam's appropriation of geographical language, ultimately question the legitimacy of the empire.

In contrast to Mariam's more passive but still subversive role in destabilizing both her husband's and Rome's rule, Cary's Queen Isabel in her hybrid dramatic prose piece *The History of the Life, Reign and Death of Edward II* takes a much more active role in claiming power, but it is one in which the relationship with the land itself is still an important source of power and of justification. When Isabel takes power from her husband Edward II, Cary supports this ostensibly foreign takeover by highlighting Isabel's connection to and careful maintenance of the English landscape. This reasoning and its language echoes even more closely the colonial ideology that underpinned English justifications for exerting rule in Ireland and North America. Conscientious use of territorial resources, often described in atlases and travelogs, bolstered claims against the native populations in America and Ireland. This geographic rhetoric allows Cary to rehabilitate the reputation of the 'She-wolf of France', even as in both *Mariam* and *The History*, she implicitly questions the truth behind England's claims of careful stewardship of lands abroad.

While Cary looked abroad for royal and foreign women to manipulate received ideas of imperial expansion, the playwright for the public theater Thomas Heywood began exploring how a different set of women could use and be used to bolster an English presence overseas, both actual and metaphorical. Specifically, Chapter Three examines how Heywood's plays consider the role of non-aristocratic women, particularly those in the mercantile classes. In the two parts of *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie* and *The Fair Maid of the West*, Heywood draws a sharp contrast between his non-royal protagonists and Queen Elizabeth specifically, focusing on how men like the merchant Thomas Gresham in *If You Know Not Me* and the soldier and captain Spencer in *The Fair Maid* utilize English women in the plays to assert their own superior and uniquely 'English' identities, while the character of the queen only hovers in the periphery of the action. The non-royal women are still associated with land, but in this case not the real territory that accompanies an aristocratic bride. They are more connected to the geographic texts themselves and the ideas they contain. These maps and atlases and other geographic products do not proclaim any tenable connection to actual land ownership; rather, they signal the owner's status in terms of wealth and intelligence. As Tamburlaine demonstrated that legitimacy to rule could be seized by a general who lacked a noble bloodline, Heywood's characters reveal how even literal territorial conquest was unnecessary if one could acquire geographic texts and the symbolic capital they represented. The contrast between the symbolic import of aristocratic and commoner women is underscored even further by Heywood's earlier play *The Four Prentices of London*. While the drama's title would seem to indicate a play invested in depicting members of the 'middling classes' of successful craftsmen and merchants, the story is actually a fantasy of aristocratic exploits in the Middle Ages: the four apprentices are the sons of the Earl of Bullone who eventually regain their status and even acquire new titles. But the most significant aspect of the play for the purposes of this study resides in the female characters and how their symbolic import is deployed throughout the play. The Princess of France and the Earl of Bullone's daughter Bella Franca do take advantage of their connections to territory as a means to achieve their own desires; however, the two women become fully subsumed by that connection before the end of the play: once autonomous travelers moving across the actual territory of Europe and the Middle East, by the end of the play, their final role as passive wives and merely figures for the lands they once traversed anticipates the eventually marginal figures that Heywood creates for his later female characters, including Queen Elizabeth.

But while Heywood sought to minimize the representative power that the queen possessed and that could serve as an example to writers and the aristocratic women they created, that powerful persona of a geographic identity endured and inspires the numerous women in the plays of Margaret Cavendish in the 1650s and 1660s, some of which are considered in Chapter Four. Cavendish often looked to rulers in order to formulate individual sovereignty. At the beginning of *The Blazing World*, Cavendish admits that 'though I cannot be Henry the Fifth, or Charles the Second, yet I endeavor to be Margaret the First; and although I have neither power, time nor occasion to conquer the world as Alexander and Caesar did; [...] I have made a world of my own: for which nobody, I hope, will blame me, since it is in everyone's power to do the like'.²³ Cavendish takes the ideas that women can represent land and geographic texts that previous writers had used and combines them with the idea that women could also be cartographers of their own bodies and thus identities. Her plays *Loves Adventures* and *Bell in Campo* highlight how her characters parlay a virtuous body into a kind of map itself that these women create and over which they could exert control. Cavendish not only draws from the increasing practice of Dutch cartography and the ideologies of 'scientific' conquest it propounded; her examples also bring the book's scope full circle and ends where it began: with Elizabeth and the studies and products of geography that flourished in her reign and were appropriated by her and others into a language both visual and verbal that created female subjectivity.

Analyzing Early Modern Geography

All of these authors benefited from the ideas promulgated through these new conceptions of geography that arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even as new ideas of female identity circulated for those in the latter half of the sixteenth century during the reign of Elizabeth. This study examines how this new and increasingly available geographic discourse in particular contributed to writers who created female characters in their plays who were mapped and engaged in a kind of self-mapping in order to create new identities. John Gillies produced one of the first studies of this new geography; he asserts that these new maps and atlases still functioned, like their medieval predecessors, as visual representations of particular cultural and political ideologies, and he argues that the maps

23 Cavendish, *The Blazing World*, p. 124.

of the Renaissance cannot be viewed as attempting a completely neutral rendering of the world. Rather, these maps should be evaluated in terms of the process of their conception, creation, and reception, instead of as an end product representing a static artifact.²⁴ Jess Edwards extends the arguments of Gillies, claiming, 'this discursive ambivalence is not just an aspect of the reception of geography, an effect of the passing of geography and maps through literary "circuits of meaning," but is inherent to geography itself'. In other words, Edwards argues, 'geography is itself a poetic art'.²⁵ As a type of 'poetic art', the early modern map and, I argue, its associated terminology, images, and practices, would be employed as vigorously as elegies or sonnets in an attempt to convey a particular message. In terms of visual rhetoric, Henry S. Turner states that like 'the emblem, epitome, portrait, mirror, or digest', maps contained emotions, abstract concepts, and ideas in spatial form.²⁶ Just like these other works of art, the map and associated geographical products were open to the interpretations of their various audiences, since these maps as works of art also raise the issue of the spectator. Rhonda Lemke Sanford in her examination of cartography and literature reminds us that 'objects or places perceived become invested by one's gaze, and become different for each gazer'. Lemke Sanford calls this approach 'a phenomenological notion of space', a perspective that she draws from the work of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, who argue against passive interactions with physical space.²⁷ The active engagement devised by these playwrights for their women characters ultimately reveal how the symbolic connection between land and female body, so often used as a controlling and conquering discourse for men, could and was often paradoxically used as a site of resistance against those dominant discourses when writers, readers, or spectators fashioned characters or themselves as manipulators of that space and its representations.

As a woman who had to rework traditional notions of female rule (primarily its unacceptability), Elizabeth herself provides the initial example that the writers examined in this study appropriated for their own characters'

24 Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, especially pp. 54-59. Appelbaum in 'Anti-geography' and Helgersen in 'The folly of maps and modernity' make similar arguments regarding the geography of the time as often imaginative and ultimately not representations grounded in reality.

25 Edwards, 'How to Read an Early Modern Map', paragraph 33.

26 Turner, 'Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520-1688', p. 412.

27 Specifically, Lemke Sanford draws on de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendell, p. 117; and Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England*, p. 12. See also Lemke Sanford, pp. 11-13.

identities that built on the interconnectedness of bodies, land, women, family, and agency. Elizabeth did not acquiesce to the conventional metaphorical role of passive woman/territory awaiting occupation, so perfectly exemplified by Walter Raleigh in his 1596 *Discovery of [...] Guiana*. Suzanne Scholz calls the connection a 'quite conventional' use of the female-land trope,²⁸ and it is one that is repeated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Raleigh writes, 'Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought [...] It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered by any Christian prince'.²⁹ Writers like Raleigh and, as we will see, other geographers, depicted land as a passive female awaiting penetration and thus acquisition – much as sexual consummation solidified many an early modern marriage.³⁰ However, for Elizabeth, her own virgin body could and would be deployed in the interest of protecting England's virgin status, transforming a potentially vulnerable position into an effective rhetorical stance. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, England could be promised and political demands secured through the potential offer of the queen's hand in marriage. Karen Newman explains this form of resistance more generally:

Though there is no question that Renaissance discourses of femininity advanced social controls and the policing of female behavior, they also enabled opposing discourses, which though they often speak with the same vocabulary and from the same categories, were nevertheless tactically productive.³¹

Elizabeth and her government adroitly used her status as a marriageable monarch to their political advantage, without truly committing the virgin queen to any husband. In addition to a discourse of marriage negotiations, the unmarried queen regnant both deployed and was depicted with that geographic discourse that could simultaneously be used to control women and help facilitate their agency. Including the Saxton atlas above, there was considerable artistic output associated with and promoted by the queen and her government that also used geographic images and language. One of the more well-known examples is the c.1593 Ditchley portrait, where Elizabeth stands atop a cartographic rendering of England, with her feet

28 Scholz, *Body Narratives*, p. 149.

29 Haklyut, *Voyages and Discoveries*, pp. 408-409.

30 See also McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 31.

31 Newman, *Fashioning Femininity*, p. 30.



Fig. 5: Queen Elizabeth I ('The Ditchley Portrait') by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, c. 1592. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

positioned at Ditchley in Oxfordshire (Fig. 5). The impressively large portrait (about eight feet by five feet) dramatically demonstrates the connection between Elizabeth and a particular depiction of her territory – neatly demarcated and orderly – that she shelters with her voluminous skirts. In this painting, the body of Elizabeth protects England. Elizabeth, as ruler of England, demonstrates authority by displaying her body in symbolic ways, especially by appearing in, commissioning, or supporting depictions of her kingdom. In the Ditchley portrait, she derives authority by her physical closeness and thus symbolic association with England; she stands over and protects its boundaries, as her body holds off the thunderstorm painted in the background.

And because of early modern associations between territory and the female body, while male rulers can only display land, Elizabeth can also be that space. She can also represent England itself, as female bodies were, as demonstrated above, associated with territory. By 1598, the queen had become so associated with the land that a Dutch engraving envisioned Elizabeth as Europa, holding an upraised sword (Fig. 6). A fleet of ships meant to evoke the Spanish Armada is heading towards England and thus this engraving has the potential to represent Elizabeth as both intimidating but also on the defensive. While the British Isles make up her sword arm and seem to give the queenly figure strength as her face gazes steadily outwards, that same face has turned away from the very fleet of ships that poise threateningly just behind her kingdom.³² The engraving, more so than the Ditchley portrait, exemplifies the instability inherent in the connection between queen and country, female body and actual territory. The depiction highlights how close metaphorical ties between a female ruler can be deployed to generate rhetorical strength and political legitimacy, but it can also convey how other male writers or rulers enact the more traditional progression of the land-body trope wherein these rulers and husbands can just as legitimately penetrate, occupy, and control that potentially threatening body/territory.

In the Dutch engraving and in the plays examined in this book, both interpretations are possible. Theodora Jankowski, building on the materialist feminist approach described by Judith Newton and Deborah Rosenfelt, articulates the productivity of these blurred boundaries and narrative outcomes: 'What I find particularly helpful about materialist feminist criticism

32 Caterina Albano reads the Europa portrait as 'both celebratory and threatening' in the depiction of England and Scotland as a sword arm, ready to strike the Armada or the Continent. 'Visible Bodies', p. 103.



Fig. 6: WA.Suth.C.2.91.3 Anonymous Dutch, *Queen Elizabeth I as a map of Europe*, 1598
Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

is its ability to see both “the forces of oppression and the seeds of resistance” in the same situation. This ability allows women to be constructed “in a given moment in history simultaneously as victims and agents”.³³ For these critics, the same discourse and spaces – often, in the case of geography, a literal one – that seek to control and silence women into passive symbolic bodies that yield the ‘resources’ of family lineage, real estate, and children can also be sites of resistance. Again, in the case of many of the examples in this book, that resistance takes place on an actual site: the woman often takes control of her bodily territory, redirecting its symbolic potential for her own motives. In her more general study of identity formation, Judith Butler also views those same repressive forces as an integral part in the formation of the subject and thus the potential for resistance. The subject can challenge

33 Jankowski, *Women in Power*, p. 15. See also Newton and Rosenfelt, ‘Introduction: Toward a Materialist-Feminist Criticism’, pp. xv-xxxix. Similarly, Anne McClintock argues that colonial discourse produces the dominating and virile man attempts but fails to subsume male anxieties about the potential for engulfment and dismemberment by the female Other. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 26-28.

those external forces by subverting their meaning and application. Butler writes, 'The analysis of subjection is always double, tracing the conditions of subject formation and tracing the turn against those conditions for the subject – and its perspective – to emerge'.³⁴ Rather than being 'forced' in the sense of being denied a viable alternative, Butler's work demonstrates not only that there is no alternative, but, I would argue, that the appropriation of the very elements involved in the repression of the subject creates an especially destabilizing and potentially powerful mode of resistance.

Mapping and exploration, in the context of the creation of geographic texts, provided one of those spaces of both repression and resistance. Despite Elizabeth's assurances that she had no desire to expand her realm abroad, her subjects, playwrights in particular, often explored the implications – to the nation and to identity – of exploration, mapping, and gender. In contrast to Elizabeth, English writers of the period pushed at the boundaries of their kingdom; however, they directed their endeavors towards creating, in a sense, what Jeffrey Knapp, an 'empire nowhere'. Knapp argues that English writers solved the problem of their limited island nation and initially unsuccessful colonial endeavors by creating literary 'no places' as in *The Tempest* and *The Faerie Queene* that demonstrate, through poetry, that England possesses a more valuable spiritual imperialism. In other words, they created places where they could enact English and sometimes individual male superiority.³⁵ Although the authors in this study most often use real locations, these places are just as much imaginatively constructed as Prospero's island. All these writers and cartographers represented not just 'what was there' but 'what could be' and, in many cases, 'what they wished were so'. And despite the preoccupation with foreign locales, the texts more often than not reflected concerns closer to home, as these writers often worked with ideologies that affected them back 'home' as well. In particular for this study, the authors' imaginative journeys into dramatic locations often located 'elsewhere' created spaces for them to contest and rework the trope of passive land and passive woman. Of even more significance to this book is the ways in which the various female bodies represented on stage were able to harness a power that was very subversive due to a female body's potentially important location within the rhetoric of familial, political, and eventually imperial expansion. Playwrights using the space of the early modern theater is especially apt, as the building itself was often seen as a version of geographical frontispieces' classical architecture. Additionally, Gillies asserts that

34 Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, p. 29.

35 Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere*, p. 7.

[t]he theater was cosmographic and, to an extent, geographic, in its conceptual character (Shakespeare's Globe Theatre is a striking case in point). Cosmography, for its part, was 'theatrical', in the sense that 'theatre' is an important enabling metaphor. (Thanks in part to the popularity of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, atlases were generally 'theatres' before they were 'atlases'.)³⁶

Thus, the theater and geography have important and very visible connections from the very beginning of the popularity of both.

Stage as the World: Early Modern English Theater

This book's focus on drama stems from a recognition of the importance of both London and the plays performed there in formulating new concepts and depictions regarding the new people, lands, and ideas that English subjects encountered, whether in actuality or in print or other entertainments. The early modern theater as a growing commercial enterprise also echoes the increasing geography market of roughly the same period. Jean Howard asserts that

[b]y 1600 London was the anchor of a rapidly expanding national market and the chief port through which the nation took part in overseas trade with Europe, with the Levant, and—later in the seventeenth century—with the Americas. These economic and social developments had a direct impact on the cultural life of London, specifically on the public theater that was one of the chief entertainment institutions to emerge from this period of spectacular demographic, economic, and social change.³⁷

Moreover, this theater 'was important in shaping how people of the period conceptualized or made sense of this fast-changing urban milieu'.³⁸ Howard argues for this importance of drama, and the London theater in particular, in her work elsewhere, stating that '[t]he theater [...] was an institution where various social groups mingled – men, women, citizens, ambassadors from abroad, apprentices, country gentlemen in town for the law term [...]'.³⁹ This

36 *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, p. 35. See also especially pp. 70–80.

37 Howard, *Theater of a City*, pp. 1–2.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

39 Howard, 'Shakespeare, Geography, and the Work of Genre', p. 309.

genre not only provided new methods for seeing the world, but it did so to a large and varied audience, making it, again along with the growing field and market of geography, one of the most widely 'used' literary products of London in the time period. The two male authors featured in this book, Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Heywood, undoubtedly participated directly in the London popular theater, and I would further argue that such wide-reaching genres as drama and geography had discernible effects beyond the public stage, examined here in the works of Elizabeth Cary and Margaret Cavendish. Cary turns to the specifically didactic genre of Senecan drama (and, later, a dramatic rendering of historical narrative) and its associations with imperial Rome in order to explore the implications of a colonial geography for conceptions of female identity. Cavendish, more directly influenced by the popular theater for which even her own husband wrote, nevertheless uniquely combines this interest in performance with the multiple geographic images and products she encountered during her exile in the Low Countries in order to postulate new ideas concerning the role of women in the life of the, first, only anticipated and then newly restored English kingdom. All four authors are chosen, then, for their work in the genre of drama, and this literary form is highlighted for both its pervasive presence in the lives of London's inhabitants and visitors and for the city's economic and cultural prominence within England itself and the world at large.

Geography and Genealogy: Mapping Spaces and Families

As noted earlier, the literal translation of the word geography is, David Riggs points out, 'world-writing'.⁴⁰ While Riggs uses this term in reference to the character Tamburlaine's ability to create an empire in his own name, this book will employ the term much more broadly, both in the sense of writing about the world as well as writing *upon* the world – that is, as a way of inscribing a particular reality on one's surroundings and identity through the medium of geography. This definition is also indebted to the concept of geography that D. K. Smith espouses in *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England*: the introduction calls upon critics 'to recognize that altering the way the world looks, alters the way that people look at the

40 Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, p. 164. Riggs uses what he calls the literal meaning of the word in order to make a point about Tamburlaine as creator, rhetorically as well as militarily, of his new kingdom.

world'.⁴¹ The authors examined in this book participated in writings that not only produced altered perceptions of the world, but also of their characters' and those characters' perception of their own places in that world. Jerry Brotton describes the relationship among writers, maps, and the world as an 'exceptional act of symbiotic alchemy'. Brotton explains how

'World' is a man-made social idea. It refers to the complete physical space of the planet but can also mean a collection of ideas and beliefs that constitute a cultural or individual 'world-view' [...] A world view gives rise to a world map; but the world map in turn defines its culture's view of the world.⁴²

Thus, maps could reflect a certain worldview or ideology (Elizabeth is England and vice versa), and that worldview could then alter the perspective of any spectator of the map. And part of the early modern 'worldview' that appears in maps and atlases of the period is the one, discussed above, that equates women with territory that could be explored, mapped, conquered, controlled, and utilized, as well as positing territory as a woman waiting for exploration and ownership. While the new worldview offered by Elizabeth and her government could confer authority on the queen regnant and perhaps alter a spectator's view on women and power, early modern women would still function as cyphers for a multitude of more conventional ideas that contributed to early modern worldviews involving English expansion and men's honor.

The idea that women, especially within families, constituted important symbolic functions is not a new one. Gayle Rubin, drawing on the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, asserts that 'kinship systems [e.g. marriages] do not merely exchange women. They exchange sexual access, genealogical statuses, lineage names and ancestors, rights and people – men, women, and children – in concrete systems of social relationships'.⁴³ Further, these exchanged women can also be symbols of alliances, conquests, wealth, and land itself. Early modern women, especially those of the upper classes, thus occupy important, albeit ostensibly silent and passive, positions within the framework of political power and territorial expansion both at home and abroad. Theodora Jankowski agrees that early modern women who married

41 Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination*, p. 1.

42 Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps*, p. 6.

43 Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women', p. 544. Similarly, Amy Louise Erickson writes that early modern marriage ideology served as justification for continued male control of women. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, p. 100.

men in political power were, as Rubin also asserts, considered the physical embodiment of the link between men of allying families or nations. But Jankowski also describes the ways in which wives or potential brides could destabilize this system by instigating 'unauthorized sexual intercourse', thereby introducing at least the threat that a husband's property and prestige would be inherited by children not of his bloodline.⁴⁴

Perhaps nowhere are these anxieties more vividly portrayed on the early modern stage than in Thomas Middleton's and William Rowley's *The Changeling* (1622). Alsemero suspects his bride Beatrice-Joanna is lying about her virginity and eventually feels compelled to test her: 'Push, modesty's shrine is set in yonder forehead. / I cannot be too sure though' (4.2.126-127). He then subjects her to a test, using various potions he keeps for that purpose in his cabinet. Beatrice-Joanna, anxious that her non-virginal status will be brought to light, has already searched his cabinet, worrying, 'If that [liquid] should be apply'd, what would become of me? / Belike he has a strong faith of my purity, / That never yet made proof; but this he calls / [Reading] "A merry slight but true experiment"' (4.1.42-44).⁴⁵ That both Alsemero and Beatrice-Joanna, with little prompting, become concerned about the status of her virginity illustrates an extreme form of the preoccupation with policing a woman's bodily borders.⁴⁶ The ensuing tragedy after the revelation of Beatrice-Joanna's coerced intercourse with the murderer she hired confirms the calamity associated with and supposed to follow upon a woman's illegitimate use of her body.

Thus, a woman's (non-) adherence to her virginity and chastity could be a potentially powerful force, able to disrupt the important lineages of a patriarchal system in which, Jankowski argues, any woman

[a]s a wife, [...] most likely served to secure some sort of business agreement between her father and her husband. If she was an upper-class or noble woman, the marriage negotiations involved large amounts of money and property. Yet even if she were a lower-class woman, an exchange of dowry was still part of the transaction.⁴⁷

44 Jankowski, *Women in Power*, p. 24.

45 Middleton and Rowley, *The Changeling*, *Norton Anthology of English Renaissance Drama*.

46 In addition, the fact that Alsemero travels with a book and cabinet that features experiments to determine pregnancy and virginity reveals his anxiety about women even before his friend Jasperino informs him about the suspicions surrounding Beatrice-Joanna. For another example, see Lemke Sanford's examination of the question of Imogen's virginity in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, as well as the play's use of the language of discovery and mapping in order to determine the status of Imogen's sexuality (Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory*, pp. 59-74).

47 Jankowski, *Women in Power*, p. 31.

I do not intend to argue that every woman's marriage in the early modern period was arranged in this way; indeed, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford point out that lower-class women were often responsible for their own nuptial arrangements.⁴⁸ But I am especially interested in how marital arrangements, particularly those of the aristocratic and prosperous merchant classes, could and often did concern political alliances and economic ventures. These wives, then, contained symbolically within their bodies the joined wealth, property, and political power of the two families. As such, they became a focal point of a matrix – indeed, a map of familial and political ties, with these wives and mothers often able to tap into that network as an important component of it.

Despite recognizing the potential for instability, Jankowski argues that women often became 'trapped within the web of these conflicting social discourses'; Rubin also claims that within such a system, 'women are in no position to realize the benefits of their circulation'.⁴⁹ I contend that, for early modern women, their very position is one of those benefits, particularly for the women themselves. Occupying the prominent sites in the formation of familial and political alliances, women represented a potentially destabilizing force should they choose to disrupt the framework of familial alliances and empire. As such, women, their bodies, and the writings by and about them formed a crucial but potentially unstable foundation for the rhetoric that shaped England and the identity of its subjects, both male and female, in the early modern period.

And visual representation of the framework of a family's history and alliances became more widespread in the sixteenth century during what Daniel Woolf calls 'the "craze" for genealogies and pedigrees'. Woolf specifies that how '[t]his was really a brief phase of intense pursuit of the official legitimization of lineage, with a much longer period of genealogical interest'.⁵⁰ As with maps, the shape and function of these genealogical items changed over time, with an initially somewhat limited use by those of the upper classes to underscore their prestige, to their appropriation by the emerging 'middling sort' to denote not so much the renown of their ancestors, but their newfound ability to record and display their family history. Similar to geographical products, the rolls and other genealogical products become status symbols that aid the owner in constructing an identity and a context which supports that identity. And, as evidenced by this created context,

48 Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 121-123.

49 Jankowski, *Women in Power*, p. 49; Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women', p. 543.

50 Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, p. 105.

genealogies share with maps and atlases another important element: Woolf emphasizes that 'heraldic and genealogical materials, like other forms of the past in early modern England, were socially circulating commodities, continuously in a process of revision, not a set of static historical "facts"'.⁵¹ As with maps, we should not expect a linear progression of increasing rigorous accuracy in genealogies from the Middle Ages moving forward; rather, those creating or directing the production of family lineages would have chosen what connections to emphasize or omit, including more fantastical ones like Arthur or Biblical elders. As Woolf reminds us, however, these genealogies need not be taken literally; such inclusions highlight how connections could be used to make more ideological points, as examples of combined maps and genealogies featured in this book will later demonstrate.

And once again, just as with geography, early modern women from history and literature navigated a complex relationship with genealogy. While women were not the primary focus or even beneficiaries of these genealogical products, nevertheless they could still alter their role in within this discourse, as they do with family and geography. Woolf explains how

[g]enealogical pursuits also provided a means for women to counteract the anomaly in the English legal system that acknowledged them as kin for purposes of inheritance, but overlooked them in written records of descents, which stressed the male line. Consequently, women were not infrequently the principal source of basic information about lands, estates, and buildings whose histories had been complicated through marriage and alienation.⁵²

Despite being officially 'overlooked' in genealogical documents, Woolf demonstrates how these women could still use the discourse in order to remap themselves onto a lineage as they contributed to the formal documents to construct their own sense of family and history; in fact, as Woolf describes above, these women would often eventually impact the official discourse in geographical, specifically chorographical ways, providing information about real estate inheritance that could alter ownership. But Woolf also explains how these genealogical activities could be used to alter women's sense of themselves: 'For many women, genealogical pursuits were less a matter of amassing superfluous erudition than of constructing a personal historical domain by applying imagination and feeling to documentary

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 121.

⁵² Ibid., p. 117.

and material evidence'.⁵³ Interestingly, Woolf's language implies further connections to geography and identity formation, as these women 'construct' an identity likened to a physical space that they occupy and control. These combinations of discourses of lineage, place, and person appear in the literary works examined in this book.

As with so much else in the time period, Elizabeth and those associated with legitimizing her rule provide initial examples of how a woman could use or being associated with nominally masculine representations of power in order to shape an authoritative persona. In addition to emphasizing her connection to her father Henry VIII, Elizabeth also features in genealogical products. Sara Trevisan explores Edmund Brudenell's Pedigree Roll of 1558/60, most likely an elaborate gift from a knight and eventually successful Elizabethan politician.⁵⁴ Brudenell, as a Catholic subject at the start of a Protestant queen's reign, wished to show both his loyalty to her and his sense of her authority. Trevisan remarks of the inclusion of Biblical figures in Elizabeth's family tree that, '[a]s in fifteenth-century rolls, the queen's genealogical connection to biblical rulers highlighted the divinely sanctioned royal legitimacy she shared with them' while also linking her to their wisdom and reminding the queen of her duty to her people.⁵⁵ Trevisan admits that genealogies were also employed in arguments from Parliament for the queen to marry and produce heirs, but as detailed earlier, Elizabeth also manipulated potential marital and thus political alliances through her extended courtships done ostensibly at the behest of a concerned Parliament. To return to the Pedigree Roll, this artifact still mapped out ways that Elizabeth could chart her legitimacy and power through both ancestors and putative descendants; the roll thus becomes a kind of map to power. And these genealogical 'maps' and the discourses associated with them would have been intelligible to both Elizabeth and her subjects. The latter would have experienced the pedigree 'craze' even if just through the activities of others. Similar to maps of the period, genealogies thus also became increasingly circulated and accessible commodities associated with Elizabeth; Trevisan describes how '[a]ccording to the Elizabethan New Year's Gift rolls, manuscript books of arms and pedigrees were often donated to the queen, which suggests her interest in such material'.⁵⁶ Elizabeth's and her councilors' sponsorship of the Saxton atlas indicates they saw ideological

53 Ibid..

54 Trevisan, 'Genealogy and Royal Representation', pp. 257-275.

55 Ibid., p. 263.

56 Ibid., p. 271.

importance for Elizabeth's authority in the project; courtiers' recognition and response to Elizabeth's apparent interest in genealogical products implies that Elizabeth would have understood those items' potential for identity formation. Trevisan writes of the Brudenell Roll that the 'purpose was not simply to exalt the prestigious origins of a unique monarch, but to visualize, celebrate, and encourage Elizabeth I's active role in the genealogical and political continuity of the English royal line'.⁵⁷ Genealogy, like geography, can therefore be understood in the early modern period as ideologically malleable and accessible to men and women seeking new ways to formulate identity.

Taking genealogy – even potential family connections and progeny – as a kind of map, this book also examines how female figures – initially but not always aristocratic – could reposition themselves within that web of family ties and connections to territory, often engaging in 'world-writing' to reshape their identities and circumstances. As briefly touched upon above, Elizabeth offers the most prominent example, with the queen often parlaying her royal body, as representative of England and her father's dynasty, into a negotiating tool in the European marriage market of the early modern period. To return to her 1593 speech, Elizabeth, although well past marriageable and child-bearing age, still takes rhetorical advantage of stereotypical constructions of early modern women – in this case, their timidity as well as their protective maternal natures – in order to explain partially her hesitance at making overt imperial claims. Just as she transforms the potentially repressive urge to marry and bear children, Elizabeth transforms a potentially negative feminine attribute into a persuasive strategy.

The example of Queen Elizabeth employing the numerous roles available to her through the personae of potential and figurative wife and mother is arguably one of the most well known. But since, as Jankowski asserts, 'the family was still very much a social and public institution' during the early modern period, the body of any marriageable woman, especially those of the upper class, could convey the property, lineage, and legitimacy of her family and thus substantiate that family's claim to political power.⁵⁸ Therefore, any woman's body was, in a sense, a physical map to power: her bodily integrity represented the family's political and economic power, which would be conveyed legitimately through her chaste body, protected by her family before possessed by her husband. But that expected journey from maid to wife could be detoured or altered by the woman herself.

57 Ibid., p. 275.

58 Jankowski, *Women in Power*, p. 39.

The drama of the period reflects this ideology, as playwrights too were recognizing strategies of female empowerment through women's uses of the potential for their bodies in marriage. In the mid-1580s, Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* features Bel-Imperia, a member of the Spanish royal family, who succeeds in avenging her murdered lover by feigning interest in marrying the Portuguese nobleman guilty of the crime. To demonstrate the subversive power of queens and aristocratic women, the first two chapters in this book examine the ways in which the women featured in *The Tragedie of Dido* and *Tamburlaine* by Marlowe and those in Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam* and *The History of the Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II* could draw upon those family connections. Their resistance is made even more profound by also utilizing the rhetorical ties between territory and early modern women's bodies that geography underscored; their potent combination of these tropes affords them their own potentially subversive and political power.

Even after what Lawrence Stone famously refers to as the 'crisis of the aristocracy' and the growing economic and political power of the merchant or 'middling' classes of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the discourses pertaining to virginity remained prevalent.⁵⁹ As Susanne Scholz explains, 'in a time of increasingly capitalist economic structures a woman's virginity was becoming of value on the marriage market, while her chastity when married made sure that property was handed down the male line'.⁶⁰ In addition, Scholz argues, 'The female body emerged in various cultural discourses as a particular, porous, and penetrable entity that must be rigidly policed in order to contain its potential subversiveness'.⁶¹ Indeed, since the wealth these men of the middling classes created through commerce was not limited by the boundaries of real estate, and all children could stand to inherit some part of their father's goods, the patriarch must always be assured of the legitimacy of his children by constant control of his wife's body.

Perhaps more significantly, the chastity of a wife could often be used as a reflection of a husband's honor and integrity. Just as aristocratic women brought to a marriage the legitimacy and thus power of their family, so any woman of chaste reputation could impart a new sense of honorable and legitimizing integrity to her husband's business, social, and political standing.

59 Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 1558-1641.

60 Scholz, *Body Narratives*, p. 83. Scholz also notes, 'This preoccupation with drawing and fortifying boundaries took place on various levels of early modern English society, and it surfaces in the pictorial representations of Queen and nation' (10). Scholz's work on the discourses surrounding Ireland as an Othered female body also illustrates these points.

61 Scholz, *Body Narratives*, p. 10.

This shift from the aristocratic female body to any virgin as a potentially valuable object is akin to maps becoming consumer products in and of themselves that could accord status to any man, as opposed to their initial primary use by sovereigns to help establish symbolic control over actual territory or plan defensive works or buildings that would eventually manifest themselves on the land represented. This book's last two chapters examine the plays of Thomas Heywood – in particular *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie, Part 2* and *The Fair Maid of the West* – as well as *Loves Adventures* and *Bell in Campo* by Margaret Cavendish to demonstrate the tension resulting from both men and women attempting to tap into the power of female bodies as a kind of map and how women could become imaginative geographers of their own bodies.

Wherever these writers place their women characters in terms of their geographic powers, ultimately, these four authors in particular have been selected for how they used geography as world-writing, employing the discourse to map out new possibilities and new worlds for English men and women. In this work, the writers were like their fellow countrymen and women in embracing and using the 'new' study of geography, as John Dee, early modern polymath, describes in his preface to *The Elements of Geometrie*. He writes:

Of this [geographic] Art how great pleasure, and how manifold commodities do come unto us, daily and houely: of most men, is perceaved. While, some, to beautifie their Halls, Parlers, Chambers, Galleries, Studies, or Libraries with: other some, for thinges past, as battels fought, earthquakes, heavenly fyrings, & such occurentes, in histories mentioned: therby lively, as it were, to vewe the place, the region adjoining, the distance from us: and such other circumstances. Some other, presently to vewe the large dominion of the Turke: the wide Empire of the Muschovite: and the litle morsel of ground, where Christendome (by profession) is certainly knowen. Litle, I say, in respecte of the rest.&c. Some, either for their own jorneyes directing into farre landes: or to understand of other men's travailes. To conclude, some, for one purpose: and some, for an other, liketh, loveth, getteth, and useth, Mappes, Chartes, & Geographical Globes.⁶²

While some use maps and globes for decoration, for history, for culture, and others to view, to travel, to comprehend, the playwrights in this book use geography to write new worlds and identities. All of these authors question and often subvert dominant ideologies of status and gender as they work towards different ways of seeing identity through these relatively 'new' ways

62 Dee, 'The mathematicall praeface', p. a.iiir.

of seeing the world that geography presented. And these new ways of seeing are formed and reshaped by the writers and characters examined in this book. They both were mapped and mapped themselves into this dynamic and fluid discourse of writer, mapmaker, world-writer. 'World-writing' features as a continual thread throughout the works examined in this book as these playwrights, male and female alike, manipulate the literal and figurative borders of their realities to create their striking female characters.

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